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## UNPUBLISHED FRENCH LETTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE twenty-one letters edited in the present article were written by the following persons: Mme de Maintenon, Maupertuis, Buffon (three), d'Alembert (three), Diderot (two), La Harpe (two), the abbé Morellet, the duc de La Rochefoucauld, Mirabeau *fils*, Lavoisier, Marat, Grimm, Marmontel, and Toussaint Louverture (two). The originals of the letters are to be found as follows: twelve in the Harvard University Library, five in the Dreer Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and four in the Boston Public Library.

In reproducing these documents I have respected the authors' spelling and punctuation even to the most minute details. If such a method requires justification, I cannot do better than quote here the vicomte d'Haussonville:

"Je me suis décidé, non sans hésitation, à laisser aux nombreuses lettres que je citerai l'orthographe du temps. Sans compter que ces lettres conservent mieux ainsi leur physionomie véritable, on remarquera que l'orthographe varie avec la condition sociale et avec l'âge des correspondants. C'est ainsi que les personnes qui tiennent à la bourgeoisie la mettent plus correctement que les grands seigneurs ou les grandes dames, et que les jeunes femmes font moins de fautes que leurs mères ou grand'-mères." [1]

The letters that follow are arranged chronologically.

### I. [MME DE MAINTENON TO A NUN OF THE CONVENT OF THE VISITATION AT CHAILLOT]

On November 2, 1700, Charles II, King of Spain, by his last will and testament, called to the Spanish throne Philippe, duc

[1] Le vicomte d'Haussonville, *Le Salon de madame Necker*, Paris, 1882, I, 26, note 1.

d'Anjou, second son of the Dauphin. After three days of reflection, Louis XIV gave his consent to the duc d'Anjou and introduced him to the court with these words, "Messieurs, voici le roi d'Espagne."

The following letter was written by Mme de Maintenon when the news of Philippe's elevation to the throne was quite recent.[2]

18 Novembre [1700]

Je vous remercie tres humblement ma chere soeur de toutes les bontés que vous me marques a mon retour vous auriés entendu de belles choses sil y en a de belles sur la terre si vous aviés esté a St cir car levenement du royaume dEspagne passé sans guerre [3] dans la maison de france et tout cella declaré par nostre roy, lunion de la famille royale les pleurs des trois freres [4] sur leur separation la ioye de M le Dauphin de ceder un grand royaume a son fils, vous voyes ma chere soeur que voila matiere a de belles narrations vous en auriés pleuré de ioye et bien remercié dieu mais cest ce que vous ferés bien a Chailliot [5] Nos filles [6] me paroissent fort aises de me voir Ie ne sai pas encore de leurs nouvelles par elles mesmes on massure en general que tout va bien Je donnerai vostre lettre a Mr de Barbezieux [7] et ie lui parleray des entreprises des religieux. Dittes sil vous plaist a ma sr M Elisabeth. . . .[8]

## II. Maupertuis to —?

Mercredy 17.[9]

Dieu scait ce que c'est que ce Mieux dont je me flattois il y a 4 jours. J'ay recraché, etouffé hier pis qu'à l'ordinaire. Je voudrois pourtant aller à Potsdam, ne fust ce que pour changer de lieu et essayer mes forces pour un plus grand voyage.[10]

[2] In all the letters that follow I shall forego entirely the use of the word *sic*.

[3] Within a year France was plunged into the ruinous War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

[4] Louis, duc de Bourgogne, Philippe, duc d'Anjou, and Charles, duc de Berry, sons of the Dauphin Louis, and grandsons of Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse.

[5] The site of the village of Chaillot is now in the sixteenth *arrondissement* of Paris.

[6] *Les filles de Saint-Cyr*, as Mme de Maintenon calls them elsewhere.

[7] Louis-François-Marie Le Tellier, marquis de Barbezieux (1668–1701), the son of Louvois, was at this time *secrétaire d'État* in the War Department.

[8] Autograph letter (incomplete), Harvard University Library, Sumner 26, II, no. 76. 2 pp. 4to.

[9] January 17, 1753, fell on Wednesday.

[10] Cf. La Beaumelle, *Vie de Maupertuis* (Paris, 1856, p. 169): "Octobre, 1752. M. de Maupertuis, épuisé par de continuels crachements de sang, avait quitté

Faites moy donc le plaisir de voir l'appartement du chateau et de me dire en quel etat il est, ce qui s'y trouve, et ce qui y manque.

Je vous garde ici votre exempl. de mon livre. Je ne l'ay envoyé à Potsdam qu'au Roy et à monseigneur le prince Henry.[11] Amenés moy en revanche lors que vous reviendrés . . . Non voila le jardinier de l'Academie[12] que j'envoye porter des pesches au Roy que je vous prie de charger de m'amener un nommé Melicerte qui est en pension chez Stolbec, envoyés chercher ce chien et remettés le luy avec une corde; c'est une envie de malade qui m'a pris de le voir quoyque son education ne soit pas finie. C'est Melicerte et non Mydas que je vous demande.

Le conseiller privé ne m'a point ecrit quoyque je lui eusse donné des lettres pour quelques uns de mes amis. Je m'etonne que le Marquis n'ait pas vendu ses terres à Voltaire.[13]

Voyés je vous prie mon appartement. Vale. Ama

MAUPERTUIS.[14]

## III. BUFFON TO THE PRÉSIDENT DE RUFFEY

The correspondence between Buffon and Gilles-Germain Richard de Ruffey began in 1729, when the former was twenty-two years old and the latter twenty-three, and continued until 1786.[15] The *Correspondance inédite de Buffon*, published by

Potsdam et s'était enfermé dans sa maison de Berlin, en attendant que le printemps et un rayon de convalescence lui permissent le voyage de Saint-Malo." La Beaumelle's biography of Maupertuis was written shortly after the latter's death in 1759. On December 10, 1752, Frederick the Great wrote to Maupertuis: "A présent ne pensez qu'à vos poumons, et ne sortez pas de votre chambre par le froid présent" (*Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, Paris, Garnier, 1879, XXXVII, 535).

[11] The second brother of Frederick the Great.

[12] In 1744 Frederick the Great charged Maupertuis with the reorganization of the Academy of Berlin. In compensation for this service, Maupertuis was named president of the Academy and given an apartment in the royal palace, together with a pension of 15000 *livres*.

[13] I find no reference in contemporary correspondence to any such transaction. The quarrel between Maupertuis and Voltaire was at its height when this letter was written.

[14] Autograph, Boston Public Library, Ch. G. 2. 30. 4 pp., last two pages blank. 4to.

[15] Buffon died in 1788, Ruffey in 1794. Concerning Ruffey, see the critical apparatus of the following work: *Histoire secrète de l'Académie de Dijon (de 1741 à 1770), composée et annotée par le président Richard de Ruffey*, extracts published and annotated by Maurice Lange, Paris, Hachette, 1909. M. Lange says (p. 16): "Voltaire, Buffon: voilà, en vérité, les deux noms dont Richard de Ruffey paraît obsédé, et voilà comme les pôles entre lesquels semble osciller son activité intellectuelle."

Henri Nadault de Buffon (Paris, 1860), contains seventy-three letters written by Buffon to Ruffey.

A MONSIEUR
MONSIEUR DE RUFFEY PRESIDENT
A LA CHAMBRE DES COMPTES
RUE CHAPELOTTE [16]

A DIJON

J'ai recu mon cher Ruffey les deux queues de vin que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoier et je vous en fais tous mes remerciemens; je compte vous faire toucher au vingt du mois prochain les quatre cens vingt cinq livres que je vous dois pour les huit pieces et la feuillette, car je crois que c'est toujours cent francs la queue que vous avez compté me vendre ce vin; je vous avouerai cepandant qu'il s'en faut bien que je le trouve cher a ce prix et si vous en vouliez d'avantage cela ne m'empecheroit pas d'en prendre car je le trouve tres bon pour vin d'ordinaire.[17] On a aussi ressenti icy une petite secousse de tremblement de terre le 9e Decembre a deux heures et demie apres midy,[18] elle a été si legere que tres peu de personnes s'en sont aperceues.

Nos respects je vous supplie a Madame de Ruffey.[19] Vous savez mon cher president combien je vous suis attaché et c'est assurement pour toutte ma vie.

BUFFON.[20]

le 24e Dec. 1755.

## IV. [D'ALEMBERT TO THE PRÉSIDENT HÉNAULT]

Although d'Alembert and the Président Hénault were friends for years, there was always an undercurrent of ill feeling in their relations. On the one hand, as Henri Lion says, d'Alembert "ne pardonnait pas au président d'avoir eu la bonne fortune

[16] Ruffey occupied the former *hôtel* of the Counts of Neuchâtel, rue Chapelote (now 33 rue Berbisey).

[17] Several letters written by Buffon to Ruffey in 1753 and 1755 deal with wine.

[18] The Lisbon earthquake occurred only six weeks before these lines were written.

[19] Anne-Claude, daughter of Frédéric de la Forest, baron de Montfort, chevalier de Saint-Louis. Monsieur and Madame de Ruffey were the parents of the unfortunate Sophie de Monnier, Mirabeau's mistress.

[20] Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Dreer Collection, *Letters of Scientists* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp.; third page blank, address on p. 4. 4to. Postmark on p. 4: *Montbard*. Buffon spent about eight months every year on his estate at Montbard, in Burgundy.

d'avoir connu et estimé avant lui Mme du Deffand, et peut-être d'avoir été aimé"; [21] on the other hand, Hénault took umbrage at d'Alembert's supercilious attitude towards his person and his literary productions.[22] There was one point, however, on which d'Alembert and Hénault were in perfect accord: both men had the highest regard for their common friend, the comte d'Argenson, and both remained faithful to the fallen minister until his death in 1764.

The following letter was written to Hénault by d'Alembert during d'Argenson's exile from Paris.

ce Mercredi à midi.
17 Mai 1758.

J'ai recu, mon cher et illustre confrere, votre invitation pour lundi prochain, & vous croyez bien que je ne l'oublierai pas.

Je vous supplie instamment de faire parvenir cet ouvrage [23] à la personne à qui il est dédié.[24] Pardonnez moi de vous en avoir fait un secret, vous devez en conclure que j'en ai fait un à tout le monde, mais à tout le monde sans exception. J'ai eté vingt fois tenté de rompre le silence pour vous seul, mais j'ai apprehendé que votre amitié pour moi ne me detournât d'une demarche, dont les ennemis de Mr. d'argenson ne me sauront pas bon gré.[25] J'ai eu soin que l'Epitre fut tournée de maniere à ne point déplaire au Roi,[26] je me soucie fort peu qu'elle soit agréable à d'autres, & je permets aux grands distributeurs des

[21] H. Lion, *Le Président Hénault* (*1685–1770*), Paris, 1903, p. 81.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 82–84, 96, 123, 124, note 1.

[23] The second edition of d'Alembert's *Traité de dynamique* (1758), the first edition of which, dedicated to the comte de Maurepas, was published in 1743.

[24] That is, to the comte d'Argenson. D'Alembert was also the author of the dedicatory epistle to d'Argenson that appeared in the first volume of the *Encyclopédie* (July 1, 1751).

[25] On February 1, 1757, as a result of the machinations of Mme de Pompadour, Louis XV exiled d'Argenson to Ormes, near Saumur.

[26] In his dedicatory epistle, d'Alembert, while voicing his gratitude to d'Argenson, succeeds well in not offending Louis XV. On June 7, 1758, Voltaire wrote to d'Alembert: "Vous avez fait en digne philosophe de dédier la *Dynamique* à un disgracié. Ce n'est pas qu'il entende un mot de votre livre; mais il sera plus flatté de votre attention qu'il ne l'eût été quand il donnait des audiences" (*Œuvres complètes de V.*, XXXIX, 453).

On May 22, 1758, d'Argenson thanked d'Alembert for the dedication as follows: "Le témoignage publié des sentimens d'un homme aussi illustre que vertueux réunit, Monsieur, tout ce qui est le plus capable de flater le coeur et l'esprit. Je ne puis le reconnoître que par l'amitié la plus tendre et la plus sincère . . ." (*Bulletino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche*, Rome, Sept.–Oct., 1885, p. 523).

graces, males et femelles, de me refuser ce que je leur demanderai: j'ecrirai demain à Mr. d'argenson une lettre [27] que je vous envoyerai, et que je vous prie de lui faire parvenir avec cet ouvrage. Si j'ai fait une faute en vous tenant cette dedicace secrette, je repare cette faute de mon mieux en faisant passer la dedicace par vos mains; je ne puis choisir auprés de Mr. d'argenson un interprete plus fidele de mes sentimens.[28] Vous aurez certainement le premier exemplaire de cet ouvrage, des que j'en aurai de reliés, ce qui sera, je l'espere, à la fin de la semaine. Gardez moi, je vous prie, le secret jusqu'à ce moment. J'apprends que Mr. d'argenson s'interesse pour un de nos candidats à l'academie francoise; [29] et cette raison suffiroit pour me determiner, quand je n'en aurois pas d'autres; mais je n'en dirai rien, pour n'etre pas importuné de sollicitations. à dieu, mon cher & illustre confrere, je vous embrasse et vous aime de tout mon cœur.

P.S. je n'ai point encore mon ordonnance que Mr. de Boullongne [30] m'a tant promise. Il faut apparemment y renoncer, je vivrai de mon œconomie et des bienfaits du Roi de Prusse;[31] je n'en aurai pas moins d'obligation à Mr. d'argenson; [32] mais je me flatte que Mr. de Boullongne n'exigera rien de moi.[33]

## V. [Diderot] to Suard

On January 18, 1766, Diderot wrote to Sophie Volland:

"Suard [34] est un homme que j'aime; c'est une des âmes les plus belles et les plus tendres que je connaisse; tout plein d'esprit,

[27] In this letter, d'Alembert says: "Je vous dois sans doute des excuses d'oser vous dédier cet ouvrage sans vous en avoir demandé la permission. . . . Je vous prie d'être bien persuadé que de tout ce que j'ai écrit, ou que j'écrirai jamais, rien ne me sera plus cher . . . que les trois premières pages de ce livre" (*Œuvres philosophiques, historiques et littéraires de d'Alembert*, Paris, 1805, XIV, 352).

[28] Concerning the friendship of Hénault and d'Argenson, see H. Lion, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–117.

[29] D'Argenson, before his disgrace, had had jurisdiction over Academies, theatres, libraries, and pensions to literary men. Now, although in exile, he was still making his influence felt in Paris.

[30] Jean de Boullongne (1690–1769), *contrôleur général des finances* from August 25, 1757, to March 5, 1759.

[31] Frederick the Great granted d'Alembert an annual pension of 1200 *livres* in 1754.

[32] In 1756 Louis XV, thanks to d'Argenson's recommendation, gave d'Alembert a yearly pension of 1200 *livres*.

[33] Autograph, Boston Public Library, Ch. G. 2. 1. 4 pp., last page blank. 4to. Some one has written on the manuscript: "Lettre ecrite par M. D'alembert à M. le Pt. Henault."

[34] Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Suard (1734–1817), critic and journalist. He and the abbé Arnaud were directors of the *Gazette de France* from 1762 to 1771.

de goût, de connaissances, d'usage du monde, de politesse, de délicatesse . . ." [35]

The following letter shows the degree of familiarity that existed between the two men.

A MONSIEUR
MONSIEUR SUART
DIRECTEUR GENERAL DE LA GAZETTE
DE FRANCE
AU BUREAU DE LA GAZETTE
DE FRANCE

Je vous prie, Monsieur et cher negligent, de vous ressouvenir que vous avez entre vos mains deux relations sur les convulsionaires,[36] et cela depuis deux ou trois mois, quoique vous m'eussiez promis de me les restituer au bout de deux ou trois jours. Si par hazard elles vous sont a present inutiles, remettez les au porteur. Je vous salue, vous embrasse et vous aime de tout mon coeur. Je vais me mettre tout a l'heure a la besogne que je vous ai promise. Voila tous nos amis dispersés. Nous serons donc une eternité sans nous voir. S'il faisoit beau un de ces jours et que vous me donnassiez rendezvous aux Thuilleries, sur le midi, je crois que je m'y rendrois et que nous ferions un bon diner chez l'un des Suisses, ou sous les chevaux.[37] Voyez si vous voulez que je vous doive quelques heures agréables.[38]

## VI. La Harpe [to Pierre-Michel Hennin]

Early in the year 1768 Voltaire created a sensation, first by

[35] *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, published by J. Assézat and Maurice Tourneux, Paris, Garnier, 1876, XIX, 217.

[36] The *convulsionnaires* were fanatical Jansenists in France in the eighteenth century, who gained notoriety by falling into convulsions supposed to be accompanied by miraculous cures.

[37] In speaking of the Tuileries Gardens and the Swiss Guards stationed there before the Revolution, Lefeuve says (*Les Anciennes Maisons de Paris sous Napoléon III*, Paris, 1873, I, 14): "On y trouvait à boire, ainsi que dans le café de la Terrasse . . . ; il était même permis à servir à souper jusqu'à dix heures du soir dans les cantines des gardes."—*Sous les chevaux* probably refers to an eating-house sign. The *Académie royale d'équitation* (*le Manège*) was just outside the Tuileries Gardens.

In a letter written to Sophie Volland on July 25, 1762, Diderot relates a part of a conversation that he had with Suard, "assis au frais à côté de lui, sur une chaise, aux Tuileries" (*Œuvres complètes*, XIX, 79).

[38] Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp.; pp. 2 and 3 blank, address on p. 4. Small 8vo. The date of this letter is about 1766.

expelling from Ferney his guests Jean-François de La Harpe [39] and his young wife, and shortly after by banishing Madame Denis to Paris. A report soon spread that Voltaire's harsh treatment of La Harpe was due to the latter's theft of two of Voltaire's manuscripts: the second canto of the satirical poem *La Guerre de Genève* and *Mémoires pour servir à la vie de Voltaire.* The sudden banishment of Madame Denis was not so easily explained. One rumor had it that the sixty-year-old widow was infatuated with La Harpe and was not wholly free from guilt in the affair of the manuscripts; another rumor was that Madame Denis' extravagant management of the household at Ferney had aroused her uncle's wrath. As tongues wagged throughout France, Voltaire remained in seclusion at Ferney, with no company except his servants, his secretary Wagnière, and Père Adam, a former Jesuit, who, in exchange for board and lodging, graciously allowed his host to defeat him at chess.

The following letter was addressed by La Harpe to his friend Pierre-Michel Hennin, *résident de France à Genève*, at the time when Voltaire's actions were an enigma both to his friends and to the public at large.

a Paris ce 14 avril [1768]

Monsieur,

Vous piqués beaucoup ma curiosité, mais vous ne la satisfaites point. Vous m'annoncés une étrange solution du problème qui nous embarrasse tous, et vous ne me la donnés pas. Il me semble pourtant qu'elle ne peut pas être de nature a n'être pas mise sur le papier. Me remettre a vôtre arrivée a Paris, c'est me rejetter un peu loin, et je n'ai pas besoin de cela pour la trouver beaucoup trop tardive.[40]

[39] Up to this time La Harpe, who was only twenty-nine years old, had published a number of failures and a fairly successful tragedy, *Le Comte de Warwick* (November, 1763). For some unaccountable reason Voltaire took a liking to the young writer, kept him for months at Ferney, gave him advice, and recommended him highly to his own friends. La Harpe repaid these kindnesses with ill humor, insolence, and ingratitude. For further details, see L. Perey and Gaston Maugras, *La Vie intime de Voltaire aux Délices et à Ferney (1754–1778)*, Paris, 1885, pp. 411 ff.; Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, 15 avril 1768.

[40] Cf. Perey and Maugras, *op. cit.*, p. 420:

"Les suppositions allaient toujours grand train au sujet de la solitude de Voltaire. Hennin finit par croire que l'incident du manuscrit [of *La Guerre de Genève*] jouait le plus grand rôle; accablé de questions par La Harpe, qui était fort inquiet, il lui écrivit avec beaucoup de réserve:

Tout Paris a su la scéne édifiante qui s'est passée dans l'église de Ferney.[41] On en parle bien diversement. Quant a moi qui connais l'homme, je n'en suis point du tout étonné. *Tout est permis pour la bonne cause.* Mais les gens rigides ne pensent pas de même ici, et l'on traite cette action de fausseté inutile.[42] Je suis bien sensible au zéle que vous avés mis a me deffendre.[43] Il faut qu'il ait opéré, ainsi que celui de mes amis, et des siens, car il m'a écrit une lettre de trois pages [44] de sa main fort tendre et fort grondeuse, et il m'a envoyé le certificat [45] qu'il me devait en toute equité, et qui a confondu les calomnies des méchans et des gazettes.

Je ne doute pas qu'avec vos salons, vôtre caractere et vos

" 'Il n'y a pas quatre jours, Monsieur, que j'ai la solution du problème qui vous a embarrassé, ainsi que tout Paris. Elle est étrange, soyez-en sûr, et ne me citez pas. Depuis que Ferney est vide j'ai vu quelquefois le *Patron* qui a voulu vendre sa terre et ne l'a pas fait, et ne le fera, j'espère, pas. Croiriez-vous que j'ai eu à défendre votre cause vis-à-vis de lui, et que vous m'avez coûté plusieurs lettres? Je vous conterai tout cela à mon premier voyage qui sera, j'espère, au mois d'octobre.'"

[41] Cf. Grimm, *Correspondance litt.*, 1er mai 1768:

". . . M. de Voltaire avait fait ses pâques le jour de Pâques même avec toute la ferveur d'un prosélyte et toute la pompe d'un seigneur de paroisse. Il avait fait venir de Lyon six gros cierges, et, les faisant porter devant lui avec un missel, escorté de deux gardes-chasse, il s'est rendu à l'église de Ferney où il a reçu la communion de la main de son curé. Après cette cérémonie, il a adressé aux assistants un discours pathétique sur le vol. . . . Le bruit que cette nouvelle a fait à Paris et à Versailles pendant plusieurs jours est incroyable."

Hennin wrote to La Harpe: "Vous saurez sans doute que M. de Voltaire a fait ses pâques, rendu le pain bénit et même harangué les paysans; qu'il plante, arrange, voit très peu de monde, désole ses domestiques et n'a pas l'air content. Sa communion n'a fait fortune nulle part . . ." (Perey and Maugras, *op. cit.*, p. 421).

For the probable explanation of the "scène édifiante . . . dans l'église de Ferney," see *ibid.*, pp. 418 ff.

[42] See, for example, Tronchin's comments on the "polissonneries de Voltaire avec son curé," *ibid.*, p. 424.

[43] For a letter to Voltaire in which Hennin defends La Harpe, see *Correspondance inédite de Voltaire avec P.-M. Hennin*, Paris, 1825, p. 137.

[44] This letter is not in the Moland edition of Voltaire's works.

[45] This certificate was a *Déclaration*, written at Ferney on March 31, 1768, in which Voltaire branded as calumny an article that had appeared in the *Gazette d'Utrecht* on March 18. The writer of this article asserted that Voltaire had driven La Harpe and his wife from Ferney because the future critic had "abusé de la confiance de son bienfaiteur en lui enlevant furtivement différents manuscrits précieux" (*Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, XXVII, 17).

In spite of the *Déclaration*, Voltaire had no doubt concerning La Harpe's guilt. See his letter to Monsieur et Madame de Florian, *ibid.*, XLVI, 8. Later, Voltaire forgave La Harpe and also allowed Madame Denis to return to Ferney.

études vous ne soyés heureux partout, et je vous en fais mon sincére compliment.

J'ai l'honneur d'être trés respectueusement,

Monsieur, vôtre trés humble
et trés obeissant serviteur

DE LA HARPE.[46]

## VII. DIDEROT TO MME NECKER

On August 18, 1765, Diderot wrote to Sophie Volland:

"A propos, savez-vous bien qu'il ne tient qu'à moi d'être vain! Il y a ici une Mme Necker, jolie femme et bel esprit, qui raffole de moi: c'est une persécution pour m'avoir chez elle . . . Mme Necker demeure au Marais. C'est une Genevoise sans fortune, qui a de la beauté, des connaissances et de l'esprit, à qui le banquier Necker vient de donner un très bel état."[47]

The friendship of Mme Necker and Diderot is one of the strangest in the literary history of France. On the one hand, the daughter of a Protestant clergyman, a former preceptress, "une femme austère et pure que l'ombre même d'une médisance n'a jamais effleurée et sous la plume de laquelle ne se trouve jamais un mot qui blesse les convenances";[48] on the other hand, an atheist, the author of *La Religieuse* and *Les Bijoux indiscrets*, the lover of Mme de Puisieux and Sophie Volland, and one of the most radical and most licentious of the Encyclopedists. Once acquainted with Mme Necker, Diderot esteemed and respected her; he spoke of her as "une femme qui possède tout ce que la pureté d'une âme angélique ajoute à la finesse du goût."[49] In Diderot, Mme Necker admired the brilliant writer and the ebullient conversationalist; her primness and her prudishness had a restraining effect on his unbridled pen. Diderot's letters to Mme Necker are not only couched in the most decent language, but they bear an imprint of reverential

[46] Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *Letters of Poets of Continental Europe* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp., last two pages blank. 4to.

[47] *Œuvres complètes de Diderot*, XIX, 170.

[48] Le vicomte d'Haussonville, *Le Salon de madame Necker*, I, 168.

[49] Quoted by d'Haussonville, *ibid.*, I, 163.

humility that it would be difficult to find in his other writings. The vicomte d'Haussonville, speaking of Diderot's fear of shocking Mme Necker, says:

"Je ne connais rien qui fasse plus d'honneur à madame Necker que le respect d'un homme aussi peu respectueux que l'était Diderot, et rien non plus qui fasse autant d'honneur à Diderot que cet aveu et ce regret sincère de tant d'indécences jetées au hasard dans ses livres." [50]

Diderot's letter to Mme Necker follows:

Mr. Diderot presente son tres humble respect a Madame Necker. Il ne peut accepter la partie de St. Ouen,[51] parce que sa fille [52] est malade, et que lui s'est engagé a passer le reste de la semaine a Boulogne, avec son ami Mr. Grimm. Madame Necker dira surement, comment un bon pere comme Mr. Diderot peut-il s'eloigner de son enfant, lorsqu'il ne se porte pas bien? C'est que cet enfant est convalescent, et que le pere a besoin d'aller rasseoir un peu son coeur et son esprit, dans le sein de l'amitié, et d'essayer si la solitude des champs qu'il a toujours aimée ne lui apprendroit pas a supporter celle dans laquelle il est tombé a la ville et qui lui pese toujours egalement, parce qu'il a epuisé la ressource consolante que sa tendresse avoit imaginée. Cette ressource que peu de peres ont employée consistait a visiter le nid des jeunes oiseaux et a y rapporter dans son bec la plume ou le brin de paille qui y manquoit. Il ne manque plus rien au nid des jeunes oiseaux; et le pere a ressenti le vuide qu'il rempliss-soit par la bienfaisance. Il est redevenu triste, lorsqu'il a cessé d'avoir de la sollicitude. Bonjour, Madame, occupez vous serieusement de votre santé.[53] Ne vous livrez pas trop a l'extreme sensibilité de votre ame. Tachez de vegeter un peu.

[50] *Ibid.*, I, 176.

[51] The château de Saint-Ouen, which was beautifully situated on the Seine between Paris and Saint-Denis, was purchased by M. Necker from the creditors of the prince de Soubise. For a description of the château and the pleasures enjoyed there by the Neckers and their guests, see *ibid.*, I, 125–126.

[52] Diderot's daughter, Marie-Angélique, was eighteen years old at this time (1772). The sole survivor of four children, she was idolized by her father. On November 22, 1768, Diderot wrote to Sophie Volland: "Je suis fou à lier de ma fille" (*Œuvres complètes*, XIX, 306). Marie-Angélique was the author of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Diderot*, the manuscript of which circulated in Paris as early as 1787 (published in Germany in 1813; in France in 1830).

[53] Mme. Necker suffered from extreme nervousness.

Rien n'est plus sain que l'apathie.[54] Conservez au pere et a ses enfants [55] l'interet que vous avez bien voulu y prendre et dont ils ne seroient pas indignes, s'il suffisoit, pour le meriter, d'en bien sentir le prix. Mon projet est de revenir a Paris lundi prochain; nous serons alors tous a vos ordres, excepté le jeune epoux que ses affaires particulieres tiendront a cheval une huitaine de jours qui lui paraitront bien longs, car il aime sa femme a la folie, comme il en est aimé. J'ai reçu un petit billet que je crois de Mr. de St. Lambert [56] tant il est doucement ecrit et mal peint.[57] J'aurois ete bien aise de le voir et de le remercier de quelques heures de plaisir que je lui dois; oserois je vous prier de m'acquitter. Si quelques uns de ces jours Madame Necker me faisoit signe, j'arriverois avec un petit papier dont je crois que la lecture l'amuseroit, parce qu'il a un but honnete, et qu'il n'est pas sans interet. Il a ete fait au milieu de la peine et du trouble. Je crois cependant qu'il n'y parait pas.[58] Je lui reitere mon respect.[59]
Ce 15. octobre 1772.

## VIII. L'abbé Morellet [to Mme Geoffrin?]

This letter was written about the time of the appearance of the first volumes of Le Tourneur's translation of Shakspere (1776). The abbé Morellet, who had spent some time in England, wrote from Paris to Lord Shelburne on March 12, 1776:

"M. Suard vous parlera d'une traduction de Shakespeare, dont nous sommes bien mécontens tous les deux. Nous mériterions bien mieux le nom de barbares que nous vous donnons si libéralement, si nous étions contens de voir votre grand Shakespeare ainsi défiguré. Mais soyez sûr que les gens de goût qui connoissent l'original sont indignés, et que ceux qui ne le connoissent pas le sont aussi du mauvais françois des traducteurs, qui n'écrivent pas dans notre langue, mais dans je ne sais quel jargon calqué sur les expressions de la vôtre, sans grâce, sans vérité, sans simplicité, et contre toutes les lois de la syntaxe et du goût. Le pauvre Garrick sera fou. Je ne vois pas trop com-

[54] This from Diderot!

[55] Diderot's daughter and her young husband, the marquis de Vandeul.

[56] Jean-François de Saint-Lambert (1716–1803), author of *Les Saisons*.

[57] *Peindre* here means *écrire, former les caractères*.

[58] It is impossible to determine what work Diderot had in mind.

[59] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last page blank. 8vo. The documents in the Charles Eliot Norton Collection are arranged alphabetically.

ment il pourra se défendre d'appeler en duel M. le comte de Catuelan et ses associés, pour en avoir raison." [60]

Although the name of the addressee is wanting in the following letter, I am inclined to think that the lady was Mme Geoffrin.[61]

Madame

Je suis très reconnoissant de la complaisance que vous aves eue de lire le manuscrit brouillé de mes observations sur Shakespear.[62] Le desir que vous montres qu'on oublie les fautes des grands hommes est bien digne de vous et je le partage mais avec une restriction que vous ne pouves pas refuser d'admettre. Lorsqu'on veut nous donner les fautes des grands hommes comme des beautés, lorsqu'on veut trouver dans ces fautes mêmes les modeles et les principes de l'art, il me semble qu'il est necessaire alors de s'armer de toute la severité de la critique pour defendre les interets du bon gout.[63] Vous saves, Madame, que ces circonstances sont precisément celles où j'ai ecrit ces observations. Messieurs les traducteurs ne paroissent pas disposés à continuer leur bravade.[64] Je les attendois aux volumes suivans. Mon manuscrit devient dès lors inutile mais je suis très bien payé de

[60] *Lettres de l'abbé Morellet à Lord Shelburne*, Paris, 1898, pp. 106–107. In the beginning, Le Tourneur and Jean Fontaine-Malherbe were only the assistants of the comte de Catuelan. Concerning their translation of Shakspere, M. Jusserand says: "L'œuvre était due surtout à Le Tourneur; son nom paraît sur le titre à partir du t. III; elle était très supérieure à celle de La Place, quoique fort loin de la scrupuleuse exactitude qu'on exige de nos jours. Même alors, quelques libertés par trop grandes, prises avec le texte, furent blâmées" (*Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1898, p. 288, note 1).

[61] In the letter to Lord Shelburne cited above, the abbé Morellet says: "Mme Geoffrin a eu une espèce d'attaque d'apoplexie qui nous a fort alarmés. Elle est mieux. Nous avons dîné auprès de son lit, M. Suard et moi, hier. . . ." In his *Mémoires* (Paris, 1821, I, 84), Morellet speaks of Mme Geoffrin as "cette femme estimable et bonne, à qui j'ai dû, pendant près de vingt années, une partie des agrémens de ma vie, et de véritables bienfaits." When Mme Geoffrin died (October 6, 1777), she left to Morellet, Thomas, and d'Alembert each a life annuity of 1275 *livres*.

[62] In Morellet's *Mémoires* (II, 445), mention is made of this manuscript: "*Observations sur la nouvelle traduction de Shakespeare* (celle de Le Tourneur)."

[63] The translators, in their *Épître au roi*, praised the grandeur and the originality of Shakspere's genius. This epistle, says M. Jusserand, "montrait un enthousiasme [for Shakspere] qu'on n'avait pas vu encore" (*op. cit.*, p. 289).

[64] Morellet was mistaken. The publication of Le Tourneur's translation was not completed until 1783. Morellet's *Observations*, on the other hand, has never been published.

ma peine par les choses obligeantes que vous m'écrives et je ne la reggreterois pas quand je ne l'aurois prise que pour vous.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect, Madame,

Votre très humble
et très obeissant serviteur
L'ABBÉ MORELLET.[65]

Vendredi.

## IX. Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld to [Benjamin] Franklin

From the time of Franklin's arrival in Paris in 1776 [66] until his death in 1790, the duc de La Rochefoucauld [67] carried on an intimate correspondence with him. The following note was written about 1777.

Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld est chargé par Madame sa mere [68] de demander à Monsieur Franklyn cinq ou six exemplaires de la *Lettre du Banquier hollandois*,[69] qui fut lue Lundi dernier à l'hotel de la Rochefoucauld. Si Monsieur Franklyn n'étoit pas engagé Lundi prochain et qu'il voulût venir y diner, on auroit grand plaisir à l'y recevoir, et on le prieroit de vouloir

[65] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last two pages blank. 4to.

[66] Franklin resided in Paris from December 21, 1776, to July 12, 1785. He also visited Paris in the summer of 1767, and spent July and August, 1769, in that city.

[67] Louis-Alexandre, duc de La Roche-Guyon et de La Rochefoucauld d'Anville (b. 1743), became a member of the Académie des Sciences in 1782. One of the most intelligent leaders of the opening years of the French Revolution, he was obliged to flee from Paris in 1792 on account of his moderate views. While passing through Gisors, he was stoned by a mob in the presence of his mother and his wife, and died later from his wounds. Always a warm friend of the United States, he published the following translation: *Constitutions des treize États-Unis de l'Amérique* (1783). For the relations of Franklin and the duc de La Rochefoucauld, see Edward Everett Hale and E. E. Hale, Jr., *Franklin in France*, Boston, 1887, Index. For a number of letters from the duc de La Rochefoucauld to Franklin, see *Calendar of the Papers of B. F.*, Philadelphia, 1908, Index.

[68] Marie-Louise-Élizabeth-Nicole de La Rochefoucauld, duchesse d'Anville. For a letter from her to Franklin, see *Calendar*, II, 251.

[69] The *Lettre d'un Banquier hollandois*, which appeared in *Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique* (VII, vii ff.), a periodical directed from 1776 to 1779 by Benjamin Franklin, Court de Gébelin, Robinet, and others, discusses the financial credit of Great Britain and the United States. The author concludes thus (p. xix): "Tout pesé, il paroît qu'attendu l'industrie générale, l'économie, la richesse, la prudence & la probité de l'Amérique, elle est une débitrice beaucoup plus assurée que la Grande-Bretagne, dont les empruns ruineux décèlent sa pauvreté & la ruine de son commerce."

bien proposer à Monsieur Deane [70] et à Monsieur son petit fils [71] d'y venir aussi. S'il y avoit quelque nouvelle d'Amérique le duc de la Rochefoucauld espere que Monsieur Franklyn voudroit bien les lui mander.[72] Jeudi matin.

(*To be continued*)

Richmond Laurin Hawkins

Harvard University

[70] In February, 1776, Silas Deane was sent to France by Congress as a business agent. On account of extravagant contracts made by him, he was recalled in November, 1777. He left Paris on April 1, 1778.

[71] William Temple Franklin served as private secretary to his grandfather during the latter's entire stay in Paris.

[72] Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers*. 2 pp., second page blank. 8vo.

# LA JEUNE FILLE VIOLAINE

## The Evolution of a Theme, its Significance in the Drama of Paul Claudel [1]

THE theme of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* is one which long preoccupied Paul Claudel. It furnished him the subject-matter of two dramas written at widely separated periods, *La Jeune Fille Violaine* (1892) and *L'Annonce faite à Marie* (1912), a rehandling of a second version of the former play. The first version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* remained in its manuscript form until 1926, when it was published by the Editions Excelsior.[2] Up to that date, the play was known in a revised version, which came out in 1900, later in *L'Arbre* in 1901, and, finally, in the *Théâtre* in 1911–12. So, for twenty years from the composition of the original version in 1892 to the performance of *L'Annonce faite à Marie* in 1912, the figure of the heroic Violaine hovered in the mind of the dramatist and took its definitive features only after a long process of slow gestation.

From the standpoint of literary significance, *La Jeune Fille Violaine* can undoubtedly be considered the first play truly Claudelian in technique and spirit; *Tête d'Or* (1889) and *La Ville* (1890) represent an art which the author soon tried to forsake for one more in accordance with his genius. Accordingly, a comparative study of the three treatments of this theme cannot fail to throw interesting sidelights upon Claudel's technique at different stages of its evolution, especially if such a study takes into consideration its later developments and applications as exemplified in his last plays.[3]

[1] The writer takes pleasure in expressing his appreciation to Miss Mary C. Shemorry, of the Milwaukee Public Library, who kindly read the manuscript with critical care and made suggestions concerning the English style. Her assistance was such a generous one that it could not be passed in silence.

[2] Paul Claudel, *La Jeune Fille Violaine*. Première version inédite de 1892, avec préface de Jean Royère, 3e édition, Editions Excelsior, 1926, XI-168 pp.

[3] In his preface to the original version, Jean Royère has broached the subject. In a broad synthesis pointing out the possibilities of the problem, he indicated some

As far as length is concerned, the two versions of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* have remained substantially the same; *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, however, is somewhat longer. The fundamental idea underlying the plot in the three texts has been preserved identical in its main developments, the leit-motiv is always the triumph of Divine Love over the Profane in a conflict which brings to a clash the heroisms and prohibitions of spiritual life and the urges and cravings of instinctive life. The struggle between the opposing forces assumes different proportions and unfolds itself through different manifestations and against different settings. Important modifications have been made by the author in the course of time. Characters have been eliminated or transformed to fit better with the ripening or deepening of his conceptions. As a result, episodes have been added or dropped, and the wording itself has not escaped significant changes.

Of all the characters falling within the scope of this study, none can be said to have evolved in the various *remaniements* as much as Violaine. Here, as later in the case of Pierre de Craon, one can notice a steady aggrandizement and elevation from the purely human to the highly mystical plane. In the first version, she is an earnest and innocent peasant girl, ignorant of the ways of supernatural life, and unaware of the designs of grace upon her. Her personality is overshadowed and relegated into the background by that of her father, on whose spiritual strength she is entirely dependent. In the second version, she relies much more on her own powers. Initiated into the secrets of mystical life, she is a saint illumined by direct and conscious possession of divine light and wisdom. Spontaneously, and without worrying about the inevitable results, she allows herself to be won over to her mission by the sacramental kiss which she receives from the leper Pierre de Craon. In the last treatment of the theme, the heroine has grown into a full understanding of her vocation and soars so high in the ethereal regions of im-

of the distinguishing features of the first and second versions, but without entering into a detailed discussion and without making more than very casual references to *L'Annonce faite à Marie*. As far as the stylistic evolution, the replacing of the three texts in the history of Claudel's work and the statement of their significance are concerned, he did not even touch the subject. His treatment, intended only as a preface, was necessarily sketchy.

manent spirituality that she is no longer a mere human being. Confirmed in the possession of the divine spirit, she stands absolutely sure of herself and of her strength.

The character of Pierre de Craon who, under the rustic name of Eloi Baube, is a modest and unassuming if not almost negligible figure in the first version, has undergone an evolution similar to that of Violaine. In the original treatment, the vivifier, the transmitter of divine grace is Anne Vercors. Later, Pierre de Craon is stripped of his humanity, elevated above other mortals and becomes the ardent lover of Violaine, her strength and her inspiration. Spiritualized as it is in the second version, his figure is still more so in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, where cut away from the company of his fellow-men and freed from material cares, he becomes in the temporal realm a *père d'églises* and, in the spiritual, a doctor and a confessor of his faith, a victim of his mission. The exquisite beauty of his inspired hymns, exposing the ways of inner life, give *L'Annonce faite à Marie* a touch of sublimity not to be found in the previous treatments of the theme.

The aggrandizement of Pierre de Craon and Violaine, it must be said, was done to the detriment of Anne Vercors. Whatever was added to them in the later versions was simply taken away from Violaine's father, whose figure assumes less imposing proportions as the two others take on full development. Introduced first under the biblical figure of a patriarch, concerned with the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people, he presents the medieval intermingling of mystical raptures and burlesque outbursts. In the later treatments, the mystic wonderment is more sober, and the burlesque motive disappears almost entirely. Although less important and less poetic than in the first version, where he is the central pillar upon which is superimposed the whole dramatic structure, he fits in more harmoniously with the essential tenets of Claudel's doctrine. His philosophy of life and his conception of the supremacy of the spirit are based upon close logic and not upon mysterious impulsions and intuitions. Moreover, his figure is sketched with deeper strokes and in more relief. In *L'Annonce faite à Marie* especially, the ethereal-like halo has been cast aside and the features have been chiselled with a firmer hand.

In direct opposition to the disinterested and noble figures of Violaine, Pierre de Craon and Anne Vercors, stands Mara who symbolizes the ways of the flesh or the promptings of the material world in conflict with that of grace and spirit. Given up entirely to earthly pursuits, she becomes even more passionate and relentless in the successive *remaniements*. In the first version, Mara does not try to motivate or justify her crime against her sister; in the second, she asserts that her act of violence was unavoidable, nay, that it was necessary if she wanted to keep her husband all to herself. To zeal and ambition, she adds in *L'Annonce faite à Marie* envy for those persons or things that are obstacles to the achievement of her aims. She becomes, at times, a skeptic, if not an unbeliever, and she wields the arms of sarcasm and irreverence.

Her husband, Jacques Hury, is a very different character. The dramatist has depicted him as a robust and unsophisticated peasant, possessed with sound commonsense and limited understanding of idealistic principles. Unwilling to take any chances, he follows what seems to him the safest and most probable side of any question. In the second version, his fundamental traits of character are somewhat tempered with strong emotionalism culminating in a lyrical effusion which may be considered one of the most beautiful passages of the entire play. The final characterization presents poise and moderation coupled with remarkable mellowness. The tendency on the part of the playwright seems to have been to eliminate those traits which suggested too much emotivity and lack of sentimental discipline.

These last remarks bring the study of the main characters and their development to a conclusion.[4] The differences in

[4] At this point of our study, it may not be without interest to point out the changes made to the names of the characters. In the second version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* and in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, Bibiane became Mara, Jacquin Uri Jacques Hury, and Eloi Baube Pierre de Craon. Eloi Baube was a suitable name for a humble peasant but an aristocratic appellation was considered more suggestive of the respect and consideration due to an engineer or an architect entrusted with a divine mission. The more rustic and popular form Jacquin Uri has been replaced by Jacques Hury, as a natural result of the general tendency toward greater refinement and decorum. Bibiane was stripped of her common peasant name to assume the unusual and symbolic one of Mara. Should we see in this last substitution a trace of Oriental influence, as Mara is identified in Buddhism with Satan, or the principle of evil?

portrayal have been motivated by the greater symbolic significance gradually given to Violaine. As the play grew more mystical in atmosphere and meaning, the other characters were necessarily subordinated in their evolution to that of Violaine and underwent transformations to give the latter more relief and more importance as the central figure of the play. A few characters of secondary importance were also added, dropped or modified to fit in with new episodes or changes of atmosphere, but one need not study them as they are totally insignificant from the standpoint of plot and action.

The modifications brought to the settings and the background of the action are most interesting for they are entirely in keeping with the changes undergone by the characters and reflect the same preoccupations on the part of the author. In the first version, the action takes place at no definite time of history and is set against a bucolic background where grotesque and sublime, ridiculous and lofty are found side by side. At the thought of Violaine's marriage Anne Vercors gives vent to his happiness in remarks and stories to children of a decidedly burlesque tone. The rustic element also appears with a long folk tale which Violaine relates to the children.

As a consequence of the omission of the rustic and burlesque episodes, in addition to the transformations undergone by the characters, the second version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* presents an atmosphere of deeper spirituality. The first version did not offer such a harmonious interpretation of earthly and mystical motives but more of an incongruous juxtaposition of dissimilar and repellent elements. The rough edges left unpolished gave the play an aspect of utter primitiveness which has been greatly reduced in the second treatments, where the action has assumed more unity and concentration.

The tendency toward simplification of action and spiritualization of atmosphere has also inspired Claudel with numerous and most important modifications to the framework of *L'Annonce*

The fact that the second version of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* was published in 1899–1900 might give this conjecture more than a mere appearance of likelihood. At that time, Claudel had already passed several years in the Far East as a diplomat, and was just writing his *Connaissance de l'Est*, which came out the following year.

*faite à Marie.* Here, the action no longer takes place in modern times, as in the second version, of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, but centers around Monsanvierge in the Middle Ages. The hill of Monsanvierge with its cloister symbolizes purity, prayer and self-denial. The heroes of the drama—Violaine and Pierre de Craon—are introduced in a prologue presenting the essential data around which the plot is woven. From the second act, the play takes the appearance of a liturgical office. It is noon, the hour of perfect peace. A woman's voice is heard from the summit of the tower reciting the Latin text of the *Salve Regina.* Violaine appears clad in a hemp dress, wrapped in a dalmatic of gold cloth decorated with blue and red flowers, the colors of hope and sacrifice, and wearing a diadem on her head. In the third act, the reading of the French text of the Christmas office by Mara and the singing in Latin by the Angels' Choir heard only by Violaine permeates the action with an atmosphere of mystical grandeur not found in previous treatments. Clearer than in *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, Pierre de Craon's explanation of his mission at the end of the play has retained, nevertheless, the same wealth of symbolism. Deprived of its huge and involved figures and metaphors, it is more in conformity with the requirements of dramatic technique and stagecraft. The closing of the action with the exaltation of Violaine by Pierre de Craon and Anne Vercors is most fitting and in perfect harmony with the spirit of the play. As can be readily seen from the preceding remarks, *L'Annonce faite à Marie* is a miracle play where the human element has been minimized as much as possible. Found side by side with the divine in the first version, reduced considerably in the second, it has almost disappeared in *L'Annonce faite à Marie.* Accordingly, the plot has been simplified and the action has become more unified and dramatic.

These important changes made to the general structure of the drama necessarily involved certain modifications of the text. Stylistic details had to be reworked to harmonize with a new setting or a feature receiving more emphasis in a character. Lack of space in a study of this nature prevents, unfortunately, one from quoting and analyzing long extracts. Yet, a few references to typical *refontes* will furnish ample confirmation of

Claudel's constant striving toward greater formal perfection by a rehandling of imagery and a fuller development of rhythmical measures. For instance, upon reading in both versions of *La Jeune Fille Violaine, eh bien,* the text of Anne Vercors' apostrophe to his wife, *O femme,* . . . [5] one cannot help noticing that, although similar in their underlying ideas, they differ in wording to an appreciable degree. The author eliminated or modified in the revision those expressions or images, which were too realistic, too direct, so as to give the entire passage a more poetic touch either by the amplification of images or metaphors too concise in their original form or by the substitution of a smoother word or epithet. In addition to the greater flexibility of the diction, the thought became clearer. It is interesting to note that all the rhythmical measures in the second version have as points of support the conjunction *et: et voici, et puis.* From the standpoint of prosody, this represents a considerable progress over the original text with the heavy *voici que* and *et voici que.* The elimination of those two *que* which slow down the movement was a happy one. There are also numerous cases where a passage has been completely elaborated in the second version to develop or stress a statement made by one of the characters. Among others, the speech in which Anne Vercors asserts his intention of giving Violaine as a wife to Jacques Hury is quite illustrative of this process.[6] The text has been considerably lengthened in the later treatment. Not only does the additional material reflect greater conviction and authority on the part of Violaine's father, but it also gives us, and very appropriately, a moral picture of Jacques Hury about whom we hear for the first time. The development has made it possible for the playwright to change a very matter of fact passage into a more poetic one. Claudel improved still more upon this passage when he wrote *L'Annonce faite à Marie.* In the final revision, he was concerned with the addition and amplification of rhythmical elements. An examination of the long lyrical monologue in which Anne Vercors expresses his joy of having fulfilled faithfully his lifework might also serve as a basis for a proper appreciation of

[5] Version 1, act 1, pp. 1–2; version 2, act 1, pp. 27–28.

[6] Version 1, act 1, pp. 3–4; version 2, act 1, p. 29.

Claudel's ability to improve on passages of an already remarkable artistry.[7] The broad and catching measure of the first version has become sweeping in the revision, a masterpiece of exquisite lyricism. The study of the corresponding passage in *L'Annonce faite à Marie* would show that these characteristics of stylistic refinement have been accentuated to a marked degree in the final revision.[8] The calm and powerful enthusiasm of Anne Vercors is garbed in the smoothest and most magnificent language. The elaborate metaphors of the previous version have been simplified, and hence a corresponding development of emotional intensity and artistic tenor.

The greeting of the *Song of Songs* found in both versions of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* [9] presents notable modifications in its later form, where it is permeated with more enthusiasm and youthful lyricism. It is sufficient to read the two texts in succession to realize to what extent they differ. Instead of the more repressed outpouring of the first version, we find in the second a lyrical outburst where the beauty and charm of his fiancée have inspired Jacques with a more flowery and poetic imagery. Later, the passage was dropped entirely in *L'Annonce faite à Marie.*

We might continue to bring forth additional evidence to the effect that, with the rehandlings of the theme, there has been a very definite stylistic evolution based upon transformation undergone by action and characters. It would be useless, however, to mention and analyze pages or paragraphs indefinitely. The examples already cited and explained prove sufficiently Claudel's striving for simplicity and refinement of expression. More especially in *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, the attempt to establish a proper balance between thought and expression has induced him to extend the scruple of revision to such details as the polishing of a sentence, the recasting of a metaphor, or the softening of a rhythm.

The three treatments of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* are of especial significance inasmuch as they show the gradual unfolding of the

[7] Version 1, act 1, pp. 13–14; version 2, act 1, pp. 40–42.
[8] *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, act 1, pp. 60–62.
[9] Version 1, act 11, p. 51; version 2, act 11, p. 59.

chrysalized thought of the author. Much progress has been made since *Tête d'Or* (1889) and *La Ville* (1890) with their obscure language and breathless rhythm. The theme of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, especially in its last treatment, is remarkably free from the artificialities which can be found on almost any page of the previous plays. With *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, it seemed that the dramatist would throw away the clogs which he had been dragging since the beginning of his career. The further progress made in that direction in *L'Otage* (1914) constituted more than a promise, almost a realization. The play contained admirable parts, above all the Cornelian-like second act. It was stamped with unusual simplicity of style and dramatization of plot. But the strange psychology, the abstruse symbolism and often unrestrained lyricism of *Le Pein dur*, *Le Père humilié*, and *Le Soulier de Satin* [10] show us, however, that Claudel has remained essentially the man of his first works and that he failed to achieve again the wonderful stylization of *L'Annonce faite à Marie.*

In the last treatment of *La Jeune Fille Violaine*, the dramatic qualities were enhanced. The incongruous mixture of repellent elements, the long monologues or dialogues of a lyrical trend, the rhapsodical and exoteric language disappeared. The play has no dramatic probability; yet, it can be considered a great miracle play. It has a unity and a compactness which are not to be found in the other dramatic works of Claudel. Although they are types, the characters are definite and clearcut. A notable feature is their number and their essential importance. In most of Claudel's plays, all the action revolves around one or two characters and the others are deprived of any individuality of their own: Cébès, Simon, Besme, Cœuvre, Lala, Yse, Badilon or Pensée never take any definite shape; they are just as hazy at the end as at the beginning of the action. The explanation of this evolution is to be sought in the fact that the earlier plays were concerned with the study of special aspects of truth, while

[10] The entire play has not been published as yet. The first act or *journée* appeared in 1925 in the collection *Le Roseau d'Or*, Plon. Cf. *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 18 avril 1925, Frédéric Lefèvre, *Une heure avec Paul Claudel*. The author reproduced this interview in his *Sources de Claudel*, Lemercier, 1927, pp. 131–164.

the trilogy of *La Jeune Fille Violaine* is devoted to a consideration of the whole network of Christian doctrine. *Tête d'Or* (1889), *La Ville* (1890), *L'Échange* (1894), *Le Repos du Septième Jour* (1896) and *Le Partage de Midi* (1906) are fragments of a vast fresco which the author completed and brought together in the definitive treatment of *La Jeune Fille Violaine.* The latter is the complete epic of Christian life; omnipresence of God, priority of the claims of spiritual life, pre-established scheme of the universe, doctrine of harmony and order in the fidelity of man to his vocation, the very kernel of Claudel's mystical system, have received their clearest, most powerful and most artistic exposition in *L'Annonce faite à Marie.* The dramas written afterward, *L'Otage* (1914), *Le Pain dur* (1918), *Le Père humilié* (1920), reverted to the episodic or fragmentary character of the earlier ones.

This feature could hardly be overemphasized for, in this regard, *L'Annonce faite à Marie* constitutes the very synthesis of Claudelian Art. Range of doctrine, abstraction of thought, clearness of expression and intensity of dramatic interest have been brought together in a compromise, and the attempt to integrate into an artistic unit elements apparently dissimilar has been most successful. Claudel solved this difficult problem in such a way as to surrender the least possible of that which is most typical of his personality. This is probably his greatest and most significant contribution as a dramatic author. He brought new esthetic values to French literature. Had he stayed entirely within tradition, his work would not have been so original and so meaningful. Whatever may be the fortune of his drama, he will always be remembered as the author of *L'Annonce faite à Marie.* This should be sufficient to his glory. The perfect expression of his full personality was achieved only after three painstaking attempts and twenty long years of meditation and striving. But the effort was worth while, and on no other occasion could the Latin saying *Vita brevis, ars longa* be quoted more appropriately than in reference to *L'Annonce faite à Marie,* conceived in 1892 and completed in 1912.

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# WASHINGTON IRVING AND ITALY

WASHINGTON IRVING'S first approach to Italian literature was one of the most delightful experiences of the author's early youth. This took place in 1792 when a copy of Hoole's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, which had just been published, came by chance into his hands. Its many tales of romantic adventure and fantastic journeys, its vivid descriptions of innumerable battles and tournaments, and the interesting accounts of endless exploits of romantic heroes and heroines made a tremendous impression upon young Irving's mind. Indeed, all this stirred up his enthusiasm to such a pitch that he would often try to imitate the feats of arms of which he had been reading, and sallying forth into his yard with wooden sabre to engage in single combat with some playmate, he would shout with a threatening tone:

> "Where'er my footsteps go, my deeds proclaim,
> War is my sport, and Rodomont my name." [1]

Irving's introduction to Ariosto was followed by an intimate acquaintance with other Italian authors, particularly Dante and Petrarch. His interest in the latter poet became so great that during a journey through France in 1804 he made a special trip to Vaucluse, in order to visit the famous spot where some of the Italian poet's most important works had either been produced or at least conceived. The deep regret which he experienced in failing to achieve the purpose of his pilgrimage there is clearly shown by the following extract from a letter to his nephew.

"I set off for Avignon," he writes, "full of enthusiasm at the thought of visiting the tomb of Laura, and of wandering amid the wild retreats and romantic solitudes of Vaucluse. . . . I inquired for the Church of Cordeliers that contained the tomb of the belle Laura. Judge my surprise, my disappointment, and my indignation, when I was told that the church, tomb, and all,

[1] *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, by his nephew Pierre M. Irving, London, H. J. Bohn, 1864, vol. I, p. 12.

were utterly demolished in the time of the revolution. Never did the revolution, its authors and its consequences, receive a more hearty and sincere execration than at that moment. Throughout the whole of my journey I had found reason to exclaim against it for depriving me of some valuable curiosity or celebrated monument, but this was the severest disappointment it had yet occasioned." [2]

In 1804 Irving left France for Italy. He landed at Genoa on the 17th of September and remained there for eight weeks. Hall Storm, an old friend of his, who was then the American Vice-Consul in that city, introduced him to its élite society which cordially received him. This marked the beginning of a period of intellectual and social enjoyment which was to continue throughout his sojourn in that country. Genoa's magnificent palaces, churches and gardens, its many architectural wonders and the gracious hospitality of its people afforded Irving considerable enjoyment and made him feel that "in such a delightful environment it would be impossible for any one to be otherwise than happy." [3]

Previous to his departure from Genoa Lady Shaftesbury gave him some letters of introduction which she had obtained for him from some of the nobility to their friends in Florence, Rome, and Naples, but instead of proceeding directly to these cities, Irving sailed for Sicily, which especially attracted him because of its romantic and inspiring atmosphere. When he reached Messina, the ship on which he had sailed was put under quarantine. During this term of isolation he devoted most of his time to studying Italian and to reading a number of books on Sicily which he had succeeded in securing from shore.

Upon being released he continued his journey through the island and later through the other southern provinces of Italy.

In the course of this journey young Irving clearly shows how deeply influenced he must have been by his previous reading of works of fiction by certain authors who, giving vent to their exalted imagination and to their fondness for the sensational, greatly exaggerated the prevalence of bandits in Italy and the

[2] *Op. cit.*, I, 39.
[3] *The Story of an Italian.*

acts of brigandage committed by them.[4] For as he was passing through that territory he was constantly obsessed by the idea that at every turn he would be confronted by some fierce looking bandit whose only thought was to assassinate the tranquil and harmless traveller. The little huts scattered here and there in the distance seemed to him like savage dens, a refuge for homicides, fratricides, infanticides, and the like. Not daring to venture forth alone, therefore, in the midst of so many dangers, he wisely provided himself with an efficient and reliable escort, consisting of a large number of guides and muleteers. The whole company, armed to the teeth, proceeded very cautiously on their way, but of course nothing happened.

The peaceful outcome of such an expedition, however, was not enough to reassure Irving, for sometime later he again gave evidence of the terrible fear to which he was a prey. While travelling through the Abruzzi, he was obliged, for lack of better quarters, to put up at one of the most isolated houses in that district. During the night, he was aroused by a mysterious knocking. The first thought that occurred to him was that bandits were trying to get into the house, in order to attack him. He at once called his servant, and the two, armed with pistols, rushed to the door, threw it open, and made ready to fall upon the intruders. But it was only a stray and famished dog looking for shelter and food.

Contrary to his expectations, Irving failed to have at any time any of the hair-raising experiences which he had anticipated.

[4] It may be worth noting in this connection that bandits were a favorite topic not only for writers, but also for artists. "Before I embarked for London," declares Washington Allston, who as yet had not visited Italy, "my favorite subjects, with an occasional comic intermission, were *banditti*. I well remember one of these, where I thought I had happily succeeded in cutting a throat! The subject of this previous performance was robbers fighting with each other for the spoils, over the body of a murdered traveller,—and clever ruffians I thought them. I did not get rid of this *banditti* mania until I had been over a year in England. It seems that a fondness for subjects of violence is common with young artists. One might suppose that the youthful mind would delight in scenes of an opposite character. Perhaps the reason of the contrary may be found in this, that the natural condition of youth being one of incessant excitement from the continual influx of novelty—for all about us must at one time be new—it must needs have something fierce, terrible or unusual, to force it above its wonted tone" (*The Artists of America* by C. Edwards Lester, p. 9, New York, Baker and Scribner, 1846).

Instead of the occasional brigand, robber or highwayman, whom one might encounter in Italy as well as in any other country at that time, he met with peaceful, honest, and hard-working people. As a result of this, Irving could not but modify his views of Italian *banditti*. So that in his *Tales of a Traveller* we have a strikingly different conception of them from that which had been conveyed by previous writers. In this work there are indeed ample references to murders, robberies, acts of plundering and extortion, abductions and other outrages attributed to this "desperate class of men," but we are given to understand that they are based on prevalent rumors, rather than on actual facts.

The bloody tales which are served up with every meal by the innkeeper of the Inn at Terracina are received with the utmost incredulity on the part of his guest, the Englishman, and the various reports relative to the frightful experiences which travellers had had with bandits are condemned as fabrications or exaggerations. And this with good reason, for practically everyone who travelled through the mountainous regions of Central and Southern Italy, including those who were heavily guarded and protected against any eventuality, never failed to give to their credulous hearers sensational accounts of the many perils which they had encountered on the way, but which in reality they had never experienced.

"The formidable number and formidable guard of the *proccaccio*, had prevented any molestation from *banditti;* but every party of travellers had its tales of wonder, and one carriage vied with another in its budget of assertions and surmises. Fierce, whiskered faces had been seen peering over the rocks; carbines and stilettos gleaming from among the bushes; suspicious-looking fellows, with flapped hats, and scowling eyes, had occasionally reconnoitred a straggling carriage, but had disappeared on seeing the guard." [5]

Italian *banditti*, in Irving's eyes, are no longer criminals pursued by justice and ever ready to engage in acts of violence, but, like the Chieftain, they are liberty loving creatures who in their efforts to rid their country of tyrants and despots have been forced to flee to the mountains and form a combination whereby

[5] *The Inn at Terracina*, p. 209.

they may "revenge themselves for the wrongs and injuries which most of them have suffered." [6] Or perhaps, like the young robber, they are the authors of some crime committed through a fit of jealousy, or during a sudden outburst of passion to which their fiery temperament is rather prone. None of these outlaws has lost any of the human instincts or human sympathies proper to good and upright men; all of them have preserved intact certain inherent qualities which one can not fail to admire: a deep love of nature and art; a strict adherence to obedience, even if it be only in reference to their chief; a high respect for their church, and a sincere devotion to their religion.

But we should also remember here that young Irving, possessing as he did a deeply romantic temperament and finding that the life of these beings and the singular country they infested were full of romance, proceeded to impart to the setting and to the characters of his stories a strong element of romanticism. His *banditti* are strong, muscular men, picturesquely attired, adventurous, brave, and, in spite of their profession, quite pleasing and attractive. Indeed, what persons could there be more charming and amiable than the jovial young bandits who entertained the little antiquary at the inn, paid for his drinks, sang, laughed, and joked with him and finally took leave of him "as friends and comrades" without relieving him of his watch, nor of his money, nor of his treatise on his discoveries in the ancient cities of the Pelasgi which he valued above all else? And where could one find a more courteous and a more obliging gentleman than the chieftain who amuses the painter with the story of his own life, treats him to a repast which "never appeared to him more excellent or picturesque," poses for him as "the most docile of subjects" while he sketches his likeness on a sheet of paper, "orders his companions to collect some dry moss, arranges with his own hands a kind of mattress and pillow of it, and gives him his ample mantle as a covering," so that he may sleep more comfortably, and finally on parting takes him by the hand and requests permission to write to him.

In view of all this is it any wonder that, in spite of the fact that the gentlemen (in their party) were eased of their purses and

[6] *Tales of a Traveller*, p. 174.

their watches and the ladies of their jewels, the Misses Hopkins should be "quite delighted with their adventure" with the brigands? In truth, "they declared the captain of the band to be a most romantic-looking man—they dared to say some unfortunate lover, or exiled nobleman: and several of the band to be very handsome young men—'quite picturesque!'" [7]

Irving's portrayal of the Italian *banditti*, therefore, is in truth a most sympathetic one, and was evidently intended in part at least to rectify, if not to dispel once for all, the fanciful and exaggerated notions which most people had been led to entertain concerning them.

Irving's journey to Naples was made in a fruit-boat. As he entered the beautiful Bay of Naples, and gazed upon that lovely coast studded with shining towns and sumptuous villas, he was enchanted, and when he made his way through the city he was greatly impressed by the many and varied manifestations of Neapolitan life with which he came into contact. "My heart," he wrote, "expanded into a riot of vague but delicious emotion. The beauty of nature intoxicated, bewildered me. The song of the peasants; their cheerful looks; their happy avocations; the picturesque gaiety of their dresses; their rustic music; their dances; all broke upon me like witchcraft. My soul responded to the music, my heart danced in my bosom. All the men appeared amiable, all the women lovely."

If we now turn to Irving's *Tales of a Traveller*, we shall find in them familiar scenes which are characteristic of Italy in general and of Southern Italy in particular: people in towns and villages enjoying themselves in the open air, playing, singing, or chatting in groups in the public squares; lovers standing beneath their sweethearts' windows and serenading them with their guitars; *improvvisatori* delivering with enthusiasm their impromptus after securing the bystanders' attention and after awakening their curiosity; shepherds in their picturesque dress tending their flocks and followed by their ever-constant companion, the dog; devout men and women prostrate before some votive candles which were burning before the image of a saint in a side-chapel of some church.

[7] *The Adventure of the Hopkins Family*, p. 198.

In Rome, which was the next place he visited after Naples, Irving had the good fortune to meet Washington Allston, the well-known American painter, who accompanied him on his peregrinations through the eternal city. Under his excellent guidance, he was able to acquire and develop a real appreciation of the numerous works of art which he saw there. His mind, which was fully open to new impressions, was readily susceptible to the peculiar influence which Rome invariably exerts upon her visitors; and he felt very much inclined to settle there permanently with a view to devoting the rest of his life to painting.

"Mr. Allston and I," he says in his Diary, "had been visiting a stately villa, with its gallery of paintings, its marble halls, its terraced gardens set out with statues and fountains, and were returning to Rome about sunset. The blandness of the air, the serenity of the sky, the transparent purity of the atmosphere, and that nameless charm which hangs about an Italian landscape, had derived additional effect from being enjoyed in company with Allston, and pointed out by him with the enthusiasm of an artist. As I listened to him, and gazed upon the landscape, I drew in my mind a contrast between our different pursuits and prospects. He was to reside among these delightful scenes, surrounded by masterpieces of art, by classic and historic monuments, by men of congenial minds and tastes, engaged like him in the constant study of the sublime and beautiful. I was to return home to the dry study of the law, for which I had no relish, and, as I feared, little talent.

"Suddenly the thought presented itself, 'Why might I not remain here, and turn painter.' I had taken lessons in drawing before leaving America, and had been thought to have some aptness, as I certainly had a strong inclination for it. I mentioned the idea to Allston, and he caught at it with eagerness. Nothing could be more feasible. We would take an apartment together. He would give me all the instruction and assistance in his power, and was sure I would succeed.

"For two or three days the idea took full possession of my mind, but I believe it owed its main force to the lovely evening ramble in which I first conceived it, and to the romantic friendship I had formed with Allston. Whenever it recurred to mind, it was always connected with beautiful Italian scenery, palaces, and statues, and fountains, and terraced gardens, and Allston as the companion of my studio. I promised myself a world of enjoyment in his society, and in the society of several artists

with whom he had made me acquainted, and pictured forth a scheme of life all tinted with the rainbow hues of youthful promise.

"My lot in life, however, was differently cast. Doubts and fears gradually clouded over my prospect; the rainbow tints faded away: I began to apprehend a sterile reality, so I gave up the transient but delightful prospect of remaining in Rome with Allston, and turning painter." [8]

The last part of Irving's Italian journey was covered in considerable haste. He galloped through Northern Italy, and failed to visit even such celebrated cities as Florence and Venice. This was partly due to the fact that he was very anxious to get back to Paris in order to attend a course of lectures which was just about to begin. His main reason, however, was that his mind had been so fatigued by the constant succession of artistic marvels which he saw in Rome that, as he himself confessed, he hardly had room in his head for another city. Thus, our romantic youth, who was so easily impressed and so easily disillusioned, hurried through Bologna and Milan and returned to France on May 2, 1805.

But in spite of this abrupt end, Irving's journey through Italy was a very enjoyable and a most profitable one. It brought him into close touch with Italian culture and with Italian civilization; it stimulated his interest in Italian art and made him such an enthusiast for Italian music that he would attend Italian opera regularly in whatever country he happened to be "with the eagerness of an Italian"; it encouraged him likewise in his study of the Italian language and literature as shown by his references to Lorenzo de'Medici in *Salmagundi*, to Dante and Metastasio in his *Tales of a Traveller*, to Petrarch, Boccaccio, Macchiavelli, Sannazzaro and Alfieri in his *Journals;* and, last but not least, it furnished him with the inspiration for some of his most delightful stories in the *Tales of a Traveller*.

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[8] *Life and Letters of Washington Irving*, I, 73.

# MISCELLANEOUS

## DANTE'S COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SEVEN PLANETS AND THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS

IN the fourteenth chapter of the second treatise of the *Convivio* Dante draws a comparison between the seven planets and seven sciences of the Trivium and Quadrivium. According to his view, the Moon corresponds to Grammar, Mercury to Dialectic, Venus to Rhetoric, the Sun to Arithmetic, Mars to Music, Jupiter to Geometry, and Saturn to Astrology. The purpose of the present note is to call attention to the fact that the idea of comparing the seven sciences of the Scholastics with the seven planets was not original with Dante as Zingarelli[1] has supposed:

"E alla sua diffusa esposizione qui fa riscontro, nella interpretazione dell'allegoria (14 e 15), la singolare dottrina della somiglianza tra i cieli e le varie scienze, dalla quale l'autore si riprometteva un grandissimo successo come di cosa tutta sua. Quando egli sostiene che i ciele sono dieci, compreso l'Empireo, e che infinito è il numero delle Intelligenze celesti, o angeli, non fa se non accogliere e accordare Aristotele, Tolomeo, i Padri e la Scrittura, seguendo in ciò principalmente l'Anquinate che quella fusione aveva mirabilmente operata; *ma la scoperta della relazione tra cieli e scienze è frutto del suo pensiero*, e meglio ci rivela la qualità propria del suo ingegno filosofico. In verità codesta escogitazione appartiene anch'essa ad un metodo medioevale di ricerca, quello della *moralisatio*, per la quale si scoprivano, nei regni della natura, nelle pietre, nelle piante e negli animali concetti e ammaestramenti sacri e morali: *il merito di Dante consisteva nell'averlo applicato ai cieli e nella sottilissima analisi della natura loro in relazione con le proprietà delle varie scienze.* Posto che negli uni e nelle altre vi sieno tre principali similitudini, ossia il rivolgersi intorno ad un punto fisso, l'illuminare e l'indurre perfezione, egli viene a dimostrare che alla Luna, a Mercurio, a Venere, al Sole, a Marte, a Giove, a Saturno, alle Stelle fisse, al Primo Mobile, all'Empireo rispondano successivamente la Grammatica, la Dialettica, la Rettorica, l'Aritmetica, la Musica, la Geometria, l'Astrologia, la Scienza Naturale, che comprende Fisica e Metafisica, la Scienza Morale o Etica, e la Scienza Divina o Teologia."

In discussing the seven liberal arts, Alexander Neckam (1157–1217) says:[2]

"Sicut igitur mundum illuminant septem planetae, sic omnem scientiam illuminant et muniunt artes ingenuae. Luna terris est citima, cui comparatur grammatica, primos vendicans limites. Sol, secundum quorundam assignationem, secundum locum tenet, cui consimilem in multis studiosus lector reperiet dialecticam. Mercurio

[1] "Dante" in *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, p. 397. Compare Florence Trail's statement in her *History of Italian Literature*, New York, 1903, vol. 1, pp. 69–70: "In accordance with the cosmic system of the Scholastics Dante in his idea of Heaven embraces ten spheres, or the heavens of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile and Empyrean. And with the subtlety of which he alone is master he makes the sciences of the Scholastics correspond with these spheres; the Trivium embracing Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric and the Quadrivium of Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy correspond to the seven wandering stars; and Physics and Metaphysics, Ethics, and Theology to the three circles of the highest heavens."

[2] *De Naturis Rerum*, Ed. by Thomas Wright, London, 1863, pp. 283–4.

tertium locum tenenti confertur rhetorica. Venus gratiosa est aspectu, cui arismetica, ob multam hujus disciplinae venustatem, comparatur. Hujus utilitatem novit theologia, mysterium numerorum diligenter investigans. Martem respicit musica, non humana, non mundana, sed instrumentalis. Lituorum namque et tubarum clangentium concentus varius invitat armatos ad conflictum. Jovi se obnoxiam esse fatetur geometria, quae circa inmobilem magnitudinem versatur. Saturno, astris vicinior planetis caeteris, militat astronomia, quae circa mobilem magnitudinem versatur."

Zingarelli is wrong, therefore, in attributing to Dante the discovery of the relation between the planets and the seven sciences (*la scoperta della relazione tra cieli e scienze è frutto del suo pensiero*). . The passage just quoted from Alexander Neckam shows that the idea of such comparisons was known long before Dante wrote the *Convivio*. In both cases one of the planets is compared to one of the sciences and the reason for the correspondence is indicated. In both cases the Moon is compared to Grammar, Jupiter to Geometry, and Saturn to Astronomy. It is interesting to note also that one of the reasons given to show the relation between the planets and the liberal arts is similar in both cases: "Sicut igitur mundum illuminant septem planetae, sic omnem scientiam ornant et muniunt artes ingenuae."[3] "La seconda similitudine si è lo illuminare dell'uno e dell'altro. Chè ciascuno cielo illumina le cose visibili; e così ciascuna scienza illumina le intelligibili."[4]

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## A GLOSS OF A BALLAD BY GÓNGORA

THERE has been preserved in the National Library of Spain, a manuscript *comedia* entitled *El jardín de Falerina*,[1] by Rojas Zorrilla, Antonio Coello, and Calderón de la Barca.[2] It was apparently confused with the *zarzuela* of the same name, which Calderón wrote alone,[3] until Cotarelo pointed out the individuality of the two dramatic works.[4] The plot, be it said in passing, represents a free treatment of episodes

[3] See Alexander Neckam, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

[4] See *Convivio*, II, 14.

[1] It will be recalled that three other dramatic productions of the Golden Age bore this title: 1) a lost play by Lope de Vega (Rennert, *Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega Carpio*, *Revue hispanique*, XXXII, 1915, p. 192;Rennert-Castro, *Vida*, Madrid, 1919, p. 489); 2) a *zarzuela* by Calderón, staged in 1648 and first published in the two unauthorized editions of the *quinta parte* of his *comedias*, Madrid and Barcelona, 1677; reprinted in the *Bib. de aut. esp.*, t. IX; 3) an *auto sacramental* by the same playwright (part V of his *Autos sacramentales, alegóricos y historiales*, Madrid, 1717; also preserved in two Madrid MSS. of the eighteenth century [Paz y Mélia, *Catálogo*, Madrid, 1899, no. 1651], and in another MS. belonging to the British Museum [Stiefel, in *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, XXX, 1906, p. 239]).

[2] MS. 17320, which Paz y Mélia (no. 1652) assigns to the seventeenth century. I hope to publish the MS. at some future date.

[3] Cf. Paz y Mélia, no. 1652. The MS. would seem to be listed by Breymann (*Calderon-Studien: die Calderon-Literatur*, Munich and Berlin, 1905, I, p. 6), but he says nothing of the tripartite authorship.

[4] *Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, Noticias biográficas y bibliográficas*, Madrid, 1911, pp. 171–74, where a summary of the plot is also given. Cf., in addition, his *Dramáticos del siglo XVII: Don Antonio de Coello y Ochoa*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 37–38;

drawn from both the *Orlando furioso* and the *Orlando innamorato*, and offers little interest for present purposes.

In the second *jornada* (written by Coello), Orlando rushes upon the stage in a burst of fury. He has been pursuing Angélica ever since she fled with Medoro, and pours out his jealous rage in a long tirade which is but a gloss of a well-known ballad by Góngora, *A Angélica y Medoro*.[5] In order to indicate graphically the borrowings from the *romance*, we are printing Orlando's utterance in the first column, and the lines from the ballad (ed. Cossío) in the second one. Verses from the play that offer a literal, or virtually literal, correspondence with lines from the *romance*, are printed in italics:

| | |
|---|---|
| Buscando aquella cruel (*f. 19*) | |
| Que el Catay lleua por norte, | |
| Huyendo de mis suspiros, | |
| El mar bajando, y el orbe: | |
| Después de medir montañas, | |
| Después de inquerir regiones, | |
| Después de allar[6] varios climas: | |
| Penetrando aquese monte, | |
| Desenmarañando ramas, | |
| Troncos cortando disformes, | |
| Sendas inciertas pisando:— | |
| Vine a meterme sin orden | |
| *En vn pastoral aluergue,* | En un pastoral albergue, |
| *Que la guerra entre vnos robles* | Que la guerra entre unos robres |
| (O ciega de sus malezas | |
| Ignorando los rincones, | |
| O altiua regateando | |
| En vn rendido los golpes) | |
| *Le dexó por escondido,* | Le dejó por escondido |
| *O le perdonó por pobre.* | O le perdonó por pobre.[7] |
| Llego a que de vnos villanos | |
| La rusticidad me informe; | |
| Con cautela de mi dueño, | |
| Y sin dezirle su nombre, | |
| Pregunto, escudriño, y ruego: | |
| Vna muger me responde | |
| (Que siempre son las primeras | |
| Que diuulgan lo que oyen): | |
| —¿Veis este rústico lecho, | |
| Que en vez de tyrias labores (*f. 19a*) | |
| Manchadas pieles le abrigan, | Do la paz viste pellico |
| Y estriua en mullidas flores?— | Y conduce entre pastores |
| Pues en él aquestos días | Ovejas del monte al llano |

and the *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, parte primera*, Madrid, 1924, p. 169: in this passage Cotarelo tells us that the *comedia* "ya en 17 de enero (de 1636) se estrenó en Palacio, por la compañía de Juan Martínez de los Ríos" (cf. also p. 281, n. 2).

[5] *Romances de Góngora editados por José María de Cossío*, Madrid, 1927, no. 49, and Foulché-Delbosc, *Obras poéticas de D. Luis de Góngora*, New York, 1921, I, no. 131. Any important variants found in Durán's version (*Romancero*, no. 411) will be indicated in the notes.

[6] Should probably be *ollar;* the *o* and *a* are at times written practically alike.

[7] These two lines have been intercalated, with slight alterations, in the *Loa con que empezó Tomás Fernández en la Corte*, by Quiñones de Benavente (Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses . . .* , Madrid, 1911, II, p. 560).

Mejor que en brocados nobles,
*Mal herido y bien curado,*
*Se aluergó vn dichoso jouen,*
Tan hijo de su fortuna,
Amante tan sin temores,
Regalado tan sin sustos,
Dichoso tan sin pensiones,
*Que sin tirarle Amor flechas*
*Le coronó de fauores.*
Pregúntole ya con susto,
Profeta de mis temores,
Cómo vino a su cabaña
Este amante, y respondióme
Que entre los sustos de Marte,
De la guerra en los horrores,
*Le halló en el campo aquella*
*Vida y muerte de los hombres;*
Y yo al dolor excessiuo
De tal nueua frío y torpe,
Como adiuinando el mal
Que aun no era cierto asta entonces,
Desquadernado el aliento,
Eleuadas las acciones,
Palpitante el coraçón,
Me elé, quedando a sus vozes
*Las venas con poca sangre,*
*Los ojos con mucha noche:*
¡O Amor, cómo eres injusto!,
Pues la que fué de los hombres
Estrago, dura a los ruegos,
Sin lástima a los dolores,
Sin compasión a las penas,
Ya llena de compasiones
*Del palafrén se derriba, (f. 20)*
*No porque al Moro conoce,*
No porque querellas suyas
Aquella piedad negocien,
No porque el mozo aya sido
Idólatra de sus soles,
No porque aya grangeado
Su amor con obligaciones,
No porque aya cexado el viento, (*sic*)
No porque aya errado el orbe,
*Sino por ver que la yerua*
*Tanta sangre paga en flores.*
*Límpiale el rostro y la mano*
(Estraña a tales dolores)
Con nouedad en el tacto,
Que en veneno al alma corre
Trepando veloz las venas
Hasta el coraçón de bronce:
Siente el mal y no le alla,
Alla el mal sin saber dónde,
Y andando a buscar en sí
El áspid que la inficione,
Mirándolo más atento
*Siente el áspid que se esconde*
*Tras las rosas, que la muerte*

Y cabras del llano al monte,
Mal herido y bien curado,
Se alberga un dichoso joven,

Que sin clavarle Amor flecha,[8]
Le coronó de favores.
Las venas con poca sangre,
Los ojos con mucha noche,[9]

Le halló en el campo aquella
Vida y muerte de los hombres.

Del palafrén se derriba,
No porque al Moro conoce,

Sino por ver que la hierba
Tanta sangre paga en flores.
Límpiale el rostro, y la mano

Siente al Amor que se esconde
Tras las rosas, que la muerte

[8] The plural *flechas* occurs *apud* Durán.

[9] These two verses have been transposed in the play and are to be found fourteen lines below.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Va violando sus colores.* | Va violando sus colores. |
| *Erido aquel pedernal* | Escondióse tras las rosas |
| Que no dió fuego asta entonces, | Porque labren sus arpones |
| *Centellas de agua despide,* | El diamante del Catay |
| Solicitados los golpes | Con aquella sangre noble.[10] |
| Del Amor que por rendirla | Ya le regala los ojos, |
| Engendró vn monstruo disforme, | Ya le entra, sin ver por dónde, |
| *Vna piedad mal nacida* | Una piedad mal nacida |
| Que su pecho no conoce | Entre dulces escorpiones. |
| Dissimulada, ¡o quimera | Ya es herido el pedernal, |
| Del más traidor de los dioses! (*f. 20a*) | Ya despide el primer golpe |
| ¡O compasión mal fundada! | Centellas de agua. ¡O piedad,[11] |
| ¡O traición mudado[12] el nombre! | |
| ¡O infamia buelta en nobleza! | |
| ¡O veneno oculto en flores! | |
| ¡O Amor bastardo! ¡*O piedad,* | |
| *Hija de padres traidores*! | Hija de padres traidores! |
| Pues viendo que aquel diamante | |
| Burló rebelde los golpes | |
| Del buril de los suspiros, | |
| Y el cincel de los dolores, | |
| Y sabiendo que con sangre | |
| Se dexa labrar, valióse | |
| De vn hombre no más que herido, | |
| *Porque labren sus arpones* | |
| *Al diamante del Catay* | |
| *Con aquella sangre noble.* | |
| *Yeruas aplica a sus llagas,* | Hierbas aplica a sus llagas,[13] |
| Y el accidente, aunque torpe, | |
| A aquel contacto diuino | |
| Embelesado quedóse, | |
| Y de vna parte empeñado | |
| En quitar la vida al joven, | |
| Y por otra conociendo | |
| Al milagro obligaciones, | |
| De aquella deydad queriendo | |
| Cumplir de vna vez, conforme | |
| Con la muerte y con la vida, | |
| Suspendió perplexo el orden, | |
| Dando calma a las eridas, | |
| *Que si no sanan entonces,* | Que si no sanan entonces, |
| *En virtud de tales manos* | En virtud de tales manos |
| *Lisongean los dolores;* | Lisonjean los dolores. |
| Y, en fin, fauorable siempre | |
| A tan viles compasiones, | |
| Aquí más ciego que nunca, | |
| Porque el jouen se enamore, | |
| Por tener parte en la cura, (*f. 21*) | |
| Muy seruicial en traiciones, | |
| *Amor la ofrece su venda;* | Amor le ofrece su venda, |

[10] This verse, and the two preceding ones as well, are repeated by Orlando nineteen lines below.

[11] Cf. the reading in Durán's version:

Ya despide al primer golpe
Centellas de una piedad . . .

[12] The MS. has *mudada.*

[13] Variant *apud* Durán:

Yerba le aplica a las llagas . . .

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mas ella sus velos rompe* | Mas ella sus velos rompe |
| *Para ligar las eridas,* | Para ligar sus heridas; |
| Mostrando el prodigio noble | |
| De par en par descubierto, | |
| Y como dexó sus soles | |
| Sin nube que los encubra, | |
| Sin velo que los estorue, | |
| A luzes más eficaces | |
| Mejoró su tez la noche | |
| Y enmendó su luz el día, | |
| El viento lo dize a vozes, | |
| ¡Tenga paciencia la luna!, | |
| ¡*Los rayos del Sol perdonen*! | Los rayos del Sol perdonen.[14] |
| Yo furioso, no sufriendo | |
| Saber más, postrado el bronce | |
| Del sufrimiento, mis zelos | |
| En villanos, en pastores, | |
| En la cabaña, en el lecho, | |
| En los troncos, en los montes, | |
| Vengando zeloso y loco, | |
| ¡Qué de rayos bibré en vozes! | |
| ¡Qué de muertes di a los brutos! | |
| ¡Qué de heridas di a los ombres! | |
| ¡Qué de golpes a las peñas!, | |
| Oyendo mi agrauio entonces, | |
| Y aun aora de pensarlo, | |
| Renouándose los golpes | |
| De la memoria verdugo | |
| Que el pecho ayrado me rompe. | |
| ¡*Qué de nudos le está dando* | ¡Qué de nudos le está dando |
| *A un áspid la embidia torpe,* | A un áspid la invidia torpe,[15] |
| *Contando de las palomas* | Contando de las palomas |
| *Los arrullos gemidores*!, | Los arrullos gemidores![16] |
| Pues para lo que[17] refiero, | |
| Mejor es que sus traiciones (*f. 21a*) | |
| En venganças se desaten. | |
| Viles tórtolas[18] conformes, | |
| Cazador soy ofendido: | |
| Yo os buscaré, y si veloces | |
| Hüis el nido siquiera, | |
| Mancharé de sangre montes . . . | |
| ¡Deteneldos, estorualdos! | |
| ¡Aguárdame, ingrata! ¡Oye, | |
| Fiera Angélica . . . ! ¿Qué digo?: | |
| ¡Pierda mi memoria noble | |
| Tu nombre! ¡Monstruo te llamo, | |
| Prodigio, ingrata, mar, bronce . . . ! | |
| ¡No, Angélica . . . !, mas, ¡ay cielos . . . !, | |
| Vanas son mis preuenciones: | |

[14] Since the next forty lines of the ballad have not been taken over by the playwright they have been omitted.

[15] Variant *apud* Durán:

A un áspid la vida torpe . . .

[16] The next thirty-two lines of the ballad have been omitted.

[17] The MS. reads *que lo.*

[18] Cf. the *romance:*

Tórtolas enamoradas
Son sus roncos atambores . . .

El eco me haze acordar,
Pues por dezirme su nombre
*Si vn valle "Angélica" suena,*
*Otro "Angélica" responde.*
Pues, ¡no ha de ser . . . ! ¡Sólo viuan
Sus memorias porque logre
Venganças . . . ! ¡Espera, ingrata . . . !
¡Afuera, infames blasones!,
¿Qué me seruís si la pierdo?;
Y contra viles traidores
No quiero ventajas: bastan
Para abrasar mis ardores
Los verdes fresnos del valle,
Los blancos chopos del monte,—
Pues en el monte y el valle,
Por testigos, por padrones,
De su amor y de mis zelos,
De mi ofensa y sus fauores,
*No ay verde fresno sin letra,*
*Ni blanco chopo sin mote:*
Todo me muestra ofendido,
Todos publican a vozes
Mi infamia: todos lo dizen: (*f. 22*)
Los villanos son pregones,
La cabaña fué testigo,
El lecho abrigó traiciones,
Las flores guardan sus huellas,
El eco dize sus nombres,
Los troncos su historia escriuen,
Los montes me los esconden,—
Pues si todos igualmente
Fueron terceros conformes,
Fueron alcahuetes[20] viles
De mi agrauio, y sus fauores
Todos me paguen mis zelos,
Y assí, ¡fieras, lecho, flores,
Eco, villanos, cabaña,
Troncos, árboles, pastores,
Cómplices deste delito,
*Contestes destos amores,*
*El cielo os guarde, si puede,*
*De las locuras del Conde*!

No hay verde fresno sin letra,
Ni blanco chopo sin mote;[19]
Si un valle "Angélica" suena,
Otro "Angélica" responde.

*Quítase las armas*
*y valas arrojando*

Cuevas do el silencio apenas
Deja que sombras las moren
Profanan con sus abrazos
A pesar de sus horrores.
Choza, pues, tálamo y lecho,
Cortesanos labradores,
Aires, campos, fuentes, vegas,
Cuevas, troncos, aves, flores,
Fresnos, chopos, montes, valles,
Contestes de estos amores,
El cielo os guarde, si puede,
De las locuras del Conde.[21]

A *comedia* entitled *Un pastoral albergue*, which derives its name and principal *motif* from the ballad, has been included in Lope's *Obras* (Acad. ed., t. XIII), but Menéndez y Pelayo has excellent reasons for doubting the ascription to him (*ibid.*, pp. cxii ff). Whoever the author, or authors, of the play may have been, in the second *jornada* they have inserted the opening lines of the *romance* with "algunas

[19] These two verses have been inserted in Orlando's tirade, sixteen lines below.

[20] A line has been drawn through this word, and *medianeros* inserted just above it.

[21] In Durán's version the ballad ends as follows:

Cuevas do el silencio apenas
Deja que las sombras moren,
Profanan con sus abrazos
A pesar de sus horrores.
¡Choza, pues, tálamo y lecho,
Contestes d'estos amores,
El cielo os guarde, si puede,
De las locuras del Conde!

variantes curiosas respecto del texto conocido" (cf. *ibid.*, p. cxiii). However, the only variant of importance that is common to both the drama published by Menéndez y Pelayo and *El jardín de Falerina* is *tirarle* for *echarle* in the line:

Que sin tirarle Amor flechas . . .

The initial verse of the ballad occurs in four additional places (pp. 352, 362, 363, 364), and three other lines have been intercalated in the dialogue:

Los ojos con mucha noche . . . (p. 352)
. . . . . .
Vida y muerte de los hombres . . . (p. 353)
. . . . . .
Do la paz viste *el* pellico . . . (p. 362)

The following passage has points of contact with the last part of Orlando's apostrophic outburst (in *El jardín de Falerina*):

¡Oh cabaña vil, oh bosque,
De mis agravios testigos!
¡Oh viles encubridores
De mis celos, oh villanos! (p. 358)

The *romance* has, moreover, furnished the first twenty lines of the *Baile del pastoral*,[22] which contains variants no less curious than those mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo. Some of these variants are obviously inserted for comic effect, while others would seem to indicate either various *lapsus memoriae* on the part of the unknown author or the existence of a version of the ballad differing from the ones published by Durán and Cossío. In reprinting the lines from Cotarelo all discrepancies with Cossío's text are italicized, and special attention is called to the substitution of *tirarle* for *clavarle:*

Muj. 1.ª En un pastoral albergue,
Que la guerra entre unos robles
Le dejó por escondido
O le perdonó por pobre.
Muj. 2.ª Do la paz viste pellico
*Que* conduce entre pastores
Ovejas del monte al llano
*O* cabras del llano al monte.
Muj. 3.ª *Bien* herido y *mal* curado
Se alberga un dichoso joven,
Que sin *tirarle* Amor flecha*s*
Le coronó de favores.
Gregor. Las venas con *mucho vino*,
Los ojos con mucho *arrope*,
Le halló en el campo aquella
Vida y muerte de *jamones*.
Muj. 4.ª Amor le ofrece *la* venda,
Mas ella *su velo* rompe
Para *curar las* heridas,
Los rayos del sol perdonen.

In Guillén de Castro's *Pagar en propia moneda*,[23] Ludovico (a *salteador*!) sings the first twelve lines of the ballad in order to assuage the melancholy of Elena.[24]

[22] Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, II, no. 187.

[23] *Obras*, ed. Juliá, Madrid, 1925, I, p. 112.

[24] He sings the ballad without the accompaniment of a musical instrument:

Elena. No cantes más, que me matas.
Ludov. Pues aguardo el instrumento.

The variants (again with Cossío's text) are:

*De*[25] la paz viste pellico . . . ,

and

Que, sin *tirarle* Amor flecha*s*,
Le corona de favores.

Nor is the narrative of the *romance* forgotten in the ensuing scenes of the play, in which the wounds of Prince Pedro of Aragón are cured by Elena and the three *salteadores*.

Finally, among the passages in which another dramatist of the epoch, Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón, reveals his familiarity with Góngora's ballads, may be quoted:

En un abreviado albergue
Que la guerra fea y torpe
Le ignoró por soberano
O le perdonó por noble.[26]
. . . . . .
Mucho cielo en poca frente,
Mucha luz en dos carbuncos,
Mucha deshojada rosa
Entre lirios y ligustros.[27]

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## THE MEMORY ELEMENT IN MESONERO'S *MEMORIAS*

THE repeated insistence with which Mesonero refers in his *Memorias*[1] to his remarkable memory inevitably creates the impression that his detailed picture of life in Madrid between 1808 and 1850 is based exclusively on faithful personal recollections. Stressing the memory source from a slightly different angle, he similarly emphasizes the fact that, rather than write a conventional history of the period, he limited himself to a record of events observed by a curious and intelligent onlooker, and treated in the intimate manner of an eyewitness. Finally, because of the relatively small amount of autobiographical material in the *Memorias*, the assumption is likely to be made that the author's modesty must have prompted him not to cast his own shadow on the picture of the period recorded. Whether the impressions

[25] A misprint perhaps, although *de* is perfectly intelligible.

[26] From a *Romance en trova* included in *El enano de las Musas* (*Los clásicos olvidados*, Madrid, 1928, III, p. xxxii). The editor, Valbuena Prat, comments thus: "Es una adaptación 'a lo divino' (en 36 versos) del 'En un pastoral albergue' gongorino" (*ibid.*, n. 2).

[27] From the first part of *El rayo de Andalucía* (likewise quoted by Valbuena Prat, p. xxxii). Cf., for an example from Tirso de Molina, R. Menéndez Pidal, *L'épopée castillane* . . . , Paris, 1910, p. 239, and for one from Belmonte Bermúdez, *El diablo predicador*, in the *Bib. de aut. esp.*, XLV, p. 332; further data for the play printed in vol. XIII of Lope's *comedias* will be found in *Notes on the Bibliography of Lope de Vega's "Comedias,"* by S. Griswold Morley (*Mod. Phil.*, XX, 1922, p. 209).

An interesting study could be made of the imitations or reminiscences of *En un pastoral albergue* in later lyric poetry (cf. Gerardo Diego, *Antología poética en honor de Góngora*, Madrid, 1927, pp. 32 and 43).

[1] Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Memorias de un setentón*, Madrid, 1880.

conveyed by this method have a basis in fact or are a phenomenon akin to mirage, only a close scrutiny of the *Memorias* can decide.

Frequent references to his retentive power, reenforced by copious quotations, are among Mesonero's means of calling attention to his memory.[2] Already in the opening paragraph of the work he modestly confesses that "una felicísima memoria" is his only unimpaired faculty in old age.[3] He had his first serious test as a boy of fifteen, when his "asombrosa memoria" enabled him once to recite a varied and extensive repertoire of classical poetry.[4] His friends generously admired his retentive power,[5] and partly because of his "prodigiosa memoria" he was admitted into the literary and cultural clubs of Madrid.[6] In support of these unmistakable claims Mesonero quotes a surprisingly large number of selections from a variety of verse compositions, in many instances committed to memory at the age of not quite five,[7] as well as bits of conversations and anecdotes of similarly remote date.[8] The snatches of conversation, presumably because they are reproduced faithfully, generally appear in quotes,[9] although an occasional remark like "con estas o semejantes palabras" would indicate that the quotes were used as in fiction dialogue.[10] Often Mesonero seemingly raises his memory to the importance of an historical document: thus when he quotes fifty-six lines of a hymn which was sung on May 2, 1814, and never thereafter, and which he alone remembers in 1880;[11] or when he enumerates the names of sixteen titled families whose male members joined the National Militia in 1820;[12] or again when he lists the forty-five members of the Asamblea of 1820.[13]

In addition to the above, Mesonero's memory apparently retained faithfully abstractions and visual experiences. He remembers the opinion which he held at the age of five concerning the relations between Fernando VII and General Murat, an opinion which, in view of his tender age, he naturally did not formulate independently, but overheard at the gatherings of friends in his father's home.[14] During the same period he shared with mature persons the feeling of patriotic exuberance over the victory of "El Dos de Mayo."

". . . Ante tal espectáculo," he explains his precocious appreciation of the event, "no había ni edades ni condiciones; todos éramos hombres, todos crecimos al sublime

[2] References to his memory are found as follows: pp. 5, 30, 33, 41, 48, 54, 67, 95, 102–3, 114, 120, 122–3, 127–9, 132–3, 137–8, 151, 154, 158, 167, 172, 196, 199, 200, 215, 217, 224, 227, 252, 255, 267, 275, 286, 295, 299, 323–4, 327, 342, 350, 351, 381–2, 403–4, 406, 447, 451, 455–6. Quotations, presumably from memory, appear thus: pp. 15, 21–2, 23, 34–5, 54–7, 95, 108, 109, 118, 122, 127–8, 138–40, 143, 146–7, 168, 172–4, 190–1, 196–7, 200, 215, 223, 235, 252, 265, 276, 286–8, 297–9, 307, 322, 324, 337, 341–2, 385, 455–7. These lists are not strictly exhaustive.

[3] *Memorias*, p. 5.

[4] *Id.*, p. 120.

[5] *Id.*, p. 224.

[6] *Id.*, p. 327.

[7] *Id.*, pp. 21, 34–5.

[8] *Id.*, pp. 14–5.

[9] *Id.*, pp. 90, 108, 211, 285, *et al.*

[10] *Id.*, p. 267.

[11] *Id.*, pp. 138–40.

[12] *Id.*, p. 217.

[13] *Id.*, p. 227.

[14] *Id.*, p. 32.

fuego del patriotismo, y sin gran dificultad hallo clara y distintamente estampada en mi imaginación el cuadro sublime que en aquellos momentos se desplegaba a mi vista." [15]

After an interval of sixty-six years he recalls how at the age of eleven he sensed the difference in popular sentiment toward the return of Fernando VII in 1814 and in 1808.[16] In spite of the passage of time he remembers the gay activities in the Salón del Prado in 1812, which he presumably attended as a boy of nine, and the solemn procession to the cemetery on May 2, 1814, to exhume the bodies of the national heroes.[17] He is particularly gratified to have retained a vividly detailed picture of Martínez de la Rosa on the same occasion.[18]

The reproduction of *Mis ratos perdidos* is perhaps the most impressive feat of Mesonero's memory. We are told that upon discovering the loss of the manuscript of the twelve sketches, he confined himself to his room where in the course of one night he reproduced them "fielmente." [19] Foulché-Delbosc, who has reprinted the sketches, characterizes Mesonero's accomplishment as a physical impossibility.[20] This is not the only instance where the evidence is clearly against Mesonero's claims. Scattered in the *Memorias* there are so many examples of lapses of memory, inconsistencies, and contradictions, that the temptation is indeed great to question the true strength of the author's faculty.

Recounting an anecdote about Napoleon's visit to the Royal Palace in Madrid, Mesonero cites as his source a book entitled—if he remembers correctly ("si mal no me acuerdo")—*Le Diable Rose*, by a certain *Mr. N., Aide de camp de S.A.R. Monseigneur le Duc d'Angoulème*.[21] It is strange that he should be uncertain only about the title, when he admits in the same connection that he had used the book in 1830 for the compilation of his *Manual de Madrid*, where he first reproduced the anecdote.[22] Why did he not take the trouble to ascertain the exact title? Equally curious is the phrase "a lo que entiendo" with which Mesonero qualifies his extremely laconic comments on the sojourn of the Duke of Wellington in Madrid, for elsewhere he is ever the keenly observing eye-witness.[23] A bit more difficult to explain are the mutually exclusive sources of the carnival anecdote, the first part of which is told as something overheard at a "tertulia," while the climax is related as a personally observed incident.[24] A similar self-contradiction is to be noted in Mesonero's description of the opening of the Cortes of March 19, 1814. After giving a detailed account of the ceremony, which he witnessed at the age of eleven, he cannot recall the floor plan of the Teatro de los Caños where the session was held, stating: "y según puedo colegir (pues no llegué a conocer el antiguo teatro)." [25] On the same occasion he seems to have forgotten whether the opening address was read or delivered orally. (Mesonero

[15] *Id.*, pp. 52–3.
[16] *Id.*, p. 148.
[17] *Id.*, pp. 134–40.
[18] *Id.*, p. 137.
[19] *Id.*, p. 255.
[20] Cf. *Le modèle inavoué du Panorama Matritense*, in *Revue hispanique*, XLVIII (1920), p. 310. The sketches occupy pp. 264–306.
[21] *Memorias*, p. 67, note.
[22] *Loc. cit.*
[23] *Id.*, p. 95.
[24] *Id.*, pp. 102–3.
[25] *Id.*, pp. 128–9.

could have verified these details by consulting Bartolomé José Gallardo's complete report of the sessions in the *Abeja madrileña*, which he inadvertently betrays as the sole source for the Cortes of 1814,[26] and which he probably consulted for his account.) Again, when the bodies of the heroes of "El Dos de Mayo" were exhumed, we are told that only their relatives were allowed near the graves, yet he carried away an unforgettable impression of the mutilated bodies and faces.[27] From the account of the return of Fernando VII to Madrid it is clear that Mesonero actually followed the procession through the different sections of the capital, yet he states that he watched the parade from the balcony of his home.[28] Wholly inexplicable are the memory lapses when the author quotes from poems which admittedly appeared in the *Diario de la corte*. In one case he quotes the beginning of a poem, but he cannot recall the rest, although he does remember that it was published on the 25th day of the month; in another instance he quotes successfully forty lines, but he cannot reproduce the last few lines.[29] Elsewhere he fails to remember the whole of a poem of his own composition.[30] It does not seem plausible that Mesonero did not write down his own improvisations, in view of the many manuscripts left by him and subsequently published by his children.[31]

We may now turn to a consideration of the historical quality of the *Memorias* in an effort to throw additional light on the rôle of memory in this work.

Earnestly desirous that the *Memorias* should not be interpreted as ordinary history, Mesonero apologetically announces on the very first page that he is offering a "prosaica y descarnada narración de hechos ciertos y positivos con retratos fotográficos con hombres *de verdad* (the italics are Mesonero's), que le fué dado observar en su larga vida contemplativa. . . . "[32] Subsequently he stresses the method implied in this announcement and even declares that he will not borrow information from books or periodicals in order not to weaken the interest of his story.[33] For the treatment of events between 1808 and 1830 (about three-fourths of the *Memorias*) he has utilized only his memory.[34] In dealing with the period when he was a child of barely five he took particular care not to go over the ground adequately covered by historians.[35] If he lingers somewhat long on the constitutional period, he does so because he can offer evidence of a "testigo presencial."[36] For much the same reason, but in a negative sense, he will not deal with the death of Fernando VII, for it is a sad event

> "que no puede ser desenvuelto en estas *Memorias*, porque ni su objeto es esencialmente histórico, ni mi propósito en ellas fué otro que el de narrar los sucesos *que pasaron a mi vista* (the italics are Mesonero's)."[37]

[26] *Id.*, p. 130.
[27] *Id.*, p. 133.
[28] *Id.*, pp. 146–8.
[29] *Id.*, pp. 286–8.
[30] *Id.*, p. 299.
[31] Cf. *Trabajos no coleccionados*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1903 and 1905.
[32] *Memorias*, p. 5.
[33] *Id.*, p. 29.
[34] *Id.*, p. 451.
[35] *Id.*, p. 32.
[36] *Id.*, p. 290.
[37] *Id.*, p. 394.

Again, he does not intend to treat fully the events between 1833 and 1850, principally because this period is within the memory of his contemporaries.[38] Finally, in the paragraph next to the last one of the *Memorias* we are reminded once more that his rôle is that of a "testigo presencial" of a remote and obscure period of the nineteenth century.[39]

It would be pleasant to agree with Mesonero on the non-historical method of the *Memorias*, had he not himself suggested sources other than his memory.[40] Thus, in the reconstruction of the picture of "El Dos de Mayo" as seen with the eyes of a child not quite five, he virtually admits that he is doing it in the light of history,[41] and that the aftermath of the event impressed him no more than the average normal child of his age.[42] Likewise, when viewing retrospectively his discussion of the constitutional period (pp. 220–300), he confesses that he has invaded the domain of history, forgetting that at least twice in the course of this discussion he reminded the reader that he was not writing history.[43] Similarly, near the end of the *Memorias* he apologizes for indulging once more in history,[44] forgetting again his earlier promise not to emulate the historian after 1833.[45]

Mesonero's general excuse for encroaching on history is that he wishes to point out the relationship between the progress of external affairs and the "cuadro íntimo" which is his primary concern.[46] That it was not necessary to be a "testigo presencial" of an event in order to paint a "cuadro íntimo" of it in Mesonero's conventional and stereotyped manner, may be gathered from a few random snatches of one of his typical "intimate" sketches, in which he describes the Madrid famine of 1811.

"El espectáculo, en verdad, es de aquellos que no se olvidan jamás.—Hombres, mujeres y niños de todas condiciones, abandonando sus míseras viviendas, arrastrándose moribundos a la calle para implorar la caridad pública, para arrebatar siquiera no fuese más que un troncho de verdura, que en época normal se arroja al basurero. . . ."[47] "La misma atmósfera, impregnada de gases metíficos, parecía extender un manto fúnebre sobre toda la población, a cuyo recuerdo solo siento helarse mi imaginación y embotarse la pluma en mi mano."[48]

In other instances, moreover, it is even doubtful whether the "cuadro íntimo" was drawn from memory. The anecdote quoted to illustrate the attitude of the Madrid population toward the French occupation may be read, with slight modifications, in his sketch *La político-manía*, published in 1832.[49] In the last analysis this anecdote is not original, since it appears in Jouy's sketch *Les nouvellistes*,[50] published in 1814.

[38] *Id.*, p. 452. For a possible source of the other reason which Mesonero offers for not treating more fully the earlier years of the century (p. 450), cf. V. J. E. de Jouy, *L'Hermite de la Guiane*, 5th ed., Paris, 1817, vol. 1, p. 296.

[39] *Id.*, p. 483.

[40] Mesonero quotes, with proper acknowledgment of sources, thus: pp. 25–8, 57–60, 66, 73, 94, 153–4, 156–7, 181–2, 202, 208, 262, 425–6, 439, 441, 480, *et al.*

[41] *Id.*, p. 33.

[42] *Id.*, p. 45.

[43] *Id.*, pp. 237, 260.

[44] *Id.*, p. 458.

[45] *Id.*, pp. 452–3.

[46] *Id.*, p. 68.

[47] *Id.*, p. 84.

[48] *Id.*, p. 85.

[49] *Id.*, pp. 71–3; cf. *Panorama matritense*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 215–6.

[50] Cf. *L'Hermite de la chaussée d'Antin*, 3d ed., Paris, 1814, vol. 5, pp. 156–9.

Contrary to his claim that memory was his sole source,[51] Mesonero unquestionably drew much historical information from books. Godoy's *Memorias* (Madrid, 1836–42), to which he specifically refers,[52] must have been helpful for the account of the forced departure of the "Príncipe de la Paz." A more informative source, since it covers practically the entire period treated in Mesonero's *Memorias*, was Conde de Toreno's *Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España* (Paris, 1838), to which he refers at least three times.[53] For his interpretation of the personality of Fernando VII Mesonero undoubtedly availed himself of Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva's *Vida política y literaria* (London, 1825).[54] Occasionally he even paraphrased or transcribed portions of his own earlier works. The description of physical and social Madrid between 1815 and 1816 is presumably done from memory,[55] yet it reads like a summary of the chapter *Siglo XIX* in *El antiguo Madrid*.[56] In the same work can be identified [57] an anecdote transcribed almost verbatim in the *Memorias*.[58]

To supplement the books consulted, Mesonero unquestionably resorted to periodicals and to the archives of Madrid.[59] Of periodical literature he inadvertently betrays as sources the *Diario de Madrid*,[60] *La abeja madrileña*,[61] and the *Diario* of the sessions of the Cortes,[62] owing to the last two his vivid account of the Cortes of 1814 and of the Asamblea of 1820. For an intimate glimpse of the constituents of the Asamblea, Mesonero must have consulted the pamphlet *Condiciones y semblanzas de los Sres. Diputados a Cortes en la legislatura de 1820 y 21*, which he mentions specifically,[63] and which he also acknowledges as the inspiration of his own "semblanzas" of his schoolmates—since he knew no other important persons at that age.[64]

Besides the normal historical sources, Mesonero must have resorted to other means of reconstructing the remote past. He solicited much material from friends,[65] and for his account of the earlier years of the century he gathered information from his parents in later years.[66] We are told that his mother had saved interesting cartoons of José Bonaparte.[67] He also acquired the manuscripts of poems recited by

[51] See note 33 above.

[52] *Memorias*, p. 15.

[53] *Id.*, pp. 37, 65, 78. In the second reference Mesonero expresses his surprise not to find one of Napoleon's *Manifiestos a los españoles* in Toreno's work; in the third instance he quotes part of Toreno's description of the good qualities of José Bonaparte.

[54] *Id.*, p. 181. Mesonero refers to this work as the source of a *Real Órden*, from which he quotes some material.

[55] *Id.*, p. 158.

[56] Cf. vol. I (ed. 1925), pp. 116 ff.

[57] P. 126.

[58] Pp. 80–1. In *El antiguo Madrid* Toreno is credited with the authorship of the anecdote.

[59] *Memorias*, pp. 17, 94.

[60] *Id.*, p. 153.

[61] *Id.*, p. 130.

[62] *Id.*, p. 228.

[63] *Loc. cit.*

[64] *Id.*, p. 254.

[65] *Id.*, pp. 96, 119.

[66] *Id.*, pp. 87, 107.

[67] *Id.*, p. 60.

his father's *tertulianos*,[68] and copies of others by persons unknown to him.[69] Finally, he made intelligent use of paintings [70] and of lithograph prints of the dress of the period.[71] In short, these and earlier references indicate the variety of sources employed by Mesonero, and thus fairly destroy his assertions that the *Memorias* are exclusively a non-historical work of memory.

As for the little space which Mesonero devotes to autobiographical detail, it need not be imputed to his modesty; it may be explained by the oddly interesting phenomenon that his stream of memory runs turbid in the recital of wholly personal experiences.[72] Here phrases like "si mal no recuerdo" and "que ahora no recuerdo" are more frequent [73] than the positive claims in other parts of the *Memorias*. It is thus fair to conclude that modesty was not his only reason for excluding autobiographical details,[74] but that for want of written records his memory was not entirely dependable in the case of personal experiences. On the other hand, when recording events within the realm of history, his memory functioned more impressively, especially with the reenforcement of printed and other documents.

In conclusion, the method of the *Memorias* does not impair the intrinsic value of the work as much as it suggests a judgment on the personal and literary qualities of its author. That he should have claimed phenomenal memory power may be due to the fact that he wrote the *Memorias* at the age of seventy-seven. There is possibly more truth than humor in the author's claim that he was ". . . amenguado . . . en sentidos y potencias." [75] It is difficult to explain, however, why he should have asserted so emphatically that he was not invading the realm of the historian, since the strictly non-historical content of the *Memorias* is quantitatively insignificant, while everything else is precisely the material of which history is made. As for his literary qualities, the method of the *Memorias* is typical of that employed by Mesonero even in his *costumbrista* sketches: he possessed the peculiar faculty—typically Spanish—of assimilating borrowed material (from Jouy for his *cuadros de costumbres*) and reproducing it in a manner to make the imitation hardly distinguishable from the model. Perhaps Mesonero was not aware of his great assimilatory power. In any event, the fact is clear that Mesonero was rarely independently creative, and in the case of the *Memorias* he was not even independently recreative, for his memory was only one of many means he employed to write an interesting, light, and pleasant history of Spain from 1808 to 1850.

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[68] *Id.*, p. 22.

[69] *Id.*, p. 57.

[70] *Id.*, p. 86.

[71] *Id.*, p. 306.

[72] *Id.*, pp. 114, 122, 275, 295. In all these instances the author is relating experiences of an extremely personal nature.

[73] *Id.*, pp. 323–4, 326, 350–1, 446–7, 455–6. This list is not exhaustive.

[74] The author's uneventful life may have been another reason. Cf. Emilio Cotarelo y Morí, *Elogio biográfico de don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos*, Madrid, 1925, p. 98.

[75] *Memorias*, p. 5.

# THE PARNASSIANS AT PLAY

## Their Reviews and Their Salons

THE group which was to be known in the history of French poetry as the Parnassians [1] began to assume definite shape about the year 1860, by which time the great poets of the Romantic period had, for one reason or another, disappeared from the Parisian scene. Under the tutelage of Leconte de Lisle, Théodore de Banville and Charles Baudelaire, the neo-Romantic band of younger poets developed their *Weltanschauung* and attained to the mastery of their art. At the homes of these three leaders and at the salons of several cultured women of the period, they read their verses, discussed their ideas and, finally, laid the plans for the foundation of their periodical, *Le Parnasse contemporain*. The fifth-floor apartment of Leconte de Lisle in the Boulevard des Invalides was the *rendez-vous* of the Parnassians every Saturday; [2] here the prevailing spirit was one of serious consecration to literature. It was to the homes of other lesser figures in the social and artistic world of the day that the Parnassians repaired when they were in lighter mood. The purpose of this paper is to sketch briefly the history and the make-up of some of these gatherings.

At about the time when the band of admirers began wending its way in the direction of the Boulevard des Invalides, another smaller group was meeting more or less regularly at the handsome bachelor-apartment of Catulle Mendès in the rue de Douai. Mendès was the son of a wealthy Jewish banker of Bordeaux whose given name, Tibulle, explains the latinity of that of the Parnassian. Tibulle Mendès established his family in Paris in 1859; Catulle, though only nineteen years old at the time, had already made his literary *début* in the south of France, and his arrival in the capital had only strengthened his determination to gain fame in the world of letters. The generous allowance he received from his father enabled him to play the double rôle of Maecenas and Horace, and he decided to found a literary periodical. On February 15, 1861, there appeared in Paris, "au bureau de la *Revue*, passage Mirès, Escalier C," [3] the first number of *La Revue fantaisiste*, "le premier journal parnassien," [4] according to Mendès himself. This first issue contained contributions by Banville, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Daudet, Louis Bouilhet and Auguste Vacquerie, and subsequent issues revealed in their tables of contents the names of Richard Wagner, Sully Prudhomme and Léon Cladel. "Presque tous les poètes d'alors vinrent à *La Revue fantaisiste*," [5] says Mendès. There would gather of an afternoon, in the office of the review, Banville, Charles Asselineau, Philoxène Boyer, Baudelaire, Albert Glatigny and numerous others, many of whom made their first bow to the public through the medium of the Mendès periodical. A one-act play by Mendès published in *La Revue fantaisiste*, *Le Roman d'une nuit*, a dramatic trifle exceedingly

[1] A word of explanation is necessary as to terminology. In the course of this study, the name *Parnasse* is applied both to *Le Parnasse contemporain* and to the group of poets who contributed to it. The application of this name and of that of Parnassians to this band of poets as it existed before the appearance of the periodical, though anachronistic, is convenient and has become general.

[2] For a composite picture of the *salon* of Leconte de Lisle and its *habitués*, cf. F. Calmettes, *Leconte de Lisle et ses amis*, Paris, n.d.

[3] Cf. the title-page of the first issue of *La Revue fantaisiste*.

[4] *La Légende du Parnasse contemporain*, Brussels, 1884, p. 5.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

reminiscent of both Hugo and Musset, brought the author-editor a fine of five hundred francs and one month's imprisonment at Sainte-Pélagie on the charge of "immorality"; the elder Mendès, who was none too sympathetic with his son's literary bohemianism, reduced his allowance and the review expired. Settling himself in an apartment in the hôtel du Brésil on the "rive gauche," Mendès weathered the period of parental disfavor by the composition of poems and by the cultivation of the friendship of kindred spirits, to whom he offered guidance and encouragement. Among the most important friends of this time were the two inseparables, Léon Valade and Albert Mérat. A reconciliation with his father enabled Mendès to set himself up on a rather sumptuous scale in a two-room apartment in the rue de Douai. Here he received, in addition to Valade and Mérat, such young writers as Mallarmé, Heredia, Léon Dierx, Ernest d'Hervilly, Léon Cladel, and especially François Coppée. The twenty-one-year-old Coppée was introduced to Mendès during the winter of 1863–64 by the Hungarian poet, Emmanuel Glaser, and immediately became the particular *protégé* of the genial Catulle, who is described at this time as being "élégant et joli comme un page, ayant le teint d'une vierge et une admirable chevelure d'un blond cendré qu'il laissait tomber en boucles folles sur ses épaules."[6] Mendès, in his *Légende du Parnasse contemporain*, recounts at considerable length the pains he took to form Coppée's genius.[7] If this account is a bit overdrawn, Coppée himself never hesitated to admit his indebtedness to Mendès. On one occasion, for example, he stated:

"Je lui dois beaucoup. C'est à lui que j'ai apporté mes premiers vers. Il les trouva exécrables et il avait raison. J'en refis d'autres qui ne valaient pas mieux. Il m'obligea à poursuivre; il me corrigea, il fut impitoyable, et je finis par devenir forgeron."[8]

In an essay on "Catulle Mendès et le Parnasse,"[9] Coppée describes the rue de Douai apartment, tastefully adorned with water-colors and etchings and supplied with handsomely-bound books, prominent among which was the *Gaspard de la Nuit* of Aloysius Bertrand, "ce père, cet inventeur du poème en prose." The guests at the Mendès *soirées* were served by a fourteen-year-old domestic who had been jocularly nicknamed Covielle, after the clever valet of Molière's *Bourgeois gentilhomme*. These gatherings "chez Mendès," either in the hôtel du Brésil or in the rue de Douai, were amusingly burlesqued in an essay entitled "l'Hôtel du Dragon bleu" which served as introduction to *Le Parnassiculet contemporain: recueil de vers nouveaux*, a very obvious take-off on *Le Parnasse contemporain*, in which Leconte de Lisle, Heredia, Mendès and others were skillfully parodied by Paul Arène, Alphonse Daudet and additional rivals of the Parnassians. The full title of the introductory essay is "Une séance littéraire à l'Hôtel du Dragon bleu," and it recounts a visit of the Chinese poet, Si-Tien-Li, to the Parnassian *cénacle*.

"Tous les Parnassiens sont là," we read, "assis par terre, le long des murs et mâchant du haschisch.—Ils regardent sans rien dire une jeune fille en costume de statue qui

[6] Cf. Jean Monval, "Deux camarades du Parnasse: Catulle Mendès et François Coppée" (*Revue de Paris*, March, 1909, p. 74).

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 205–17.

[8] Quoted by Adolphe Racot, *Portraits d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1887, p. 8. Racot comments to the effect that if Mendès had done nothing more than discover Coppée, "ce serait déjà beaucoup."

[9] In *Souvenirs d'un Parisien*, Paris, 1910, p. 76.

fait des poses plastiques, au milieu de la chambre, sur un tapis de pourpre fanée. À chaque nouvelle pose,un petit homme noir qui se démène au piano plaque un accord majestueux, pendant qu'un bel adolescent à longs cheveux dorés et bouclés (probably meant to be Mendès himself) vêtu de velours sombre, indique à la jeune fille les poses diverses qu'il faut prendre." [10]

One Parnassian explains to Si-Tien-Li that they are all *Impassibles* and that their *criterium* is to remain cold before the spectacle of life and to write in a style unintelligible to the vulgus. "Mort à la réalité," he adds, "et malheur à celui qui voudra la mettre dans ses vers." This legend of the Parnassians as an occult-loving, hasheesh-eating, sacerdotally-posing group persisted in the popular imagination and accounts for the fact that the term *Parnassien* soon came to be used as an epithet of opprobrium in the mouths of the philistines and the "common-sense" writers of the day.[11]

The Mendès group was introduced by the Hellenist, Louis Ménard, to that of Leconte de Lisle, under whose leadership it immediately placed itself. Mendès, however, did not by any means lose his own individuality by this amalgamation, and it was through his efforts that the *Parnasse contemporain* actually came into being. Upon the demise of the *Revue fantaisiste*, several short-lived and otherwise unimportant periodicals appeared to take its place, such as *La Revue française* and *La Revue du progrès*, which latter printed Verlaine's first published poem over the pseudonym of *Pablo*. The founder and editor of the *Revue du progrès* was Louis-Xavier de Ricard, whose father was a retired general and whose mother's *salon* in the Boulevard des Batignolles was to play an important part in the history of the Parnassian movement. At this time (1863), Ricard had a *logement* of his own in the rue de Douai and thus was a neighbor of Mendès, whose volume of verse, *Philoméla*,[12] had attracted his attention and that of his mother. The two men soon became friends and Ricard's group, which included many of the contributors to the *Revue du progrès*, some of them scientists, the others artists and men-of-letters, fused with that of Mendès and then with that of Leconte de Lisle, "et ainsi s'opéra par sélection la formation du groupe qui allait devenir tout à l'heure le Parnasse." [13] Like the *Revue fantaisiste*, though for different reasons, the *Revue du progrès* fell afoul of the government; Ricard, its editor-in-chief, and Adolphe Racot, its *gérant*, though they were defended by Gambetta and other able lawyers, were forced to submit to imprisonment at Sainte-Pélagie, the former for three months, the latter for thirty days.

Undaunted by this penal confinement, Ricard determined to found another journal, this one to be devoted exclusively to the arts. Through Verlaine and his friend and later biographer, Edmond Lepelletier, he was introduced to a rather erratic violinist, Ernest Boutier, a "garçon non sans littérature, mais qu'un caractère assez fâcheux et que la manie de se singulariser vouèrent finalement à une solitude où nul ne fut tenté d'aller le déranger." [14] Boutier was acquainted with Alphonse Lemerre,

[10] *Le Parnassiculet contemporain*, Paris, Librairie centrale, J. Lemer, éditeur, 1867, pp. 12–13. Note the similarity of the publisher's name to that of Lemerre, the publisher of the Parnassians.

[11] An effective satire on the common-sense philistines of the second half of the nineteenth century is to be found in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *Tribulat Bonhomet*, the central figure of which is an excellent *pendant* to Flaubert's M. Homais.

[12] Paris, Hetzel, 1863.

[13] L.-X. de Ricard, "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien" (*Le Petit Temps*, November 17, 1898).

[14] *Ibid.*

who had taken over the publishing house of one Percepied, 23 passage Choiseul, which had hitherto specialized in the publication of religious works, but had branched out, under its new ownership, into poetry. Lemerre was at this time engaged in bringing out editions of the poets of the *Pléiade* and, when Ricard broached to him the subject of a periodical for the encouragement of literature and art, he undertook its publication. The result was an expensively made-up weekly called *l'Art* (1865), the second of the "journaux parnassiens," of which Ricard was the financier and editor-in-chief and of which the contributors, among whom were to be found the principal members of the Leconte de Lisle, the Mendès and the Ricard groups, were the only readers. Ricard claims the credit of having clarified, through *l'Art*, the Parnassian aims and of having been the first to style the group *Les Impassibles*. Be that as it may, the magazine had so meagre a circulation and its publication was so costly that it was doomed to an early decease; Mendès, therefore, prevailed upon Ricard to convert it into a periodical to be concerned exclusively with poetry and to be edited conjointly by the two friends. And thus was born *Le Parnasse contemporain: recueil de vers nouveaux*, a name for the coining of which Mendès takes the credit although Ricard declares that it was suggested, after much discussion at the shop of Lemerre, by some member of the group whose name he had forgotten. "Ainsi," he says, "et en de telles circonstances, fut baptisé le volume. La gloire de la trouvaille en revient à un inconnu, dont l'histoire fâcheusement ignore le nom." [15] But whether or not Mendès invented the name of the periodical, he was certainly its organizing genius. In the words of Racot: "*Le Parnasse contemporain* a été, somme toute, la grande date littéraire de M. Catulle Mendès. Quelles qu'aient été les excentricités et les exágerations de ce mouvement littéraire, ç'a été un véritable mouvement, et l'organisateur, sinon l'homme d'initiative première, fut M. Mendès." [16] Throughout the life of the Parnassian group, Mendès "se montrait fier, un peu jaloux, du rôle qu'il avait joué en servant pendant quelque temps de point de ralliement à ces poètes dispersés, dont le succès allait couronner les œuvres." [17] As long as he lived, he continued to lavish encouragement and even material assistance upon struggling poets, whether or not they were Parnassians; and numerous and heartfelt are the tributes to his generosity from the contemporaries whom he aided to a place in the poetic sun.

The *Parnasse contemporain* was first issued as a poetry-magazine, and five numbers, published at the imprimerie Toinon at Saint-Germain, appeared at irregular intervals in 1865. The review would soon have gone the way of most literary periodicals had not Alphonse Lemerre assumed the responsibility of the new venture. His book-shop at once became the *rendez-vous* of the contributors to the review, and Mendès and Ricard continued their editorial work with a view to bringing out in volume form those poems which had already been printed in the periodical together with many others. The volume bore the same name as the review and was published in 1866. The poets whose names were included in the table of contents began almost

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Op. cit.*, pp. 208–09. Edmond Lepelletier, in *Paul Verlaine, sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris, 1907), attributes the authorship of this title to the philologist, Charles Marty-Laveaux.

[17] Paul Bonnefon, "Catulle Mendès et *le Parnasse contemporain*—lettre inédite" (*Amateur d'autographes*, 1910, pp. 38–39). The "lettre inédite," written by Mendès to Ricard but probably never sent, sets forth the former's claim to the authorship of the name of the new periodical and protests against the failure of others to give him the credit he thought due him in connection with its career.

at once to be known as the *Parnassiens*,[18] and were mistakenly viewed as a homogeneous group animated by identical ideas. This notion, according to the testimony of the principal Parnassians themselves, was totally erroneous. Mendès, for example, says:

"Attirés les uns vers les autres par leur commun amour de l'art, unis dans le respect des maîtres et dans une égale foi en l'avenir, ils ne prétendaient en aucune façon s'engager à suivre une voie unique.—Aucun mot d'ordre, aucun chef, toutes les personnalités absolument libres." [19]

And elsewhere he sums up this diversity of outlook and technique in the following sentence: "Je ne pense pas qu'à aucune époque d'aucune littérature des poètes du même moment aient été à la fois plus unis de cœur et plus différents par l'idée et l'expression." [20] Ricard is even more insistent that the Parnassians did not form a "school" but were broken up into a number of groups who met at the various *salons* and in whose midst were formed individual friendships, such as his own with Anatole France. He goes so far as to state that many of the Parnassians had lost interest in their volume even before it was ready for the press, and continues: "Le bel âge d'or de la confraternité était déjà perdu avant le Parnasse." [21] This statement, however, is at least partly belied by the facts, as the remaining pages of the present study will abundantly show.

While the first *Parnasse* was in the course of preparation, the contributors would assemble almost daily "chez Lemerre." Here they would carry on lively, at times tumultuous, discussions on poetry and poets. "C'était le bon temps," says Lemerre himself,[22] "le temps où, dans ma boutique, Verlaine et Ricard hurlaient: 'Vive Baudelaire et à bas Ponsard.'" The discussions were held, not in the book-store proper, but in a room in the part of the building known as the *entresol*. There was no semblance of parliamentary order at these gatherings, which occasionally waxed so boisterous that the clerk in the store would have to explain to some timid elderly lady buying, perhaps, a missal or a *livre d'heures*, that "ce sont des poètes qui causent esthétique." [23] Lemerre's *boutique* soon came to be known as the *entresol du Parnasse*, and has been celebrated under this title by Gabriel Marc, cousin of Banville and a contributor to the second and third *Parnasse*, in a series of very clever triolets.[24] It was in the "entresol du Parnasse" that Ricard first met Anatole France, then employed as a reader by Lemerre, and was at once filled with an admiration for the younger man that was to last a lifetime. It may not be out of place to point out that the guests at the banquet offered to Lemerre on January 24, 1902, on the occasion of his promotion to the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honor, did not include Mendès,

[18] The authorship of this name has been attributed to Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, who, in a series of articles printed in *le Nain jaune* for Oct. 27, Nov. 7 and Nov. 14, 1866, bitterly attacked the thirty-seven contributors to *Le Parnasse contemporain*.

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 19 et seq.

[20] *Rapport sur le mouvement poétique en France de 1867 à 1900*, Paris, 1903, p. 114.

[21] "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien" (*Le Petit Temps* for Dec. 3, 1898).

[22] *Banquet offert à M. Alphonse Lemerre à l'occasion de sa promotion au grade d'Officier dans l'ordre de la Légion d'Honneur le 24 janvier, 1902*, Paris, 1902, p. xx.

[23] Cf. L.-X. de Ricard: "Anatole France et *le Parnasse contemporain*—souvenirs inédits de jeunesse," in *La Revue* for February, 1902.

[24] "L'Entresol du Parnasse," written in 1870 and published in Marc's *Sonnets parisiens*, Paris, 1875. Lemerre, in the speech delivered at the banquet mentioned above, erroneously calls this poem "L'Entresol du Passage."

and that not the slightest reference to Mendès' rôle among the Parnassians was made either by Lemerre or by any of the other speakers of the occasion. Moreover, only one of Mendès' numerous volumes, a collection of *Histoires amoureuses*, was published by Lemerre. This seems to have sprung from a wilful desire on the part of Lemerre to ignore the participation of the man without whom, perhaps, the *Parnasse contemporain* might never have come into existence. If we must discount the importance attached by Mendès himself, in his various accounts of the Parnassian movement, to his share in the formation and growth of the group, it seems the height of ingratitude to exclude him entirely from its ranks, an ingratitude of which Lemerre alone seems to have been guilty.

The first *Parnasse contemporain* would seem to have been a financial success, as Lemerre brought out a second volume of verse with the same name, which included most of the contributors to its predecessor and many additional ones; the editorship of this collection was left largely to Banville, and, though the title-page of the volume bears the date of 1869, its actual publication was delayed until 1871. Five years later, a third volume, still under the same name and this time edited principally by Coppée, was published by Lemerre; but the work had by now become a mere anthology, as almost all trace of homogeneity that might be found in the first two *Parnasse* had completely disappeared. During this decade, Lemerre had been publishing the verse-collections of the individual Parnassians and, strange as it may seem that poetry should prove remunerative, had apparently reaped a plenteous monetary harvest from his ventures.

This, in brief, was the history of the *Parnasse contemporain*. For the sake of convenience, we might divide this history into two periods. The first might be called the period of preparation and extended from 1860 to 1865, when those who were later to be dubbed the Parnassians were gathering at the homes of Banville, Leconte de Lisle, Mendès, and Ricard and finally at the book-shop of Lemerre. The second was the period of actual production and lasted from the plans for the first *Parnasse*, in 1865, until the completion of the second at the end of 1869; the various Parnassian groups would seem to have been definitely dispersed by the Franco-Prussian War. After 1865, the Parnassians continued as the guests of the five men just mentioned; but with the attention attracted by the first *Parnasse contemporain* and as the reputation of its contributors grew apace, the poets began to be invited to the *salons* of divers charming and talented women and many of them soon became the lions of these *soirées*. It is to these gatherings that we shall now turn our attention.

Of the Parnassian *salons*, two deserve particular attention here, those of Mme la marquise de Ricard and of Nina de Callias; others need only be briefly mentioned. Mme de Ricard, as we have seen, was the mother of the editor of *L'Art;* attracted by the poetry of Mendès, she had encouraged her son to bring him and his friends to her *salon*, in her home at no. 10, Boulevard des Batignolles. According to Edmond Lepelletier, she was "une aimable femme, passablement coquette et étourdie, peu au fait de la littérature, mais adorant son fils et enchantée qu'il reçût des camarades, qu'il attirât des visiteurs notoires ou intéressants." [25] General de Ricard would seem to have abstained from participation in these gatherings. The heyday of the Ricard *salon* lasted from 1865 to 1868 and its importance in the career of the Parnassian group was considerable. Mme de Ricard was at home to the poets on Saturdays, though the intimate friends of her son did not feel bound by the conventions of the *salon* and visited the Boulevard des Batignolles whenever they were so inclined.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

The *habitués* of the *salon* included many, though not all, of the Parnassians as well as a few who were not members of the group. Prominent among the Parnassian guests were Mendès, Coppée, Sully Prudhomme, Heredia, Anatole France, Dierx and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam; occasionally Banville put in an appearance. Among the more important of those who were not Parnassians were the composer Emmanuel Chabrier, the painter Anatole de Beaulieu, Mlle Allard, who was soon to become the wife of Alphonse Daudet, and occasionally old Antoni Deschamps, one of the last survivors of the Romantic epoch. Ricard, in his "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien," describes the pastimes in which his mother's guests indulged; the young poets, he tells us, were much more at ease here than in the homes of Banville and Leconte de Lisle, where they felt they must maintain the attitude of students in the presence of their masters. Encouraged by Mme de Ricard, they read their most recent verses, discussed aesthetics, manhandled "la littérature officielle"; when the spirit moved them, they played charades, and, on one occasion, they staged the first act of Hugo's *Marion Delorme*, in which Coppée played the rôle of Didier and Mendès that of Saverny;[26] there was even some gaming at the Ricard *salon*, the most addicted being Dierx and Coppée.[27] The merry group was dispersed by the war of 1870, which, it has already been noted, interfered with the publication of the second *Parnasse contemporain*, and effectively put an end to the Parnassian movement as such, though its influence was to be felt for at least another three decades.

The most important of the Egerias of the Parnassians was, perhaps, the eccentric dilettante, Nina Gaillard, better known by her pseudonym of Nina de Villard. The daughter of a Lyons lawyer, from whom she inherited a large fortune, Nina, against the wishes of her father, married, in 1863, a well-known and brilliant but bibulous journalist, Hector de Callias. Arsène Houssaye, who was one of the witnesses at the wedding, tells of the apparent happiness of the young couple, their intoxicating honeymoon, their unhappy conjugal career and their separation. Callias and Nina, he says, were "deux excentriques, ruisselants d'insenséisme. Ils avaient beaucoup trop d'esprit, ce qui les a tués."[28] Nina had been dazzled by Callias and loved him wildly at first; but his inveterate drunkenness and his unceasing infidelities soon disgusted her, and she left him after a few years to live with her mother and to become "la bonne hôtesse des Parnassiens."[29] The two women occupied apartments, successively, in the rue Chaptal, the rue de Londres, the rue de Turin, and finally in the rue des Moines in the Batignolles section, where Nina conducted what Houssaye has styled "l'Académie des Batignolles," which was frequented by many "villoneux et ronsardisants."[30] By 1868, when the *salon* of Mme de Ricard had begun to lose its attractiveness to the Parnassians, that of Nina had become the gathering-place of almost all those who were prominent in the arts and politics of the day. At this time, says Lepelletier, Nina was "une jeune femme de vint-deux à vingt-trois ans, petite, dodue, vive, spirituelle, névrosée, quelque peu hystérique, fort avenante, et qui a laissé une réputation, justifiée d'ailleurs, d'excentricité, d'outrance et de franche hospitalité."[31] Bersaucourt enumerates the leading *habitués* of Nina's *salon;* his list

[26] Cf. *Le Petit Temps* for July 4 and 5, 1899.

[27] Lepelletier, *op. cit.*, p. 182, is authority for this statement.

[28] Cf. *Les Confessions: Souvenirs d'un demi-siècle, 1830–90*, Paris, 1891, vol. V, p. 364.

[29] Albert de Bersaucourt, *Au Temps des Parnassiens—Nina de Villard et ses amis*, Paris, 1922, p. 27.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 366.

[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

mentions Mendès, Coppée, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Anatole France, Verlaine, Lepelletier, Mérat, Richepin, Charles Cros and his two brothers, Emile Goudeau, Mallarmé, Rollinat, Germain Nouveau, the painters Manet and Degas, the radical Gustave Flourens, and many others. Ricard, perhaps jealous of the growing popularity of Nina's salon at the expense of that of his mother, went there very seldom and rather unjustly states that the *salon* itself was "sur les extrêmes confins du Parnasse." [32] He goes on to declare that Nina herself referred to her *salon* as her "Petit-Charenton." [33] He tells us, however, that Anatole France was a regular visitor and he even suspects him of having guided Nina's pen when she was writing the two sonnets which appear in the second *Parnasse contemporain.* France also collaborated with Nina in the composition of a one-act play on Eleonora d'Este which was rejected by the Théâtre français.[34] Emile Goudeau, in describing the beauty and the artistic endowment of Nina and the popularity of her *salon,* writes: "C'est dans cet artistique salon que je fis ainsi véritablement mes premières armes." [35] Musician, poet, sportswoman, interested in everything, even in magic, Nina "avait horreur des bourgeois," [36] and whenever one was unfortunate enough to stumble into her *salon,* he was soon put to flight by the ridicule of her guests.

Mme de Callias received officially on Wednesdays and Sundays, but she kept virtually open house, so that guests appeared at all hours of the day and night, particularly at meal-times, and frequently spent the night on the living-room sofa. In the words of Lepelletier: "On montait 'chez Nina' jusqu'aux heures les plus tardives, certain d'y trouver gaie compagnie." [37] Of the pastimes indulged in by Nina's friends, some were "gais," even "de façon outrancière." [38] There was no gambling, however, and the time was usually spent in conversation, charades (which were the specialty of Verlaine and Lepelletier), eating and drinking, and the reading of verses. On one occasion, Verlaine recited a "chanson argotique" called "l'Ami de la nature," and thereby inaugurated a *genre* which was soon to become very popular. "Le salon de Nina fut en quelque sorte, par l'ironie, la fantaisie, la blague et la rosserie des poèmes, chansons, saynètes qu'on y fabriquait avec une verve joyeuse, le prédécesseur, l'ancêtre du Chat noir." [39] The gatherings were chaperoned by Nina's mother, Mme Gaillard, who, though herself somewhat eccentric, as evidenced by the fact that her favorite pet was a monkey, seems to have been a good manager. It was she who supervised her daughter's estate, so that, though every penny of her income was squandered, her capital remained intact. Mother and daughter would appear to have been deeply attached to each other; a *dizain* by Nina about her mother concludes with the line: "Car je te trouve le plus cher des camarades."

Nina was a passionate admirer of life in all its phases, and was especially "éprise de choses belles." [40] The author of a small volume of verse, published posthumously in 1885 under the title of *Feuillets parisiens,* Nina realized her poetic shortcomings and

[32] "Petits mémoires" in *Le Petit Temps* for July 1, 1899.

[33] *Ibid.* One of the principal insane asylums of Paris is in the suburb of Charenton.

[34] Cf. Ricard, "Anatole France et *le Parnasse contemporain.*"

[35] *Dix ans de bohème,* Paris, Librairie illustrée, n.d., p. 113.

[36] Bersaucourt, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

[37] *Op. cit.,* p. 170.

[38] Bersaucourt, p. 11.

[39] Lepelletier, p. 179.

[40] Bersaucourt, p. 32.

did not often impose her talents upon her friends. She was, however, one of the most ardent champions of the *Parnasse contemporain*. "Vous devinez de quelles acclamations *le Parnasse* fut salué chez Nina. D'ailleurs la jeune femme ne tarda point à y collaborer, et dès la publication de la seconde série, on y découvre son nom."[41] The attacks of the critics were warmly refuted "chez Nina." "Quelle fureur dans le salon de Nina le soir qu'un fervent des novateurs apporta ce mince petit recueil où l'on pastichait les vers des Parnassiens"[42] (*Le Parnassiculet contemporain*). Barbey d'Aurevilly's "Médaillonets"[43] likewise aroused intense excitement. "Que de querelles! Que de ferveurs!—Le salon de Nina n'avait jamais été plus bruyant, plus animé, et il va sans dire que la jeune femme défendait héroïquement ses amis."[44] At one of Nina's *fêtes*, a farcical pseudo-romantic drama written by the hostess herself in collaboration with Jean Richepin, Germain Nouveau, and, perhaps, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, was performed. A *soirée* at Nina's *hôtel* in the rue des Moines is interestingly described by Villiers de l'Isle-Adam.[45] It was the day after a "fête vénitienne" with which she had regaled her friends. Dinner was being served in the garden. The guest of honor was "un long et bel amateur mondain—en habit noir." The assembled poets, among whom were Richepin, Dierx, Mendès, Mallarmé' Auguste de Châtillon and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, determined to rid the gathering of the importunate philistine and soon routed him with their joyous mystifications. "Nina, dans sa robe de chambre aux éclatantes fleurs japonaises, se balançait, une cigarette aux lèvres, en un fauteuil américain, sous un magnolia." The women guests included Mme Manoel de Grandfort, a faithful friend of Nina, and Augusta Holmès, talented daughter of a retired Irish army officer, herself a fervent admirer of Wagner, composer of lyric dramas, symphonies, oratorios and songs, and hostess, in her *salon* at Versailles, to musicians and writers such as Armand Silvestre, André Theuriet and Camille Saint-Saëns. After the company had partaken of refreshments, Nina called upon Dierx to recite some verses and he responded with a poem called "Au jardin." "Des vers exquis et adorables," comments Villiers. "Nous étions encore sous leur charme lorsque nous nous séparâmes, la soirée finie."

In a novel entitled *la Maison de la vieille* (1894), Catulle Mendès revived the *salon* of Nina de Callias. The heroine is here given the name of Stella d'Helys and the hero that of Georges Kramm; Villiers de l'Isle-Adam is disguised under the appellation of Odon. The hero of the novel was, in real life, the erratic poet, mathematician, chemist and inventor, Charles Cros, who was for several years Nina's lover, according to some contemporary accounts, and whose influence is noticeable in her *Feuillets parisiens*. Though Cros contributed two poems to the second *Parnasse contemporain*, he was not a genuine Parnassian and was soon to participate in the revolt against Parnassianism which crystallized in the work of the Symbolists and the Decadents. His collection of verse, *Le Coffret de Santal*, published in 1873 and dedicated to Nina, attracted some attention, especially because of its satirical monologues, a type of which, according to Bersaucourt,[46] Cros was the inventor and of which a poem called "Le Hareng saur," publicly recited by the actor, Coquelin cadet,

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[43] See note 18 of this study.

[44] Bersaucourt, p. 139.

[45] *Chez les passants*, Paris, 1890. The essay: "Une soirée chez Nina de Villard" occupies pages 9 to 17, inclusive.

[46] *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

was the most notorious example. In 1874, Cros founded a periodical, *La Revue du monde nouveau*, the contributors to which included Banville, Sully Prudhomme, Dierx, Leconte de Lisle, Heredia, Mallarmé, Cladel, and even Daudet and Zola. In the first number of his *Revue*, Cros made sport of the Parnassians and other "schools" in parodies written in what he styled "rimes totales," that is to say, in verses in which every syllable of one line rhymes with a corresponding syllable in another. The following example of this sort of poetic mountebankery is quoted by Bersaucourt:

> "Où, dure Eve d'efforts sa langue irrite (erreur)!
> Ou du rêve des forts alanguis rit (terreur)!" [47]

The second number of Cros' *Revue* contains a laudatory account of a recital by Nina; with the third issue, the periodical came to an end. Cros was an active participant in the gatherings of the poets who christened themselves the *Hydropathes* [48] (organized October 5, 1878) and later of the tumultuous *Chat noir* group.

Other poets, besides the Parnassians already mentioned, who frequented the *salon* of Nina, to which the Goncourts referred in their *Journal* as "cet atelier de détraquage cérébral," [49] were the bohemian writer, painter and sculptor, Auguste de Châtillon, author of a volume of verse, *À la grand'pinte* (1860), and Maurice Rollinat, who declaimed many of his macabre *Névroses*, published in 1883, to the huge delight of Nina's guests. As in the case of Mme de Ricard's *salon*, however, the merry meetings at the home of Nina were interrupted by the Franco-Prussian War. After the Commune, Nina and her mother spent a long time in Geneva in a self-imposed, though not unpleasant, exile. Upon their return to Paris, they again took up their residence in the rue des Moines, where Nina resumed her turbulent existence and once more attracted about her a gay crowd of bohemians. Many of the Parnassians now held aloof, however, and the gatherings became more and more mixed. Nina was in the full flush of her reputation as an "originale" and, as might have been expected, soon went insane. Her dementia, which lasted for three years, consisted in her believing herself dead. It was in July, 1884, when she was thirty-eight years old, that she actually died; her body was followed to its grave in the *cimetière Montmartre* by only a small band of mourners one of whom, strangely enough, was the husband from whom she had so long been estranged. Bersaucourt concludes his study of Nina de Villard with the statement that she was deserving of sympathy because she was "bonne, indulgente, prompte à aimer, à comprendre et à sentir les belles choses" and because of her hospitality and encouragement to struggling young poets and artists.[50]

Some of the Parnassian poets were guests at the *salon* of the Princess Mathilde, of whose circle Heredia was a regular member. A few others, such as André Theuriet, André Lemoyne, Georges Lafenestre and Armand Renaud, were to be met at the *salon* of Mme de Sainbris, the wife of a music-teacher and composer of Versailles, where they were occasionally entertained by the eighteen-year-old Augusta Holmès,

[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

[48] Cf. Goudeau, *op. cit.*, for an interesting account of this group.

[49] Cited by Bersaucourt, *op. cit.*, p. 88; the epithet is termed "une méchanceté inutile, une exagération absurde" (p. 89). It may be noted here that the facts of Nina's life and the information about her *salon* are drawn from Bersaucourt, unless otherwise stated.

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

who played and sang for the group.[51] André Theuriet describes a revival of *Hernani* at the Comédie Française during the World's Fair of 1867, at which all the Parnassians were present and furiously applauded the verses susceptible of interpretation as hostile to imperialism. Theuriet, who attended the gatherings at the home of Leconte de Lisle and in the *entresol* of Lemerre, was considered one of the group, "quoique je n'appartinsse pas à l'école du Parnasse," [52] and joined the Parnassians in sending a message of congratulation to Hugo, still in voluntary exile on the island of Guernsey, on the successful revival of his great drama. Among the Paris cafés which served as *rendez-vous* for the Parnassians were the Café de Madrid and the Café des Variétés, both on the Boulevard Montmartre, and the Brasserie des Martyrs in Montmartre proper. But enough has been said to reveal the gregarious nature of the group. It must be stressed in conclusion, however, that the Parnassians did not compose a homogeneous "school" whose members all considered themselves inseparable brothers-at-arms. Ricard urges that there was really no "camaraderie parnassienne," but that the whole group was sub-divided into smaller cliques. "Le Parnasse ne fut pas une entente d'âmes dans un idéal commun, tout au plus fut-il un vrai rendez-vous d'artisans dans une formule d'art," [53] a formula, however, which was "si large que l'évolution personnelle d'aucun n'en fut entravée ni même gênée." [54] According to Ricard, therefore, there was no "école parnassienne," no "solidarité parnassienne"; the friendships which were formed within the parent group were purely personal, frequently individual, affairs. Ricard, writing long after the demise of the *Parnasse*, would here seem to be speaking in a spirit of pique at his own failure to achieve a higher place in the realm of French poetry. Paul Verlaine more correctly looked upon the Parnassian group as a *cénacle* which lasted for a decade; "cette belle union," he says, "dura jusqu'à la guerre de 1870. Une catastrophe pouvait seul briser un faisceau si robuste.—La guerre parcela le cénacle en groupes, les groupes en couples, les couples en individualités amies mais irrémédiablement antipathiques. Et ce fut bien la fin finale de ce Parnasse déjà célèbre et qui restera illustre." [55] If it is true that the *Parnasse* has remained famous, it unquestionably owed much of its fame to the stimulation that it received at the homes of Banville, Leconte de Lisle and Mendès, at the *entresol* of Lemerre, and at the *salons* of Mme de Ricard, Nina de Callias, and Mme de Sainbris. The *salon* had again performed its historic rôle, in the formation of one of the most important poetic groups of nineteenth-century France.[56]

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[51] Cf. André Theuriet, *Souvenirs des vertes saisons*, Paris, 1904. Theuriet describes a *soirée* at the home of Mme de Sainbris in July, 1866.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] "Anatole France et *le Parnasse contemporain*," *loc. cit.*

[54] "Petits mémoires d'un Parnassien," in *Le Petit Temps* for July 9, 1900.

[55] "A propos du livre de M. Catulle Mendès sur *le Parnasse contemporain*" (*La Revue independante*, Dec. 1884, pp. 143–44).

[56] This is by no means the entire story of the Parnassian *salons*. M. Ibrovac, in his thorough-going study on José-Maria de Heredia (Paris, 1923), gives a sketchy review of the Parnassian gatherings, "en attendant une étude définitive" (pp. 75 et seq.).

# REVIEWS

*A Chronology of Vulgar Latin* by Henri F. Muller, Halle, Niemeyer, 1929 (publ. as Heft 78 of the *Beihefte* of the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*).

This latest work (171 pp.) on Vulgar Latin challenges the concept of the development of the Romance languages as heretofore generally held by philologists. The radical principles which form its basis will no doubt arouse vehement denial on the part of those scholars whose theories have ruled the linguistic world. That, among others, I believe to be the aim of the author. For if the principles presented in this book are contradicted, new data on the subject will have to be found. I venture to predict the finding of such data to be very difficult. For Professor Muller has examined what seems to be every available and pertinent kind of document of every century in France, Italy and Spain as well as the other regions of Romania from pre-Latin times through the thirteenth century. Nor is the linguistic situation presented alone by references to these Latin documents. Specialists in every field, Hauck for church history, Pigeonneau, Heyd, Inama-Sternegg for commerce and history, Engel and Serrure, Planchet and Dieudonné, von Ebengreuth for monetary conditions, Gregorovius and Flach for civil and political history, etc., etc., figure prominently in his *exposé*. The theories of every well-known philologist from the seventeenth century to modern times are refuted or supported. No stone is left unturned by the author to bring the truth to light. And if unbelieving souls disagree they will find a most imposing and solid array of facts to disprove and a still greater task in finding other facts to negate the principles of this book. For Professor Muller destroys theories only to build up new principles based on facts. Thus this book is simultaneously destructive and constructive in its purpose.

Before arriving at an examination of the various chapters, one feature must be mentioned which will strike delight to the heart of the sociologist, psychologist and historian: Never is a linguistic development demonstrated but that it is interpreted in its social, historical and psychological *milieu*. Such an interpretation makes the book, although of a profoundly scholarly nature, readable and fascinating as well as essential to the specialist in philology, history, sociology, and also to the layman, etc.

There are two strong currents underlying this study: The proof that the Latin of pre-Romance Romania was uniform in all essential respects; that the transition from Latin to Romance was not a gradual process, but a precipitate movement taking place in the last quarter of the eighth century. One last point: For reasons demonstrated completely the significant period of Vulgar Latin is held to be the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. On those centuries, the Merovingian period, the book hinges, although all known documents in Vulgar Latin are discussed. Finally, for reasons of space, a numerous group of important details have had to be ignored in this review.

In the first seven chapters Professor Muller has demonstrated the extraordinary commercial and ecclesiastical activity of the Merovingian period which will forever dispel the illusion that the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries were "Dark" Ages. More important still are the steps taken by the Church to insure complete Christianization of the masses and to eradicate anything that smacks of paganism. These

two main factors caused the thorough and unified Latinization of the Roman Empire, and, through the continual movement of merchants, monks, clerics, etc., prevented the growth of dialects in those centuries. Here are a few of the actual commercial and civil conditions gleaned impartially from the data accumulated from works of specialists in the Merovingian period and from the documents composed in that period: Growth of private real estate, unhampered admission of strangers to communities, election of bishops by the people and their unchecked passage from one diocese to another, speculation in wheat and wine, the presence of frequent taxes showing the need for them, buying of precious objects, trading in landed property, owning of property in various regions by an individual, the fundamental unity of the monetary situation, the increased activity caused by the colonization of Romania by the Barbarians, military service, local wars, distant expeditions. Trading was not confined to Romania alone: commerce with Egypt and Syria and other foreign lands was extensive. The part played by the Church and the influence emanating from Rome was the most impelling force in this Latinization: the Church forbids the ordination of deacons who cannot read, represses those practicing pagan rites, holds numerous councils, influences the building of numerous monasteries with the consequent world-wide colonization of regions by monks and their new function as leaders of their communities, inspires the writing of lives of saints read in church for the edification of the masses, increases the great pilgrimage movement to Rome. The fact is stressed and rightly so, that had any other language been more easily understood and spoken by the inhabitants of Romania, the Church would unhesitatingly have adopted it—for its purpose was utilitarian not esthetic. It therefore used the one common language of Romania, Latin, in its enormous social task.

In the 7th and 8th chapters are presented those historical and social conditions which, destroying the unity of Romania, caused various dialects to spring up. There is demonstrated, as well, the fact that the regional characteristics of the Latin Language were common to all parts of Romania before the year 813, when the councils of Charlemagne were held and when this unity of language was destroyed.

In chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 are shown the fundamental linguistic features of pre-Romance Latin, which, reaching their ultimate growth in the second half of the eighth century, were the direct precursors of Romance. These are: phonetically, the lengthening of all stressed vowels and the subsequent shortening of unstressed syllables, causing syncope; phonological in origin and eventually morphological and syntactical, the weakening of declension and infinitive endings causing the development of the Latin oblique case and the confusion of active and passive infinitive of the third conjugation, the main factor in the final disappearance after the eighth century of the synthetic Latin passive; the evolution of the construction *facere* + infinitive to be found later in the Romance expression "faire faire quelque chose à quelqu'un." And all these basic Vulgar Latin features are shown to have developed chronologically, one from the other, and to have reached the height of their development in the three main regions of Romania, Spain, Gaul and Italy in the last half of the eighth century up till the year 813 when the acknowledgment of the existence of the *Romana lingua rustica* was made. Then, and only then, could real dialectalization set in. Practically every Vulgar Latin phenomenon was characteristic not of a particular region, but of France, Spain and Italy; and these conditions explain the failure of such scholars as Du Cange, Muratori, Sittl, Diehl, Schuchardt, Gröber, Bresslau, Geyer, Pirson, etc., to find proofs of early dialectalization. Chapter 12 is devoted to a minute examination of Professor Menéndez Pidal's latest book *Orígines del Español*, which examination simply bears out the results given above.

In chapters 13 to 17 is given a résumé of the social conditions which caused the early appearance and development of Romance in Gaul and the existence, some three or four centuries later, of Spanish and Italian. Syncopation and the crystallization of the two-case system are the decisive features in the dialectalization of the Latin in the West. The rapid increase of the stress accent, the emphasis given to the tonic syllable are explained psychologically and sociologically. The masses to a great extent reigned supreme in Gaul. To them the *élite* (and the culture of the *élite* approached very closely that of the common man) cater, in their language the *élite* speak and write, for them are composed lives of saints written and read in Church, for them and by them are laws, scientific formulas, homilies drawn. We can see that, along with the relatively lower culture in Gaul, a great democratic spirit and catering to the masses existed. Thus, this emphasis given to the stress accent, so characteristic of the common man, expresses his inner emotions stirred by the great work of Christianity. And he is encouraged to give free rein to those emotions, just as the clergy do who preach to him.

To resume, we find a situation in Gaul, not found, or at least to a negligible extent in Spain and Italy, especially after the eighth century. In Gaul it is proved that the essential difference in the Latin of the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth is due to the difference in the aims of those who use it. In the former period religious teaching was done in an incorrect language by men almost unconscious of this fact and possessed of a grammatical knowledge hardly superior to that of the people. After 813 the literary use of Latin was for cultural expression and was directed by men having a literary and grammatical knowledge. So after the councils held only for France and Germany in 813, syncopation and diphthongization rapidly developed, so that by 842 the *Romana lingua rustica* is the *Romana lingua* or Romance in France. Yet the literary, although oral, use of this speech in the religious life of the people there, so important at that period, maintained a morphology of the noun and adjective that helped to preserve the Latin order of words and permit easy translation of Latin originals, sermons and homilies, lives of saints, etc.

In Italy a lay aristocracy ruled the destiny of the language. In that region no such concern and interest in preaching to and for the people are found. No oral literature or collection of legal documents for and by the common people abound. The commoner is suppressed, and his language ignored. In Italy the national language was the language of the *élite* even when Dante in his *De Vulgari Eloquio* advocated the use of the Italian language.

In Spain a similar situation existed although not so clearly defined as that of Italy. There was in the ninth and tenth centuries a spasmodic popular movement; but it was not until after the eleventh century that the new Spanish soul emerged in the formation of Castilian, as has been so well brought out by the great Spanish scholar Professor Menéndez Pidal in his *Orígines del Español.*

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Otto Jespersen, *An International Language*, W. W. Norton Co., N. Y., 1929, 196 pp.

It is some fifty years since J. M. Schleyer brought out the practical international language,[1] Volapük. It was soon brilliantly successful: it was discussed in inter-

[1] The idea had been suggested before in the works of Descartes, Comenius, Leibnitz and others; see L. Couturat and L. Leau, *Histoire de la langue universelle*, Paris, 1903.

national congresses; books and periodicals were written in Volapük. But after a relatively short period of prosperity it suddenly collapsed, for reasons which seem obvious enough now: it was too dependent upon the caprice of the inventor and it ran counter to the most elementary precepts of word-formation and morphology. Even while Volapük was in its brief day of triumph, L. L. Zamenhof had introduced his Esperanto in 1887. This new international language was decidedly superior to Volapük: it displayed greater ingenuity in taking over words with the minimum of changes from existing languages, and it had fewer arbitrary grammatical forms. First attaining considerable success about the beginning of the present century, Esperanto gradually increased in prestige until at the present time "Esperanto" and "International Language" have become synonymous for the average person. Other international languages indeed have cropped up from time to time: Idiom Neutral, Universal, Ido, Latino sine flexione, etc., have been hopefully launched on a skeptical world. However the only interlanguage that has shown any marked vitality is Esperanto. And even Esperanto is more or less of a *tour de force;* its forms are often ingenious rather than comprehensible,[2] and it is pretty evident by now that it will never be anything but an international hobby.

Realizing the inadequacy of Esperanto and, indeed, of all its linguistic rivals, Otto Jespersen, the famous Danish philologist, has introduced a new international language which he calls Novial (derived from *Nov* = "new" + *I. A. L.* = "International Auxiliary Language"). Novial, it may be said at the outset, enjoys the unique distinction of being "the first interlanguage ever framed by a professional philologist" (p. 59). As a trained philologist, Jespersen has the historical sense, the critical viewpoint and the essential tolerance that some of his predecessors, notably Schleyer and Zamenhof, sadly lacked. In fact, this latest attempt at an interlanguage is marked by pleasing sanity and lack of presumptuousness. In the first place, Jespersen has no intention of supplanting existing languages; Novial is to be an *auxiliary* language, "a sort of substitute for national languages whenever these are not capable of serving as means of communication" (p. 11). Again, it is not to be an arbitrary affair: it is to be a *constructed* language, a careful amalgamation of the best efforts that have hitherto been put forth in the field (p. 59). Finally, Jespersen is not insistent upon our accepting Novial in its entirety in its present form; he is "willing to accept criticism and new suggestions" (p. 60), even to the extent of testing alternative forms in practice and adopting them if they prove to be more suitable than his own.

It would be impossible, of course, to give anything like a satisfying idea of Novial in this review. It will suffice, perhaps, to point out a few of its features: (1) There are only five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u;* no distinction is made between phonetic *e* and ɛ, *o* and *ɔ*; all rounded front vowels and nasals are eliminated.—(2) The troublesome letter *c* is eliminated (except in the digraph *ch*), *k* representing the palatal and *s* the sibilant.—(3) Adjectives are not inflected, and thus one avoids the artificial pattern offered by Esperanto phrases like *chiuj tiuj bravaj homaj agoj* = "all those brave human acts."—(4) In the formation of the vocabulary Jespersen tries to find a common denominator between the various European tongues: Romance roots form the groundwork of Novial, but Jespersen finds occasion to include such Germanic words as *blind, nur, bald, darf*, etc.—The following specimen will indicate the simplicity of Novial, as well as its rather curious blending of Romance and Germanic roots:

[2] Jespersen cites as an example (p. 39) the word "ghistiamajn" = "previous," which has the following elements: "ghis" = "up to," "tiam" = "then," "a" = adjectival ending, "j" = plural, "n" = accusative.

"Un objetione kel on audi tre ofte fro linguistes e altres es disi: even si omni teranes vud lerna un sami lingue, li uneso vuld bald desapari e diversi lingues vud existeska, samimen kam li romanali lingues blid produkte per li disfalo de latinum." [3]

It does not suffice to propose an international language; it is also necessary to "sell the idea." Realizing this very well, Jespersen has brought up a number of reasons for adopting a constructed international language: (1) "In these days of cheap travel, of international science and of world-politics, it seems an urgent need . . . to have an easy means of getting in touch with foreigners" (p. 17).—(2) In scientific congresses, the handicap of not understanding the language that is employed prevents free discussion (p. 13).—(3) In the case of printed works, many valuable items are lost to the world of thought because they are written in one or the other of the minor languages (pp. 14–15).—(4) It would be impossible, for reasons of national jealousy, to adopt an existing tongue as an international language (p. 18).—(5) Latin, whether Classical or Mediæval, would be impractical because of its lack of adaptability to modern conditions [4] (p. 19). Of course objections galore will at once occur to most readers; Jespersen has endeavored to forestall these objections as far as possible by indicating and answering a number of them:

| *Objection.* | *Answer.* |
|---|---|
| (1) A language is a living thing, and it is no more possible to set up an artificial language than it is to create a homunculus in the laboratory. | There are many artificial elements even in existing languages. We must study existing languages, find out the laws of their development, and then build on what has most vitality (pp. 21–22). |
| (2) Men of different nationalities will never be able to pronounce the same words in the same way. | The phonetic system of Novial has been so simplified that this objection is not very serious; besides, a sort of phonetic mean will be established (pp. 25–26). |
| (3) Constructed languages can never be as good as existing languages. | Novial is only an auxiliary language to be used for practical purposes; therefore its æsthetic beauty is a matter of minor importance (p. 28). |
| (4) Even if one language were adopted throughout the world, it would evolve into a number of dissimilar languages again, as in the case of Latin. | The prevalent ease of intercourse makes for linguistic unity rather than differentiation. But even if this differtiation were to take place, it would be in the rather distant future: "After us the deluge!" (pp. 28–30). |

In the logical nature of its construction and its comparative simplicity, Novial appears to be superior to all the other artificial international languages hitherto proposed. But will it ever be possible to secure universal acceptance of an artificial language in the first place, and then to keep it free from the disintegrating influences of linguistic evolution? [5]

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[3] "An objection that one hears very often from linguists and others is the following: even if all inhabitants of the earth learnt one and the same language, the unity would soon disappear, and different languages would arise in the same way as the Romance languages were produced by the splitting up of Latin."

[4] Jespersen refers here to the suggestion of G. de Reynold (*Revue de Genève*, May and June, 1925) that Mediæval Latin be adopted as the international language.

[5] Cf. Objection 4 above.

Charles Baudelaire, *Les Paradis artificiels. La Fanfarlo.* Notice, notes et éclaircissements de M. Jacques Crépet, Paris, Conard, 1928.

The invariable excellence of the critical editions bearing the Conard imprint is to a large extent due to this publisher's perspicacity in his choice of editors; in every case, the works of each author are entrusted to a scholar preeminent in his field. Thus we find that Professor Baldensperger has been selected for Musset and Vigny, MM. Bouteron and Longnon for Balzac, and Dr. Armaingaud for Montaigne.

M. Jacques Crépet is another example of what we mean: his superiority over other commentators past or present in the field of Baudelairean research is beyond dispute. Carrying on the work begun by his father, who prefaced his edition of the posthumous works of Baudelaire in 1887 with a biographical study that is still indispensable whenever *facts* and not anecdotes are required, M. Crépet has been publishing articles and books on Baudelaire for a period of thirty years.

It would be a great mistake, however, to deduce from this long devotion to the poet's memory that M. Crépet is a "Baudelairean," in the sense that Brunetière was accustomed to use this word, meaning the sort of myopic and extravagant admirer typified by Mr. Arthur Symons. If M. Crépet is an ardent admirer of the works which occupy him, he is most careful to keep his dithyrambs out of the annotations, for these are in a tone that is both dignified and appropriate.

This volume, the fifth to appear in a collection which will probably comprise as many as fifteen tall octavos, continues a tradition of not only thorough, but we might even say inspired, interpretation and elucidation of a work that demands the lightest of touches and the keenest of critical acumen. As in the other volumes, there is a history of the trials attendant upon the publication of the work in periodicals and in book form, together with generous notes (at the end of the volume, where they should be), and all the variants, not only of printed versions, but of the various manuscripts that have come to light. Especially interesting is the manner in which M. Crépet has treated the influence of early reading of such works as the *Hallucinations* upon the *Paradis artificiels*.

We have two remarks to make, not of primary importance, it is sure, but which may have escaped the attention of this editor. In the *Magasin pittoresque* for 1840, there is a long quotation from Musset's translation of the *English Opium Eater*, probably the first excerpt of this work that could have come to Baudelaire's notice. This appeared five years before the first edition of the *Hallucinations*, and we have fairly clear evidence that Baudelaire was at least an occasional reader of this review.

Finally, in the *Revue internationale* of Geneva, where portions of *Eureka*, translated by Baudelaire, were published, there is a London letter announcing the death of Thomas de Quincey, which contains this passage:

> "De la mort de Quincey, je ne dirai rien, puisque vous devez publier prochainement une traduction de la fantaisie la plus originale qu'il ait jamais écrite; je laisse à mon collaborateur le soin de vous raconter la vie et les ouvrages d'un écrivain populaire en Angleterre, et parfaitement inconnu en France."

We know that there was a question of publishing Baudelaire's translation on De Quincey in the *Moniteur universel* and the *Revue française*, and that, both of these periodicals having refused the work, it appeared at last in the *Revue contemporaine*. Could Baudelaire have been in *pourparlers* with de Roze, the editor of the *Revue internationale*, also, before that gentleman cut short the installments of *Eureka?*

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G. L. van Roosbroeck, *Grotesques*. Illustrations by J. Matulka, New York, Living Art, 1929.

When Marcel Schwob published his first collection of tales, in 1891, what is called the general public was not the wiser for it. The work was acclaimed by the knowing ones as one of the literary events of the year, however. Schwob, through the next few years, more than fulfilled the promises of his first book, and as a stylist, as an essayist, as a prose-poet, as a narrator of symbolic and fantastic tales, he established himself as the peer of his great predecessors: Gérard de Nerval, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Jules Laforgue.

The appearance of *Grotesques* recalls that of *Cœur Double*. Here we have a promise and an achievement. The evocation of Marcel Schwob is further justified by the fact that his spirit seems to hover over these tales. Their author, who is what Marcel Schwob wished always to be, a University Professor, is an example of that rare phenomenon: the scholar who combines sound erudition with creative imagination. Professor van Roosbroeck's learning is the equal of that of the author of *Spicilège*. The exquisite delicacy of his intriguing, complex, hyper-sensitive intelligence recalls at every moment that of his spiritual progenitor. One senses in him the spirit of a Benedictine paleographist working hard to keep his literary faculties alive, and succeeding in doing so. The tales he publishes to-day are the first crop of this fertile imagination finding a healthy manna in the ample resources of his erudition. That is why, in spite of their fantastic nature, the spirit that prevails in them is one of discipline. There is pessimism in them, a somber idealism that bespeaks the frustration of the thing we call civilization, a skeptical romanticism that verges on the baroque sometimes, and sometimes on the tragic. But their sarcasm is never bitter; their cynicism is never destructive. Their author harbors no illusions about life. Though as a poet he can create them, as a rational thinker he is most careful not to be caught in them. Though he can dream beautiful dreams, he is never lost in them. His cosmic visions are those of an artist, not those of an abstract speculator. He creates a happy admixture of symbolic realism with philosophic pessimism, and that is recreating the art of a Schwob and of a Laforgue in the mother-tongue of the master of them all: Edgar A. Poe.

Professor van Roosbroeck's style is personal, carefully wrought, though sometimes too intricate for superficial reading. But it is always orderly and lucid. The illustrations by J. Matulka harmonize well with the allegorical atmosphere of the book. As to the individual tales, where all of them are of such excellence, it is difficult to express preferences. The "Three Fables for the Children of To-Morrow" seem to me most significant. If their author lives up to the high promise which they hold forth, I have no doubt that the "children of to-morrow" will remember them, and that they will assign to him a place in American letters that will recall that occupied by a Marcel Schwob in French literature.

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Concha Meléndez, *Amado Nervo*, New York, Instituto de las Españas, 1928, 83 pp.

Rather than a heavily documented study, this booklet brings us a lyrical apotheosis of this reflective poet—after Rubén Darío the most significant among the *Modernistas*. And one may wish that this "appreciation" would have been less lyrical and diffuse, here and there, but more concentrated and precise. Two im-

portant points might have been more stressed: (1) The quality of Nervo's intellect; (2) The foreign influences in his work.

In verbal artistry, in sheer mastery of chastened form, Darío remains the supreme virtuoso. Amado Nervo has less nimble fingers, less brilliancy on the surface, but what his verse loses in refinement of form, it gains in depth of thought, in philosophic significance. In fact, his approach to poetry was intellectual—especially in his latter years when the first effervescence of the *Modernista* reform had passed. Thought remained central with him; his poems acquired more importance as illustrations of a philosophic thought than as "poésie pure" composed only for art's sake. Often his prose and poetry were modulations on the same and recurring philosophic theme. It was, so to speak, in the central laboratory of his intellect that the æsthetic experiments of the poet were evolved. His reflective and mystical verse "se asoma todo a su interior hambriento de enigmas y de eternidad." Much in his life contributed to strengthen this tendency towards intellectualization. His search for the new and the unexplored was stimulated, after his early studies for the priesthood, by his meeting with Gutiérrez Nájera, and his travels to Europe where he was to become the intimate friend of Rubén Darío. No doubt the author of *Los Raros* further initiated him into the several Arcana of the Symbolist epoch, and he always carried with him a devout love for Paris, which he called the "divina ciudad de albas azules."

Although Nervo held the principle that genius is always original and unexplainable, "es siempre un milagro," few authors have sat at the feet of so many masters—not so much for his form perhaps, as for his philosophy, or, rather, his philosophies. Omnivorous, he read and absorbed the best, and the more doubtful, and the mediocre. He succeeded in placing Nietzsche beside Annie Besant without feeling the clash. An "hombre ultra-culto," as Srta. Meléndez puts it, he became intellectually a dilettante who could transform himself under a thousand disguises, each equally true and equally intense, yet without losing his own individuality. All ideas fascinated him, and often he balanced them one against the other, just as Gourmont or France might have done. He says: "El que piensa mucho, no puede querer nada en definitivo; no sabe optar con resolución por nada, porque en su cerebro el pro y el contra se equilibran y balancean." Pedro Henríquez Ureña illustrated this state of mind vividly when he depicted Amado Nervo as an "espíritu legendario," wandering through the great forests of India, to the shores of Greece; as enclosed in a fearful tower during the Middle Ages; as living the jeweled dreams of the *Thousand and One Nights;* as transforming himself into an aristocratic pseudo-shepherd courting the rosy lady-shepherdesses of eighteenth century France. . . . But his diverse mental attitudes do not only recall the past, they are often intensely of his age. His Buddhism, for example, is reminiscent of the European current which, through Schopenhauer, reached Jean Lahor; his conception of Christ recalls both Renan and Schuré's *Les Grands Initiés*, when he calls Jesus "el más perfecto tipo de idealidad que se haya producido en el planeta." His *Hermana Agua* suggests the nature-mysticism of St. Francis of Assisi, to whom the Sun and the Wolf were brothers. . . . For his prose studies on the mysteries of the human mind—the subconscious, abnormal psychology, mental aberrations—he perused James, Ribot, Bergson, and others.

He assimilated much, and much that is inherently conflicting. His intellectual conceptions are unoriginal and uncritical. Yet, for all that, we have the feeling that we stand before a definite personality. And although one can easily indicate the points of contact with his contemporaries and with contemporary thought, his work betrays an emotional quality which remains his own. However diverse, relativistic

and flexible his intellect, emotionally he craves the absolute. He suffered the "torment of infinity." In *that* lies his unity, his personality. It is the centripetal force that drew his conflicting ideas to a focus. It is to the unfathomable Infinite that he prays in his plaintive *Elevación*, and implores forgiveness for having asked over and over again the insoluble question of the *Why* of existence. Exactly because of this constant emotional obsession of the Infinite—grafted upon a changeable, an ever-shifting intellect—he wandered through all varieties of religious experience, through all diverse philosophies. And when the wanderer came to the end of his winding road, he stood at his very point of departure: mystic he began, and mystic he ended. In each one of his new gods, in each one of his ultimate ideals—whether he baptized them Christ or Superman or Humanity or Buddha—we should see but the fleeting, the ever-changing symbols of that great Thirst that he tried to quench at so many springs. "Ce sixième sens, ce sens de l'Infini," sighed Jules Laforgue.

But, if she did not explore deeply Nervo's intellectual life and its manifold origins, Srta. Meléndez has stressed, and rightly so, the personal element in his complex work. By concentrating on the emotional unity that lies beyond his bewildering intellectual instability, by elucidating his constant preoccupation with the mysteries of life and destiny, she has composed an understanding and enthusiastic interpretation of this tortured and restless seeker, whose temper still remains modern, notwithstanding the passing decades.

W. S. Robertson, *The Diary of Francisco de Miranda. Tour of the United States. 1783–84*, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1928, xxxvi + 206 pp.

The Hispanic Society deserves great credit for bringing out this absorbing *Diary* of Francisco de Miranda, the "Precursor of Spanish-American independence." It is a document of first rank, which throws into clear relief the figure of this Venezuelan general, who, having caught the revolutionary fever, became a citizen-of-the-world, a friend of the North American insurgents, a general in the army of the French *Sans-Culottes*, and a promoter of revolutions in general. Resourceful, restless and indomitable, he travelled from country to country, negotiating everywhere with ministers and governments to obtain help for his plan of overthrowing the Spanish rule in South America. Everywhere during his travels he carried with him a number of precious leather-trunks in which he kept his diaries and his very compromising correspondence neatly classified. When, at last, he became Dictator of Venezuela, he brought them to his fatherland as a monument to his own zeal as a liberator. But it was written that the strange Odyssey of these documents should not end there. He was betrayed to the Spanish Royalists by disgruntled partisans, and thrown into prison, in which he died in 1816. But the Dictator had, before his arrest, taken measures to save his archives as well as his personal property. He succeeded in bringing them aboard an English brig, the *Sapphire*, and in consigning them to an English merchant, G. Robertson, in Curaçao. But in Curaçao his property was detained by the English custom officers, who at once informed Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for war and colonies, of their strange find. The Spaniards, in the meanwhile, claimed the extensive archives as well as the other property as belonging to the Spanish crown by right of conquest, but Lord Bathurst—much concerned about the confidential correspondence of Miranda with the English government—issued orders to have them spirited away to England. He kept the archives in his private office and eventually transferred them to his estate at Cirencester. For over a century they were "lost," until Professor W. S. Robertson discovered them. By a strange

coincidence the discoverer bears the same name as the merchant to whom Miranda finally consigned his papers!

It is from this extensive collection of inedited records that Professor W. S. Robertson has selected this *Diary* of Miranda's early travels in the United States, from June 1783 to December 1784. It brings interesting glimpses of post-revolutionary America. Miranda was received here in a true spirit of revolutionary brotherhood and met many of the outstanding Americans of that time. He was entertained by the Rev. Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College, visited John Trumbull, the author of *M'Fingall or the Progress of Dullness*, was invited by Alexander Hamilton, the Van Cortlandts, and many others. It is rather quaint to see him describe King's Bridge as "un puentezuelo de madera sobre *Harlem-River*, o *Spiking-Devil* como vulgarmente le llaman" . . . .

This *Diary* reveals many points of interest for the relation of North and South America during the Revolutionary Period and is replete with first-hand observations on the condition of our country at that time. For the biography of this collaborator of Bolívar it remains invaluable. Let us hope that the treasure chest of Miranda's papers will be put again to contribution for another one of these revealing volumes.

J. García Mercadal, *En Zigzag* (*Por Tierras Vascas de España y Francia*). Madrid, Excursionismo, 1928, 330 pp.

The Basque country and its people remain the Sphinx of Spain whose riddles remain still unfathomed both by the Spaniard and the outsider. For centuries the Basques stood as a nation apart, with a separate language and immemorial customs, enclosed in their rugged mountains as in a bulwark. And these customs and language continue to arouse a passionate interest in the scholar and the traveller who are able to forget the *Baedekers* in order to observe a self-contained people in its most picturesque aspects. Even now one is transported there to the days of the Troubadours; holidays are still celebrated with poetical contests as of yore in the noble's hall; extemporized poetry is flung back and forth like the balls in the *pelota*, that other immemorial Basque game. . . . Far from the beaten highways, one can still find there shrines and castles unchartered by any guide book and unknown to the archæologist. . . . One can visit the birthplace of some of its famous sons: the fearless Unamuno, and the dryly iconoclastic Baroja. . . . One can go on a pilgrimage following the trail of the heroes of medieval lore through the valleys and the mountain passes, and admire the rock which Roland, in his fury, cleft with one blow of his mighty sword. . . . Or, after having read Loti, one can visit the villages of its daring smugglers, which he has depicted with so brilliant a brush. . . . In Bayonne one can admire the Goyas and some magnificent Grecos. . . . And one should not forget the Basque Museum of Bayonne, which, although founded in 1922, is becoming more and more a repository of all that represents best the past and the folklore of this sturdy nation. García Mercadal's *En Zigzag* is eclectic enough to content two categories of travellers: Those who seek spiritual ventures and those who seek mere enjoyment in changed surroundings.

Barbara Matulka

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r. blanco-fombona, *diario de mi vida, 1904–1905*, renacimiento, Madrid, 1929.

Before opening this latest book by Blanco-Fombona the absence of capital letters and the two unusual pictures on the cover might make one think that the author

had 'gone futuristic' entirely. The contents of the volume, however, concern facts and ideas which he has already presented in the form of essay and fiction.

Amid many digressions which are, of course, permissible in a diary of this sort, Blanco-Fombona relates the varied, rapidly moving events of his life during the years 1904 and 1905. At the age of thirty he left the easy, pleasant life of a consul in Amsterdam and Paris. A wave of patriotic enthusiasm impelled him to return to the *tierruca* eager to work for the regeneration of the fatherland. But President Castro was a practical politician, convinced that the proper place for young intellectuals with zeal for social and political reform is safe in the bosom of the consular service and as far away from Venezuela as possible. Blanco-Fombona's sudden return to Caracas must have embarrassed the President, who did not intend to let this young hot-head get into politics and into mischief in the capital. Castro was also a resourceful man; so he appointed this rash, ugly-tempered idealist, governor of the Territory of Amazonas, which is Venezuela's 'Wild West' and is situated along the upper reaches of the Orinoco. Out in the *selva* in the territorial capital of San Fernando de Atabapo the new governor would be safely out of the way while he lived and, besides, it is a territory where, both before and since Blanco-Fombona's incumbency, governor mortality has been extremely high.

The first hundred pages of the *Diario* are the European part of the book and contain anecdotes and gossip about Blanco-Fombona's books, his friends, his sweethearts and his mistresses, and about his life in Amsterdam, Paris and Madrid. Now and then he pauses to set down some observation or opinion, as for example:

"Roma me inspira respeto; París me inspira admiración; Madrid me inspira amor."

"No puedo negarlo; los españoles me gustan: son generosos, caballerescos, valientes . . . cuando no son todo lo contrario."

In speaking of Spanish misunderstanding of Spanish-Americans, he says:

"Hoy mismo corre como válido en la mayoría, con respecto a nosotros, un error grave: nos creen mucho más ricos y mucho más brutos de lo que somos."

There is also a sentence which is an ever recurring motif in his stories and novels:

"A mi me ha impresionado siempre el espectáculo de la bondad puesta en ridículo, con la ironía más amarga, por la Vida." [1]

This first part of the book is called *Un año plácido.* The second part bears the title *Un año trágico* and deals with the author's trip to San Fernando de Atabapo and with his imprisonment in Ciudad Bolívar. The account of the journey is practically identical with that published fourteen years ago under the title *Viaje al Alto Orinoco, 1905.*[2]

After resisting an attempt against his life in San Fernando, Blanco-Fombona escaped down the Orinoco, but upon landing at Ciudad Bolívar, his enemies had him arrested, charging him with various irregular and arbitrary acts. While awaiting trial he was detained for six months in a filthy prison crowded with thieves and murderers. In prison, too, his life was endangered by plots as well as sickness. Finally his case was transferred to the federal courts in Caracas where he was acquitted. During all this time Blanco-Fombona kept a diary and wrote many letters to both friends and enemies. He also wrote his first, and probably his best novel—*El hombre de hierro.*

[1] Pages 53, 29, 33, 20.

[2] In *La lámpara de Aladino*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 331–393.

The most striking thing about the book is the jarring contrast between the hopes and ideals of the first part and the sordid picture, given in the second part, of the greed and violence of lawless provincial officials whom the central government is too weak or too indifferent to restrain.

D. F. Ratcliff

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Giuseppe Lando Passerini, *La Vita di Dante (1265–1321)*, Firenze, Vallecchi, 1929, 423 pp., L. 12.

Revised, expanded, and made more attractive in every way, this new edition of Count Passerini's life of Dante will receive a warm welcome. It is the third "edition" but not technically so, because first published—in its original form, and under the title simply of *Dante*—by a different house (Caddeo of Milan); hence there is no indication of the fact on its title-page, or elsewhere. It is far from being completely new, however: the wording of the first form has been followed in broad outlines, and often in exact or nearly exact phrasing; the general arrangement has been pretty scrupulously preserved, even where its natural sequence as a biographical treatise did not necessitate it; and the extra fulness is due chiefly to intercalated paragraphs or sections—for example three pages in Chapter X on the *Tenzone* with Forese—or entire chapters—such as II, on the Florence of Dante's day; V, on the Alighieri coat-of-arms; XXVII, XXVIII, and XXXI, on the *Convivio*, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and *Monarchia*, respectively; most of XXXVI and all of XXXVII, on the *Divina Commedia* (though all these works are treated, less fully, in the final chapters of the first edition; while the new edition ends with chapters on the Commentators, and the vicissitudes of Dante's bones). The part on the Portraits of Dante (in Chapter XXIX of the first edition) has been replaced by about twice as many pages, which are largely a reprint from pages 3–19 of the author's *Il Ritratto di Dante* (Firenze, Alinari, 1921). These improvements and additions, together with the introduction of copious quotations not only from the works of Dante and other literary writers but also from documents, archives, chronicles, and the like, give the pages a life, and the treatment a satisfying quality, that not seldom was lacking in the often unrelieved, usually long-paragraphed, pages of the original form.

The book has also been greatly brightened by improvement in the typography and layout; as well as by the incorporation of a large number of cuts illustrating places, buildings, medieval drawings, manuscripts, and so forth, and a profusion of headpieces and *culs-de-lampe*. With regard to these cuts it must be said, however, that while on the whole they are rather pleasing, many—too many—of them fall just short of a degree of excellence commensurate with the general standard of the volume. This is true of the technique displayed in general; and there is further a disturbing feeling of unreliableness in specific cases: as when we find, for example, by comparison with photographic reproductions of the originals, that the engraver has botched the features and expression of several of the Dante "portraits" in such a way as to make the cuts quite valueless, and indeed misleading (as, e.g., on pp. 359 and 366); or that he has still further distorted drawings already quite sufficiently distorted in the originals—as when the cupola of S. Lorenzo, on p. 43, is made to reach nearly a whole story nearer the top of the campanile than it should; and the proportions of the Badia, on p. 30, are not less strangely twisted. In both these cases the inscription states that the drawings are "dal codice Rustici"; so it would not seem that there has been a deliberate attempt to correct the drawing. (This famous MS, incidentally, is several times quoted; and always with the name as just

given: is this a new, or corrected, spelling? Davidsohn and others whom I have been able to consult regularly give it as "Rustichi.") Another instance, to specify only one more among several, where the lack of artistic excellence is not compensated for by any informational value, is in the drawing on p. 127 which is supposed to represent the "Mercato vecchio a Firenze." It is perhaps too much to expect plenty of good illustrations in a work which is sold for the exceedingly low price quoted; but it really seems as if a higher price or fewer and better cuts—or even both—would be both condoned and lauded in subsequent editions. And finally, the value of those cuts which have value would be greatly enhanced if they were more consistently placed with the text which they illustrate, or at least were accompanied by the number of the page to which they are related.

There are further a few matters concerning the usefulness and acceptability of the book to students rather than to the general reader, to which the reviewer—wholly with helpful intent—would like to call attention: First, it is not evident what text has been followed for the quotations from Dante's works: careful comparisons show that it is neither the *Testo critico* of the Società Dantesca Italiana, nor the text of Casella, nor that of the old *Oxford Dante;* nor yet is it even that of the author's own editions of Dante's various works. Again: the spelling of some proper names has not been standardized; for example of San Gemignano (var. "Gim-"). Then, the "Indice di persone e di cose notevoli" is so nearly complete and satisfying that it should be made entirely so—at least for the proper names: the reviewer noted the absence of "Calimala" and of Ristoro di Montemurlo and his wife Bencisìa and some others, though not particularly on the trail of such omissions; he further discovered, without especial search, that misprints, most often in the page-numbers, are disconcertingly frequent in this part of the book. (Elsewhere, misprints seemed quite rare—which is indeed admirable in so complicated a kind of text.) Slips and errors (in one or two cases perhaps only typographical), noted, include the following: p. 47, l. 16, "7 di giugno" is evidently for "17 di giugno"; p. 62, l. 19, "primo" should be "secondo" (as the first edition correctly has); p. 208, l. 29, "prime" should be suppressed; p. 331, l. 27 (and the note, 82, on p. 399), gives Biagi's edition of the *Quaestio* (Modena) as of date 1908 instead of the correct 1907; p. 352, l. 14, calls our Professor R. T. Holbrook "l'inglese"—repeating the error which also occurs in Passerini's *Il Ritratto di Dante* (p. 13), and which evidently arose from the fact that the American professor's *Portraits of Dante* was published in London (1911); p. 383, l. 17 f., seems to need a "non" in the phrase "la gloria di aver avuto. . . ." And, finally, the work is so comprehensive that one is rather surprised to find, in the discussion as to the choice between the dates 1300 and 1301 for the Vision, no mention of the famous "Profhacius" almanac.

But if the size of the paragraphs in a review could be in direct relation to a reviewer's favorable, as against his faultpicking, reaction to the book involved, then certainly this one would have to be much more than doubled in length, so that its conclusion might show a preponderant ratio of enthusiastic appreciation as over adverse criticisms. The complex, and often baffling, story of Dante's life and works is told against that super-intricate background of his environment, with a clarity, a perspective, a vividness that fascinates the reader, while at the same time it gives a reassuring sense of reliability and scholarliness.

As against the first edition, which saw the light in 1921, and in those ominous days of Italy's anxious hesitating seemed to feel and reflect that light as only twilight at best—with perhaps the night at hand—this new edition is radiant, in its very

phrasing and makeup, with the glow of reborn faith and the fervor of renewed confidence in the destinies of that nation to whom Dante has always been the chief High Priest and Prophet.

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Henri Hauvette, *L'Ariosto et la poésie chevaleresque à Ferrare au début du XVIe siècle*, Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1927, 389 pp., avec 3 planches hors texte.

M. Hauvette, professor of Italian literature at the Sorbonne, brings to his study of Ariosto a calmness and fairness of judgment which one is accustomed to expect of French erudition. The precise subject of his inquest is not very clearly indicated in the title, for the subject of chivalric poetry at the court of the Dukes of Ferrara is little more than outlined. It is rather to offer himself as a guide, as a literary *cicerone* to the modern reader, wandering through the labyrinthine forest of *Orlando Furioso*, that M. Hauvette presents his book to the public. There are then no new or original theories and facts about the life and works of Ariosto; the method is expository and didactic, and is addressed to the student reader. To make easy the understanding of *Orlando Furioso*, the surroundings in which the poem was produced and the divers forces which went to act upon the life of the author are described. This constitutes the first part of the study. The second and more important division is devoted to a minute scrutiny of the poem itself.

For the life of Ariosto the principal sources are to be found in his own works, in his Satires, *De diversis amoribus*, in his Letters and in *Orlando Furioso*. Born to the life of a courtier, in a court which, although professing an interest in the fine arts, was, in reality, more occupied with affairs of state, Ariosto found himself a very unhappy man. This is quite apparent in the reception which the Cardinal Hippolyte gave to Ariosto's life work: "Messer Ludovico, where the deuce did you find all those silly stories?" The poet was sensitive to this lack of appreciation on the part of a prince whom he had served so faithfully and whose only reward was to appoint him to an arduous military charge. He died, as can be imagined, a disillusioned and embittered court servant whose only desire had been to consecrate himself to his art. It is difficult to see that Ferrara was an ideal or propitious milieu for a poet of Ariosto's temperament; so we find in his life the key to much in that poem which was his crowning achievement.

There are few persons one supposes, except scholars by profession, who have read the entire contents of this vast panoramic tableau in nearly forty thousand verses. In English literature there is an almost exact counterpart to it in Spencer's *Faerie Queene* (the comparison is far from gratuitous), which suffers from the same neglect. And this is not difficult to understand. The heroic deeds which form the substance of both poems are too numerous and elaborate in their "continued allegory and darke conceit," too baffling in their frequent irrelevancy to hold the attention of the modern reader, who turns with relief from the fitful episodes to the heavily scored purpled patches. M. Hauvette tries to remove this obstacle by retelling the scenario of the "plot"; but the résumé of the principal themes, however condensed, occupies nearly fifty pages! Even with this map of the landscape one is in danger of losing one's bearings.

The last part of the book is concerned with different questions presented by the text: Sources (the reader is referred to Pio Rajna's *Le Fonte dell'Orlando Furioso*),

originality, allegory, love, the poet's attitude toward chivalry, etc., etc. These pages are rich in penetrating criticisms. M. Hauvette knows his text and is dealing most of the time with the poet and not with what other writers have said about him. There are certain details which call for comment. It is a hard question to decide exactly what Ariosto's attitude was toward chivalry. M. Hauvette can entertain no doubt on this question, yet he quotes, and it is the only line that he does quote,

"O gran bontà de' cavalieri antiqui"

to support his contention of a surreptitious sense of humor in the poet. Spencer, whose perception in these matters was perhaps surer than ours, was less convinced of the sincerity of his Italian rival and undertook to "overgo" *Orlando*. The question is difficult, if not impossible, to decide since judgments here are always personal, and proof is lacking.

M. Hauvette's *manuel* has the merit of uniting between the covers of one book all the essential facts known about Ariosto and his poem. And the student is well prepared, after reading it, to find his way through the tortuous paths of *Orlando Furioso*. The divisions of the book greatly facilitate its use, while the treatment is lucid and sympathetic.

A. E. A. Naughton

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F. Zaman, *L'Attribution de Philomena à Chrétien de Troyes*, H. J. Paris, Amsterdam, 1928, 109 pp.

Since G. Paris first attributed the *Philomena* episode in the *Ovide Moralisé*[1] to Chrétien de Troyes,[2] there has been considerable diversity of opinion among scholars as to the appropriateness of the attribution.[3] We have in the way of positive evidence to that effect the well-known passage in the *Cligès* in which Chrétien describes himself as the poet who sang

". . . de la hupe et de l'aronde
E del rossignol la muance." (6–7)

This indicates clearly that Chrétien wrote a *Philomena*, whether or not it were the one utilized by the *Ovide Moralisé*. Also, in the *Philomena* episode of the *Ovide Moralisé*, the author says:

"Mes ja ne descrirai le conte
Fors si com Crestiens le conte,
Qui bien en translata la letre. . . ." (2211–3)

and later

"De Philomena faut le conte,
Si com Crestiens le raconte." (3685–6)

On the whole the *Philomena* debate has centered about certain arguments advanced by W. Förster and A. Hilka against the attribution. It is maintained that Chrétien de Troyes could not have been the author of the *Philomena* on the following grounds:

1. Ll. 733–4 read:

"La meisuns estoit an un bois,
Ce conte Crestiiens li Gois."

[1] Ed. C. de Boer, 2 vols. (first six bks.), Amsterdam, 1915–20.

[2] *Rom.* XIII, 399–400. Cf. *H. L. F.*, XXIX, 489 ff.

[3] For a bibliography of the *Philomena* dispute, cf. Zaman, pp. 33–6.

How is one to explain "li Gois"? "Derselbe Kristian wird sich doch in seinem Erstlingswerk nicht Crestiiens li Gois und später Crestiiens de Troies genannt haben" (Förster, *Wörterbuch*, p. 27).[4]

2. There are certain morphological and syntactical features in the *Philomena* that cannot be paralleled in the acknowledged works of Chrétien de Troyes; Förster points out such cases as the use of *el*<*illa*, *peüst*, *iert*, etc.

3. There is an allusion to "la mesniee Hellequin" in l. 192 which, according to Hilka (ed. of *Yvain*, p. xxxiv), cannot have been known to Chrétien.

4. Hilka (*ibid.*) has pointed out that Philomena, a Greek maiden, is represented as saying: "Tel est l'usage as François" (280).

5. Hilka (*ibid.*) has indicated a long descriptive passage in the *Philomena* (126–204) that he thinks is scholastic in style and not at all reminiscent of Chrétien.

M. Zaman, utilizing and occasionally supplementing the arguments of his predecessors, has answered these objections thus:

1. He thinks that "li Gois" (pronounced *gouais* in the fourteenth century, when the *Ovide Moralisé* was composed) represents the name of the author of that poem: he is mentioned in three MSS as Crestien le Gouais [Gouays, Goways]. Why is the name used in l. 734? M. Zaman follows the suggestion of F. E. Guyer:[5] Chrétien le Gouais, who had thus far followed his model, Chrétien de Troyes, desired to add a little detail that he had found in the Latin text and not in Chrétien de Troyes, to wit, that "La meisun estoit an un bois." He adds: "Ce conte Crestiiens li Gois" in order to indicate that he and not Chrétien de Troyes is responsible for the statement.

2. M. Zaman disposes of the alleged morphological and syntactical differences involved in summary fashion. Förster had declared that certain constructions in the *Philomena* could not be paralleled in the works of Chrétien de Troyes; M. Zaman retorts that Förster means *not* the works of Chrétien but the critical text established by Förster according to his preconceived notion of what the text should be. M. Zaman has only to consult the variants that Förster had rejected in order to find abundant parallels for each one of the moot *Philomena* constructions.

3. He quotes F. Lot[6] to indicate that Chrétien might well have known of the "mesniee Hellequin."

4. The inaccuracy in *Philomena*, 278 ff., may be paralleled by similar inaccuracies in the works of Chrétien.

5. Chrétien might well have written the "scholastic" passage of ll. 126–204, which is a perfectly conventional development of descriptive material.

Following this critique of his adversaries, M. Zaman adduces what he considers are positive arguments: the similarities in style between the *Philomena* and the works of Chrétien de Troyes, and the similar treatment of the love material.

If these positive arguments are rather too general to be conclusive one may say that M. Zaman, in the main, has successfully refuted the "anti-attributionists." Granting the justice of his procedure in utilizing the variants and not merely the critical text of Chrétien de Troyes, it must be admitted that he easily disposes of the cases in (2); and Hilka's arguments (3, 4, 5) being quite flimsy cannot withstand analysis. Still, "li Gois" is as much of a stumbling-block as ever before. Guyer's

[4] Also cf. A. Hilka, ed. of *Yvain* (*Rom. Bibl.*), 1926, p. xxiv. For a full discussion of "li Gois," cf. Zaman, pp. 15–30.

[5] *The Influence of Ovid on Chrétien de Troyes*, Chicago, 1921, p. 243.

[6] *Rom.* XXXII, p. 437.

interpretation, adopted by M. Zaman,[7] has always seemed to me quite extraordinary: as though the author of the *Ovide Moralisé* were to say: "I have been quoting thus far from Chrétien de Troyes, but as for the statement that 'the house was in a wood,' remember that it is not Chrétien de Troyes, but I, Chrétien le Gouais, who am responsible for it." Such meticulous concern for factual accuracy would be praiseworthy, but hardly possible.

Hinne Zwanenburg, *Posse et son évolution en vieux français*, Dissertation, Groningen University; Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1927, xii + 111 pp.

*Posse* is probably derived from *potis esse:*[1] "to be powerful, capable"; the radical *pot* is also to be found in words like *potior, possideo, compos* (in the phrase *compos mentis*), etc. The derivative *posse* probably had a physical connotation at first, but the verb came to imply not so much physical prowess as power and might over one's possessions, animate and inanimate. At an early period *posse* was combined with a complimentary infinitive, with the meaning of "to be powerful enough or capable enough to perform the action that the infinitive expresses": "Finge datos currus: quid ages? *poterisne* rotatis Obvius ire polis?" (Ovid, *Met.*, II, 74). Later there was a progressive weakening of this original sense: *posse* came to imply not physical strength but moral strength: "Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari aut animus vinci *poterat*" (Livy, XXI, iv, 5). Then the idea of subjectivity was introduced: *posse* might express emotion: "*Potestne* tibi haec lux, Catalina . . . esse iucundus, etc." (Cicero, *Cat.*, I, vi, 15), or attenuation: "Ut celsitudo vestra *potest* habere compertum" (Saint-Avit, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., antiq. Auct.*, VI, ii, p. 22, l. 6), or the idea of eventuality, in which case it was practically equivalent to *forsitan* or *fortasse:* "Mihi ita persuadeo—*potest* fieri, ut fallor—eam rem laudi fore" (Cicero, *Fam.*, XIII, 73).

*Posse* is also found without a complementary infinitive, as in the case of the idiom *in bello multum posse.* Here the original significance of the word is retained; the idea of strength, power, influence is more or less clearly implied. It should be noted that in this case *posse* is not used intransitively: there is (save in a few isolated instances [2]) a direct object, which is generally a neuter pronoun, such as *multum, plus, plurimum*, etc. Probably the transition of the intransitive verb *posse* to a verb admitting of a direct object may be explained on the basis that the object has more or less adverbial force.[3]

Most of the constructions indicated above may be paralleled in the case of Old French *pouvoir.* The original meaning of Latin *posse:* "to be powerful, capable," is still to be found: "Ewruins ott en gran dol, Porr o que ventre no lo en *poth*" (*Saint Léger*, ll. 63–64). This acceptation, however, is to be found much less frequently in Old French than in Latin. In many cases it is not physical ability but moral or persuasive force that is involved: "Ni ule cose non la *pouret* omq pleier" (*Eulalie*, l.

[7] M. Zaman thinks that "Ce conte Crestiiens li Gois" applies not merely to l. 733 but also to the six preceding lines; an examination of the passage in question does not bear out his contention.

[1] According to A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1910; cited in Zwanenburg, p. 1.

[2] See Zwanenburg, pp. 20–21. The construction seems to be elliptical in most of these cases.

[3] There are other instances of Latin intransitive verbs taking direct objects. Cf. "At pius Aeneas, . . . Multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amor" (*Aeneid*, IV, 394–395).

9). Or else the case in question may concern a circumstance not dependent upon the subject, but necessary for the accomplishment of the action involved in the verb: "Fait lui son lit o il *puet* reposer" (Alexis, l. 47, b). Even this tenuous connection with the etymological significance of *posse* may disappear, and *pouvoir* may come to signify, as in the case of *posse*, emotion: "E Olivier, qu'il tant poeit amer" (*Roland*, l. 2216), attenuation: "Emperere, dist ele, trop vos *poez* preisier" (*Pelerinage*, l. 13), or eventuality: "Se vos contenez a mon sans, Si con je vos lo contenir, Granz biens vos an *porra* venir" (*Yvain*, l. 1316). In certain cases *pouvoir* + infinitive seems to imply simple futurity: "Se j'i *puis* nului entreprendre, Miauz li vendroit estre a Pavie" (*Rom. de la Rose*, l. 3750). Again it may be a species of subjunctival auxiliary: "Car il ne puet cuidier ne croire, Que ses voloirs *puisse* avenir" (*Yvain*, l. 1427).

We have seen that *posse* may occasionally be used without an infinitive; there are similar instances in Old French. Corresponding to the idiom *in bello multum posse*, we have: "Suz ciel n'ad gent qui plus *puissent* en camp" (*Roland*, l. 3040). Again, as in Latin, *pouvoir* may be used not only without an infinitive but without any modifying word whatsoever: "Cil diex vos saut, Qui sor toz homes *puet* et vaut" (*Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. Barbazan, IV, v, 122). Sometimes *pouvoir* thus used has the force of *potest* = "it is possible": "il ne *peult* qu'il ne le congnoisse" (*Pathelin*, l. 1300).

After a detailed comparison of *pouvoir* with certain modal auxiliaries, notably *savoir* and *devoir* (Chap. VI), Zwanenburg concludes his study with a list of the texts utilized and with certain imposing statistics.

I have hardly been able to do justice to Zwanenburg's monograph in the foregoing brief survey. Of course no two scholars would agree upon the arrangement of the material or the categories to be adopted; still Zwanenburg's discussion is always stimulating, and it is bolstered up with a wealth of illustrative material. If there is a weak point in the presentation of this material, it is that by establishing so close a parallel between the various uses of *posse* and *pouvoir*, Zwanenburg makes it appear that there was a marked similarity in evolution as well as usage in the case of those two verbs. This impression is somewhat strengthened by the rather misleading title of the monograph; it is really an examination of the various uses of *pouvoir*, rather than a study in semantics, as the chronology of the examples indicates.

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## French Book Notes

André Gide, *The School for Wives*, translated by Dorothy Bussy, N. Y., Knopf, 1929, 117 pp.

"Robert is no hypocrite. He imagines that he really has the sentiments that he expresses. And I think even that in the long run he actually does have them, that they come at his call—the finest, the most generous, the most noble, always exactly those that it is proper—those that it is advantageous—to have." . . . "How I wish I could see him, if only for once, defend a cause for which he would really have to compromise himself, experience sentiments from which he could derive no advantage, have convictions which would be of no benefit to him!"

This deft post-mortem is exercised by an exceedingly perspicacious wife on the corpse of her dead love for a proper and pompous, but instinctively dishonest husband. From a too naive young girl—forget-me-not eyes and blue ribbons on a shepherdess'

hat—who, as a saccharine *bourgeoise*, "just adored" the shallow egotist she married, she turned into a new Nora, rebellious and precipitating her own tragedy. She develops a rigid, a Puritan conscience, a severely exacting uprightness. She wants her husband to be what he appears to be—tired as she is of living with a phantom, with an embodied pretense, with an actor of the most mediocre of bourgeois ideals. Her agony consists in her coming slowly face to face with her own thoughts, in her useless struggle in the grip of her increasing disillusion; his tragedy, or comi-tragedy, consists in the fact that he is really unable to understand his own personality, which would, perhaps, hardly exist if robbed of its lofty strutting. What does exist in him is a hard kernel of the most grasping egoism, covered with layer after layer of verbose and ostentatious hypocrisy, of which he is but half aware. He goes up in glory as a naive and yet tortuous arrivist of his type invariably will. Adorned with an undeserved decoration, he has no longer any doubts as to the authenticity of his virtues and his merit. At the end we catch a glimpse of him in his ascension as a budding moral leader, bolstering up the weakening "morale" of Paris during the war—whereas she goes to sacrifice, to a hospital for infectious diseases, with the secret hope of an early death.

Villiers de l'Isle-Adam studied a similar feminine rebellion in his *La Révolte* but his work lacks all the nuance, the psychological shading of Gide, although it hurries just as relentlessly to the unavoidable conclusion, to the clash and wreck of minds and souls which in the greatest intimacy have grown apart as bitter enemies. *The School for Wives* is one of these self-flagellating confessions in which Gide finds the easier outlet for his tortured and perplexed mind with all its irreconcilable antinomies. An important part of his work is written in the rather conventional form of intimate confessions noted down day by day in the acute awareness of a psychological conflict, and always tending towards renunciation and sacrifice. It leaves the impression of a soliloquy, in which the successive masks are but the mouthpieces of his own unrest. "C'est en écartelé que j'ai vécu. . . ."

But so much has been written on Gide's *Culte de l'Inquiétude* that one should not yield to the temptation of analysing it once more. It is singular to note that he is now finding a following in America. The translation of *The Counterfeiters* in 1927 marked the beginning of a modest, but very lasting interest in his exceptional work. And, since Gide is one of these who, once found, are difficult to lose, his work will no doubt increase slowly, but unavoidably, its hold upon the more discriminating part of the American public.

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Karl Grass, *Das Adamsspiel, anglonormannisches Mysterium des XII Jahrhunderts.* Third revised edition with Introduction, Notes, Vocabulary and Index, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1928, lxxv+112 pp.

The first edition of the *Adamsspiel* was published by Professor Grass in 1891, the second in 1907. As in the two previous editions, we are given here the text of manuscript 927 of the city library of Tours, without any corrections or additions of importance wherever the language may appear incorrect or the versification faulty. It is indeed Professor Grass' main purpose to offer us an accurate rendering of the primitive text, even at the sacrifice of an easier reading.

The revision consists principally of the elimination of the poem on the fifteen signs of the last judgment which, in the manuscript, follows immediately the *Adamsspiel;* of some minor additions to the notes to render a few passages more compre-

hensible; of the substitution of some abbreviations by words written in full—all these changes or additions being printed with special types or put between parentheses.

In his Introduction, Professor Grass emphasizes the literary importance of this mystery play, its origin, dramatic unity, esthetic value (pp. xiv–xxi); he speaks of its being handed down to us incomplete in its contents, for the manuscript of Tours contains neither the beginning nor the end of the *Adamsspiel* (pp. xxi–xxiii); finally, he lays special stress on the Latin stage directions (pp. xxiii–xxv). There follows the phonology and the morphology of this mystery play (pp. xxxvii–lxxv) with the pointing out of a few peculiarities as regards its language and versification (pp. xxv–xxxvi).

The Notes are rather abundant and somewhat lengthy, now and then (pp. 48–95). A number of words could be omitted in the Vocabulary, such as *ainé*, *aider*, *blé*, *creature*, *face*, etc., all well known to the student of Old French. Their presence is indeed cumbersome.

*Das Adamsspiel* is part of the *Romanische Bibliothek* (No. 6), known for its scholarly editing of French texts. No doubt, Professor Grass' present edition comes up to its high standard.

*Tragédie du Sac de Cabrière, ein kalvinistisches Drama der Reformationszeit*, herausgegeben von Karl Christ, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Halle (Saale), 1928, iv+132 pp.

In publishing the *Tragédie du Sac de Cabrière* according to the only existing MS (Library of the Vatican), E. Christ has presented a very early specimen of a drama staging an event of contemporary history. It dates about the same time as Gabriel Bounin's *La Soltane*, 1561, which is considered the first play based upon contemporary history in the literature of the sixteenth century. Yet, whereas Gabriel Bounin derived the subject-matter of *La Soltane* from Oriental history, the author of the *Tragédie du Sac de Cabrière* put upon the stage events that took place in 1545 in the southern part of Provence. This was an innovation. Neither Théodore de Bèze nor André de Rivaudeau, nor Desmasures, nor Jean de La Taille, foremost among Protestant dramatists, had thought of introducing contemporary events into historic drama. The Bible and Antiquity were deemed to be the only sources capable of yielding adequate topics for the stage.

The anonymous author's technique is clearly that of the Renaissance drama: division into five acts, chorus, narratives, never more than three actors speaking on the stage, no prologue, no epilogue, unity of action and time, but not of place. The preponderance given to religious polemics is particularly noticeable. Almost one-third of the play is devoted to them. This *confession de foi*, pertaining to the early times of the French Reformation, will also be of interest to historians of religion.

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Clausius Grillet, *Victor Hugo Spirite*, Libr. E. Vitte, Paris, 1929, 215 pp.

In 1853, during his sojourn on the island of Jersey, Victor Hugo became interested in table tipping, being infected by the enthusiasm of Mme Girardin. For three years following he was in continual communication with spirits, spirits of Molière, Shakespeare, Jesus Christ, Balaam's Ass, the Lion of Androcles, the Angel of Death and any number of personified abstractions. The spirits obligingly discussed philosophy and theology, made prophecies, and even wrote verses remarkably like Hugo's own. He apparently took the whole affair with extreme seriousness (the seriousness of a Ro-

mantic), so much so that his poetry of this period shows the influence of spiritualistic ideas.

M. Grillet uses chiefly *Les Tables Tournantes de Jersey* (published in 1923 by Gustave Simon and containing word for word accounts of the seances) to build up the thesis that Hugo was both influenced by and influenced the poetry of the spirits, and tried in his own verse to express metaphysical ideas communicated by the tables.

Hugo emerges from M. Grillet's hands with a Messianic complex. He apparently believed in reincarnation and a vast slow world-purification, and that all material objects had souls, showing a particular tenderness for pigs and toads. The poetry abounds in large vague symbols; and along with it his drawings became astonishingly symbolic. In the *Fin de Satan* he attempted a world epic.

One is reminded of Blake's familiarity with deity, as well as of his combined graphic and verbal expression of visions. The case is built up by quotations from Hugo's own writing and a comparison of his own verse with that of the spirits. The parallels are striking. The book is interesting as a critical study of Hugo's later poetry which M. Grillet is inclined to defend from the charge of decadence. He sums up the spiritualistic influence thus:

"Je veux bien que même s'il n'eut jamais interrogé les tables, il eût entendu les matins clairs hennir les chevaux de l'aurore. Mais son imagination, encline depuis toujours à animer la nature, se trouve désormais libérée, galvanisée par les expériences de Jersey et elle découple sa puissance créatrice."

M. Grillet gives a chapter or two to the facts and discusses *Dieu*, *La Bouche d'Ombre*, *Les Contemplations*, *La Légende des Siècles*, and *La Fin de Satan* in detail. He does not attempt to explain the communications of the tables, considering that problem to lie in the field of specialists in psychic research.

Claude Farrère, *La Marche funèbre*, Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1929, 289 pp.

There is a gradual progression from journalism to literature. The qualities that make for success in these two departments of writing differ greatly, yet there is a middle ground where they mingle. *La Marche funèbre* probably lies on the journalism side of the dividing line. Clever sensationalism, a manipulation of character so as to produce continual drama, stripping away of everything except love interest, above all plenty of coincidence, these are not enduring qualities. The book has the slickness and surface facility of long practice. The theme, that of the rivalry of mother and daughter for the same man, might with adequate treatment prove interesting; here it is quite crudely melodramatic. M. Farrère's qualities seem rather those of the dramatist than the novelist. His characters embody very simple emotions and are fond of aphoristic comments on life. The moral of the tale is, if one lives selfishly, one invites nemesis. It is only too often and too obviously stated.

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## Romance Language Class-Texts

Labiche and Martin, *Le Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Exercises and Vocabulary by Leon P. Irvin, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929.

Professor Irvin has produced an excellent new little edition of a standard school and college text which, among many improvements on previous texts, has the highly

important and interesting addition, in the Introduction, of new biographical material gathered from unpublished letters, manuscripts, etc., put within the editor's reach by the grandson of Labiche and the granddaughter of one of his collaborators. The innate modesty of Labiche in hesitating to present himself as a candidate for the French Academy, his desire to write a successful serious drama, win our sympathy and will endear the author of charming comedies all the more to those students who have not yet learned to appreciate him.

Short and easily understood notes in French figure at the bottom of the pages. The exercises in French at the end are highly satisfactory and thorough, including not only material to be written, but also oral phonetic drills, questions to be answered by the students, all manner of direct-method exercises and also paragraphs in English for translation. The vocabulary is short and complete, omitting very aptly words alike in form and meaning in English. The printing is clear, the text seems free from typographical errors and several well-chosen illustrations add to the interest of the edition.

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## Luciano Zùccoli and Marco Praga

With regret must we note that with the passing of Luciano Zùccoli (pseudonym of Count d'Ingluheim) and Marco Praga, Italy lost in the former a favorite novelist and in the latter a dramatist and critic of the first order. Zùccoli, who enjoyed in his lifetime universal renown, was especially familiar to the English public through his novel, *Things Greater Than He.* Zùccoli attained fame and success in Italian letters for having created a genre suited to his own northern Italian aristocracy, namely the urban novel with its love theme and its psychological studies on women and children. In his lifetime he devoted a good many years to journalism, engaging frequently in lively political debates. He founded and edited the daily *La Provincia di Modena* (1898–1900) and from 1903–1912 edited *La Gazzetta di Venezia* and *La Gazzetta.* His best works are considered to be: *La freccia nel fianco* (1913), *L'occhio del fanciullo* (1914), and *Le cose più grandi di lui* (1922) translated into English, *Things Greater Than He* (New York).

Zùccoli was born in Milan in 1870 and died in Paris last year on the 27th of November. Following is the bibliography of his other works:

*I lussuriosi* (1893); *La morte di Orfeo* (1894); *Il designato* (1895); *Roberta* (1896); *Il maleficio occulto* (1901); *Ufficiali, sottufficiali, caporali e soldati* (1902); *La compagnia della leggera* (1905); *La vita ironica* (1906); *L'amore di Loredana* (1908); *Farfui* (1909); *Donne e fanciulli* (1910); *Romanzi brevi* (1911); *Primavera* (1912); *La volpe di Sparta* (1915); *Baruffa* (1917); *L'amore non c'è più* (1918); *La divina fanciulla* (1919); *I Drusba* (1921); *Per la sua bocca; Fortunato in amore; Mirabella, storia di una tigre; Kif Tebbi; Il peccato e le tentazioni* (1926); *Lo scandalo delle Baccanti* (1929).

Marco Praga, who died in January 1929, was the son of Emilio Praga, the poet, from whom he inherited undoubtedly his great passion for literature. He started life as a clerk, but turned to the theatre while still a young man in his teens. After several repulses in the way of failures he succeeded in getting recognition with his play *L'amico* (1886). Though Praga did not enjoy universal fame commensurate with his position in the Italian theatre, he was nevertheless considered one of the leaders in dramatic criticism. For years he was dramatic critic for the *Illustrazione.* Espe-

cially famous has been his theatrical year-book, *Cronache teatrali* (1919–28, 10 vols., Milan), a hand-book of critical reviews on plays of the year, much consulted by professionals and non-professionals. Herewith is the bibliography of his principal contributions not mentioned above:

(Drama): *Le due case; Giuliana; L'incanto; Mater dolorosa; Le vergini; La moglie ideale; Innamorata; Alleluja; L'erede; La mamma; Il bell'Apollo; Il dubbio; La morale della favola; L'ondina; La crisi; La porta chiusa; Un divorzio;* (Prose): *La biondina* (novel); *Anime a nudo* (letters); *Storie di palcoscenico.*

## Italian Literature in 1929

THE 1929 season in Italy continued the discussions on the theatrical crisis, while the discussions on the technique of prose creations burst out into renewed vigor with Giovanni Papini's article *Di questa letteratura* (*Concerning Our Literature*), which appeared in the first issue of the new literary magazine, *Pègaso.*

The theatrical crisis centering on the cinema versus legitimate drama, foreign drama versus native drama, was fruitful of many suggestions by dramatists, actors, and critics as to the *modus operandi* in the Italian theatre of the future. The *Giornale dell'arte* took up in detail the pros and cons as to the difficulties of the stock companies to interest the public with exclusive repertoires of native dramas. Apparently the actors and dramatists are not viewing the situation with despair in view of the fact that if the crisis existed in Italy, it existed also to a marked degree in many other countries. The discussions, if nothing else, brought the Italian dramatists vis-a-vis with the fact that the "psychology of the theatre crowd" had to be taken more and more into consideration. The result has been that many of the authors have noticeably digressed from their usual theme and technique. (See below discussions on *Lazzarus* of Pirandello and Chiarelli's *K. 41.*)

The literary weekly *Fiera letteraria* (now *Italia letteraria*) discussed fully the current polemic on prose creation as to whether narrative art of the future was to base its creations on foundations of literary tradition and history, or else was it to find its medium in introspection and high-powered "cerebration" with the view of demolishing the "stilled" and "abortive" methods of past schools. The discussions started in 1928, and, otherwise exhausted, found new impetus with Papini's article, *This Literature of Ours* (*Pègaso*, No. I), in which he advises the young authors and draws this general deduction with regard to the Italian man of letters:

"One of the deepest characteristics of our race, especially in the more representative types, is a highly developed sense of individuality. Italy is a country of lonely souls and dictators, and not of men who are standardized. Personalist as he is, as a rule, the Italian can do many things: he can express his own sentiments, dreams, yearns for the past, but looks rather to his political causes and external features than at the psychology of their protagonists. Or, finally, he can ridicule people and correct them, or define himself (satire, controversy). But he can never, or at least he can but badly produce creatures of the imagination who talk and act like living people. He will never, in short, succeed with the theatre and the novel, in the sense of producing a Shakespeare, a Molière, a Calderon, a Schiller, an Ibsen."

Papini goes on to say that French influence on Italian literature has been especially harmful in that the two literatures are diametrically opposed to each other: "the Italian will never attain French wit and lightness of touch. The Italian is a serious, heavy literature. It will always be more educative than amusing" (see this discussion in *Books*, *Herald-Tribune*, Jan. 20). With this crushing accusation Papini has far from convinced Italian intellectuals, even though he has made them think.

All summed up, it seems that Papini is too hard on his Italian colleagues and his literature; he has had to sustain, in return for his statements, many a just invective and many a tirade (see *Fiera letteraria*, issues of January and February).

In this connection we might say that another important event of the past literary season in Italy was the publication of a new magazine devoted to arts and letters, *Pègaso* (Florence), edited by Ugo Ojetti (see *Books*, *Herald-Tribune*, Jan. 20). It appears that *Pegasus* started with material of a polemical nature, launching an attack against the domination of criticism over literary production (spirit of Croce). *Pegasus* should prove to be a magazine for the intellectuals. It will, let us hope, reflect much of the eclectic personality of its founder, Ojetti, preëminent as a writer and as a critic of arts and letters. Fortunately, too, it appears that it will draw its contributions from Italy's greatest authors.

Another notable event of the year was the official inauguration of the Royal Italian Academy, a national institution destined to function as arbiter in literary matters and in general to enhance the arts and sciences. Pirandello, Panzini, and Marinetti, the futurist, were among the notables inducted into the Academy.

FICTION.—The public favored the younger writers this past year, notwithstanding the usual amount of interest shown the older and more renowned. Comisso, Cinelli, Moravia, Campanile, all in their twenties, or at most slightly over their thirties, contributed novels and prize novels of varied and sweeping subjects. First in order we have *Gli indifferenti* (*The Indifferent*, Milan), the most successful as well as the most commented novel of the year, by the twenty-two-year-old Alberto Moravia. In a plot of three days' duration the author has contributed four masterful characterizations in a group that makes up a family of the upper Roman bourgeoisie: a mother conscious of nothing except the gratification of her middle-aged sensuality; a daughter who, merely for a change of life, hurls herself into deliberate relations with her mother's lover, without ability or inclination to analyze her act; a son, desiring aimlessly to be strong, superior, and motivated by what conventionality would require of persons under difficult circumstances, collapses miserably for all the idealism and morality he affects; then, the lover, representative of a class of "methodic libertines," contributes to the general delinquency and weakness of the family. All four characters are *indifferent* to any sense of goodness or justice, and the novel, though appearing to be strictly immoral, suggests a strong necessity for morality if the status of our modern social system is not to suffer impairment or decomposition. Though most critics were favorable to the novel, opinions differed as to the ultimate evaluation of the work. Several scathing accusations were launched against the young writer for his use of an "old technique" in order to arouse interest in the portrayal of several lewd scenes with shocking realism. The book has withstood its adverse criticism. Adriano Tilgher, one of the ablest and keenest of Italian critics, proclaims the youthful Moravia as the "new novelist" and his creation the "new novel" on the Italian literary horizon.

The Mondadori Academy prize went to Delfino Cinelli for his *Castiglion che Dio sol sa* (Milan), a novel bringing to mind Edna Ferber's charming *So Big!* This last creation of Cinelli has a bucolic background in which mother earth plays the principal part. Here is the gist of a critical judgment passed on the book (see *Italia che scrive*, April): "There is in this novel a sentiment for the soil altogether primitive, . . . a soil against which men seem to be helpless creatures destined to play secondary roles,—slaves all attached to it by chains of hatred and love, of work and hope." In short, the novel portrays man in his attempt to master the soil, but, for

all he can do, he emerges from the unequal struggle crushed by his insignificance. This novel, with exception made to several lengthy and tiring episodes, rises to beauty by virtue of its note of sincerity and simplicity. Giovanni Comisso received the Bagutta prize for his novel, *Gente di mare* (*Sea-Faring People*, Milan), containing no specific plot other than a sequel of sketches in sea voyages of two brothers along the Adriatic shores. As a rest from the intellectual novel *à thèse* this book should meet much favor, especially for its colorful picturizations: strong hearts battling heavy seas, quaint Dalmatian ports, exotic Croatians, contraband, and dashing episodes. *Giovanotti non esageriamo! e sia detto anche alle ragazze* (*Young Men, No Exaggeration! And This Goes for the Ladies Too*, Milan) of Achille Campanile was selected as one of the best novels of the year for competition in the Thirty Publishers' prize. Not coming under any category or technique of novel-writing, the book is essentially one of humor, containing a series of topsy-turvy adventures of two friends who fall frequently into screamingly funny situations. Barring several coarse and objectionable episodes, the book is refreshing for its genuine fun mixed with subtle satire on some stupid conventionalities of our social order. It is a pleasure to note that Bianca de Mai, who won a prize in 1928 for her novel, *Pay the Penalty in Silence*, had a worthy successor in the authoress Gabriella Neri, whose novel, *Diana e il Fauno* (Florence), though not receiving a prize, was up for consideration and adjudged one of the best of the year. It deals with the difficulties facing the woman of today who aspires for intellectual freedom. The author has succeeded, in spite of a slightly overworked sex theme, in contributing lucid pages on the psychology of the young woman of today.

In contrast with the above-mentioned youthful authors we have Massimo Bontempelli of the older generation, who gained the 1929 Thirty Publishers' prize for his *Il figlio di due madri* (*A Son of Two Mothers*, Rome), pronounced by the committee as the best novel of the year. Bontempelli abandoned somewhat his technique of satire, enigma, and fantasy and contributed in this novel a serious study on maternal love, which his art has set up for universal admiration. The plot revolves about two mothers claiming the same son. The prose is couched in the usual bizarre style characteristic of Bontempelli.

And now looking obliquely over the field of novel production we have, first of all, Luciano Zùccoli's ante-mortem novel, *Lo scandolo delle Baccante* (Milan), dealing with a plot laid in ancient Rome. His description of the Dionysian Festivals in the forest Stimula are of particular interest by way of historical information. Riccardo Bacchelli contributed a strange novel in *La città degli amanti* (*The Lovers' City*, Milan). This novel, too, was put up for consideration for the Publishers' prize. Briefly, it is a story about a fabulously rich American who founds in Texas a colony on ultra-liberal principles. At bottom it is a satire of the morals of the Latins in contrast with those of the Puritans. For those who like reading about elite life and fashionable people there is Carlo Linati's *La principessa delle stelle* (Milan), written in brilliant style in contrast to a trivial plot. Margherita Sarfatti, known throughout the world for her biography of Benito Mussolini, *Dux*, published *Il Palazzone* (Milan), describing the activities of a noble Italian family in the last fifteen years. The plot, spun on love, tragedy, war, contains a historical survey of pre- and post-Fascist Italy. Speaking of historical novels one cannot omit the two volumes of *La terza Roma* of the historian Guglielmo Ferrero, to which he is to add a third volume. This novel is available in an English translation, *The Seven Vices* (New York). The famous historian has used the medium of the novel to express his historico-political ideas. And

lastly we have two war novels, *La guerra è bella ma scomoda* (*War Is Beautiful But Uncomfortable*) and *Le scarpe al sole* (Milan). Both are humorous, detached from the element of tragedy, and profusely illustrated in pen and ink sketches. For studies on the foregoing authors see Camillo Pellizzi's *Le lettere italiane del nostro secolo*, discussed below.

The output of short stories outweighed that of the novel in quantity and perhaps in quality. Chiesa, Deledda, Borgese, Perri, Milanesi, Brocchi, Negri are among the names that head the list. Chiesa, who won the 1928 Mondadori Academy prize for his novel *Villadorna*, presented last season a volume, *Stories from My Garden* (*Racconti del mio arto*, Milan), a series of twenty-seven sketches in which there is a reflection of much of the author's good-nature portrayed in the protagonist, a fifty-year-old retired clerk, who cultivates his garden and bears with stoicism the domineering attitude of his daughter. Grazia Deledda published a collection of stories for children, *Nell'azzurro* (Milan). They are stories written in Deledda's youth; though meant for children, they found many a reader among the grown-ups. Francesco Perri, aside from his collection of *Calabrese Sketches*, contributed *Una notte d'amore* (Milan), twenty-six short stories written in the regional vein—romantic tales with a thin spread of sentimentality and realism. With the exception of a few stories smacking of hackneyed themes, the book as a whole offers characterizations of excellent types. Guido Milanesi, whose prose is, as a rule, so delicately worked out that it reads like poetry, gave two volumes, *Asterie* (revised and augmented from a previous edition) and *Fiamme di Ara* (Milan), stories of war, of marine officers, and patriotic episodes extolling Italy and Fascism. Virgilio Brocchi digressed from the novel of the "eternal triangle" and wrote *La giostra delle illusioni* (*Trickery of Illusions*, Milan), seven stories of which four are devoted to optimism (*Le Serene*) and three to pessimism bordering on tragedy (*Le Torbide*). The latter deal with the story of a disconsolate man who is betrayed by his wife and his best friend. Ada Negri's contribution *Sorelle* (*Sisters*, Milan) might be called episodes of her own life, reflective of the personality of the author who, through patience and suffering, rose to dignity. The paradoxical Rosso di San Secondo contributed some enigmatic and diabolical tales with a setting in Berlin, *C'era il diavolo, o non c'era?* (*Was the Devil There or Not?*, Milan). And last but not least we have Giuseppe Borgese, who added to the richness of the short story output with his *Il sole non è tramontato* (*The Sun Has Not Yet Set*, Milan), a series of impressionistic sketches couched in a laconic style and intense colors.

THEATRE.—The difficulties in theatrical production continued last year in Italy, and the season saw several famous stock companies (Niccodemi, etc.) dissolve. One redeeming feature, however, came about with the organization sponsored by Fascismo and directed by Giovacchino Forzano of the "Carro di Tespi," composed of an auto-bus for the "strolling players" and a trailer for equipment and scenery. This "Thespian Car" is destined to travel throughout Italy, with the especial purpose of presenting good plays in the rural towns.

It could be said that no outstanding play arose on the theatrical horizon. At best the season was enlivened by plays of authors of distinction, such as Pirandello, Corradini, Bontempelli, Benelli, etc. Pirandello's *Liolà* (Florence) was revived and met success, together with *Lazarus*, the new play of the author, first played in Berlin and Huddersfield, England. *Lazarus* is a slight deviation from his "real and unreal" type of play—it is the story of a man who comes back to life to tell us that there is no after life. Luigi Chiarelli, too, has in *K. 41* a somewhat different sort of play

from his usual "grotesques." It is a submarine drama dedicated to Italian sailors. Luigi Antonelli met success with his caricature *Darei la mia vita* (*I'd Give My Life;* see *Comoedia*, Dec., 1929, for first printing of the play). Sabatino Lopez's *La signora Rosa* continued to be a "hit" in all the towns played in Italy. It is a drama spun on the frailties of reality, heart-beats, and intricate emotions. Enrico Corradini, playwright and ultra-nationalist, saw two successful revivals in his *L'apologo delle due sorelle*, a drama suggesting a fairy atmosphere in a sketch on the morality of two sisters; in his *Carlotta Corday* we have, as the title suggests, a play revolving about Marat and the French Revolution. Delfino Cinelli dramatized successfully his novel *La trappola* (*The Trap*), a play with a rustic background in which the principals are two provincials and a city girl. Massimo Bontempelli apparently is making a specialty these days of mother love and child theme; he contributed as his play of the year *La guardia alla luna*. And now, by way of mention, we note that the distinguished actor Ruggiero Ruggeri played in a number of stock dramas, among which was the *drame à thèse*, *La nouvelle idole* of Curel. Plays of Dario Niccodemi, Luigi Antonelli, Guglielmo Zorzi were especially successful in Paris last season. Among leading foreign dramatists whose plays were represented in Italy last year we have Sarment, Bourdet, Valentine, Birabeau, Ibsen, Chekov. For studies on the drama see paragraph below on CRITICA.

POETRY.—Though the season was fruitful of several volumes of beautiful poetry, we note that it has not flourished in particular. All summed up it was a slack year. Ettore Cozzani's *Il poema del mare* (Milan), poetry in the *mare nostrum* theme, shows total lack of introspective or personal matter; it is purely descriptive. *Poesie* of Sibilla Aleramo, attractively published by Mondadori of Milan, in contrast to the above-mentioned poem, is altogether personal; it is in fact reflections of a woman susceptible to love, to beauty, to varied emotions. Umberto Saba, a Triestian, contributed refreshing and sonorous poems in *Preludio e Fughe* (Trieste). Titta Rosa's *Le feste delle stagioni* (Milan), impressions of the seasons, is also readable poetry. In *Il piccolo Orfeo*, Angelo Silvio Novaro has detached his poetry from any element of complexity and succeeded in imparting to it a note of serenity. For humorous poetry we have Trilussa's *Libro No. 9* (Milan), poems in the Roman dialect; his realistic patter is especially provocative of laughter. For a study on the poets see books of Pellizzi and Mignosi mentioned in chapter below.

CRITICA—VARIA.—Because of the enormity of material in criticism published last season we shall have to limit ourselves to a brief survey, with mention only of the most significant studies. First of all, we have Camillo Pellizzi's *Le lettere italiane del nostro secolo* (Milan), a survey of contemporary Italian literature commendable for many pages of lucid evaluations and especially helpful for its exhaustive bibliographical notes on the various authors. The usefulness of the text outweighs by far its bulkiness and some loose arrangement of subject matter. Giovanni Papini contributed two books in religious motif, *Gli operai della vigna* (Florence) with chapters on Petrarch, Michel Angelo, St. Francis of Assisi, Jacopone da Todi, etc., and *St. Augustine*, a timely commemoration for the fifteenth centenary of the great African. In this beautiful study of the life of the saint, Papini expresses his views, and for those who might believe his conversion insincere he unleashes some biting remarks in self-justification. Among the studies made on Dante we had last season Francesco Ercole's two volumes on Dante's political ideas, *Il pensiero politico di Dante* (Milan). Karl Vossler's study on Dante was translated into English by W. C. Lawton, with the title of *Dante as a Contemporary* (New York). Professor Melville Best Anderson

spent twenty-three years in Italy in translating Dante's *Divine Comedy* in English terza rima. It has been prepared in a special edition of four volumes (the first an essay on Dante) in white vellum by Nash Printers (San Francisco). Humanism and the Cinquecento were studied in two separate volumes by Giuseppe Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento* (Milan) and *Che cosa fu l' Umanesimo?* (Florence). The editors "Alpes" of Milan undertook not long ago the task of getting out the biographies of the great personalities of Italy in the series *Itala gente delle molte vite*, illustrated. Last year more than a half dozen were completed. It is interesting to note that, among others, biographies of Dante, Leopardi, Mazzini, Savonarola, Columbus, Monti, Alfieri, Parini are available in the series.

In *Il tramonto del grande attore* (Milan), Silvio D'Amico, the dramatic critic, made a study of all the great actors of the last generation, who are rapidly disappearing. He deplores the fact that the great actors of the Europe of yesterday have apparently no successors. Anton Giuglio Bragaglia speaks on the problems of the theatre past and present in *Del teatro teatrale ossia del teatro* (Rome). Pietro Mignosi compiled a book on *La poesia di questo secolo* (Palermo), a rather complete list of poets, together with telegraphic criticisms and complete bibliographies. Lucio D'Ambra published the third volume of his *Thirty Years of Literary Life*, *Il ritorno a fil d'acqua* (Milan), a series of intimate sketches on literary men of Italy and of Europe. Withal, it contains much entertaining information and ideas. In *Homo Faber* (Rome), Adriano Tilgher made an historical study of *work* from ancient to present time, and defined it as to the attitude of Greeks, Hebrews, Romans, Christians, Fascists, Soviets, etc. For a sweeping survey of Italian culture in the past quarter of a century Giuseppe Prezzolini's *La cultura italiana* is especially recommendable for its vast information on literary, social, religious, and other topics in general. We note that this revised and augmented edition was published by Corbaccio of Milan.

Two volumes of contemporary history appeared last season and are now available in English translation, Croce's *A History of Italy, 1871–1915* (New York), which gives liberal treatment as regards the political views, and Luigi Villari's *Italy* (New York), which starts from 1915, where Croce left off, and interprets Fascism favorably in terms of nationalism. There is available in English also *Italian Painting* (Toronto), interpreting the big movements in art. The authors, P. G. Konody and R. H. Wilenski, in addition to colored illustrations, have added black and white reproductions. Lastly, mention should be made of the *Enciclopedia italiana*, published under the auspices of the Istituto Treccani. The work is admirably gotten up with rotogravures and colored plates. The editorship is under the direction of Giovanni Gentile and Tumminelli. The encyclopaedia, by virtue of its organization and quality of its contributors and contributions (see frontispiece, Vol. I), promises to be one of the best. It will be completed by 1937, appearing at the rate of one volume quarterly in handsome red morocco binding.

O. A. Bontempo

Columbia University

## Faculty Notes

Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. Mr. L. C. Keating, who resigned in order to continue his studies for the Ph.D. degree at Harvard University, has been replaced by Mr. G. S. DeLand, a former instructor at Brown University. Mr. Wm. J. Everts has been promoted from the rank of Instructor to that of Assistant Professor.

College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif. A Spanish School was organized

last summer with Prof. Alarcón as Director. A Sorority House was secured and the students lived in the house and had their classes there. Great interest was aroused in spoken Spanish and in the study of Spanish Literature. The school was considered a great success and may become a permanent part of the summer session at this College. Pi Gamma Sigma, a new Honorary Language Fraternity, has started its work for the year. The French students are interesting themselves in a study of *Romanticism*. Each student who has been invited to become a member is expected to read a scholarly paper during the year. A Summer School in Europe was organized three years ago. The tour, which includes seven European countries, will this year be under the direction of Pres. Tully C. Knoles of this College.

Columbia University, New York. Professors J. L. Gerig and H. F. Muller will teach Celtic and Vulgar Latin respectively in the coming Summer Session of the Linguistic Institute to be held by the Linguistic Society at the College of the City of New York. Prof. Gerig was elected to the Advisory Council of the India Society of America and presided at their annual dinner at Town Hall on Dec. 7, 1929, at which the speakers were H. A. Jules-Bois, Upton Close, Theodore Dreiser, Willy Pogany, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, etc. He was also re-elected Trustee of the American Iona Society and President of the Italian Historical Society of America. Prof. A. G. H. Spiers was on sabbatical leave the first semester, which he spent in France. Visiting professors in the coming Summer Session will be Bagley and Saurat for French, DeNegri for Italian and Camino for Spanish. New appointments in Barnard College are S. M. Delson, Isabelle W. Mague, instructors in French; Amelia Del Río, Spanish; and Teresa Carbonara, Italian.

Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. Prof. E. R. Greene has returned from a sabbatical year in Spain. While there he purchased for the College Library a collection of representative Spanish plays comprising more than ten thousand bound volumes. This large and valuable acquisition now makes the Dartmouth Library particularly rich in this branch of Spanish literature. Truly this acquisition would gladden the heart of George Ticknor were he alive to-day to revisit his Alma Mater! Prof. P. O. Skinner spent the summer traveling in Spain. Prof. H. E. Washburn has returned from a sabbatical year spent in study in Paris. Professors J. M. Arce and H. F. Dunham taught in the Summer Session at Columbia University. Mr. E. Leith and Mr. C. V. Brooke spent the summer in France. M. Xavier Morfin, visiting French professor during the past year, has returned to his duties at the Lycée de Roanne (Loire). His successor at Dartmouth is M. François Denoeu of the Lycée de Saint-Quentin (Aisne). Prof. Léon Verriest is spending his sabbatical year at his former home in Louvain, Belgium. Prof. Claude Roulé is faculty adviser of the Cercle Français this year and is directing its dramatic productions.

George Washington University, Washington, D. C. Dean H. Grattan Doyle, who has been advisor to men's organizations at the University since 1926, and Dean of Men since 1927, has been appointed Dean of the Lower Division in Columbian College. This new arrangement went into effect with the opening of the academic year on Sept. 25, 1929. Dean Doyle has been a member of the faculty of the George Washington University since 1916 and Professor of Romance Languages since 1921.

Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. During the sabbatical leave of James McF. Carpenter, Jr., Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Mr. A. J. Williamson (A.M., Princeton) has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages. Pres. W. W. Comfort gave two lecture courses on French Literature at the last summer session of the University of California.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J. Mr. Angel Flores, Instructor in Spanish, has resigned to assume the editorship of the new modernistic periodical, *Alhambra*, published at New York. Mr. Herbert H. Eddy, Instructor in French, has accepted a position in Blair Academy. Two resignations have taken place at the New Jersey College for Women: Prof. W. Cook Zellars, Asst. Professor of Spanish, to be head of the Romance Department of the University of New Mexico; and Dr. Mary A. Noble, Instructor in Spanish, for study and travel. Prof. J. Moreno-Lacalle, formerly of Middlebury College, instead of being Visiting Professor of Spanish, is now Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature, directing the work in Spanish at the New Jersey College for Women and conducting extension classes. Under his direction a Spanish House is now in operation at the woman's college. During the past summer he continued his duties at the Middlebury Summer School as Dean of the Spanish School. Mr. Charles H. Stevens has been advanced to Assistant Professor of Spanish. Prof. Frank B. Mitchell has been appointed Assistant Professor of French. Mr. Lewis A. Ondis is Instructor in Romance Languages. At the woman's college Mr. Manuel Salas, formerly connected with Culver Academy, has been made Assistant Professor of Spanish. Miss Concha Francés, Licendiada en Filosofía y Letras of the University of Barcelona, is Instructor in Spanish. Mr. William Oncken, who has been at Princeton University, is Assistant Professor of Italian. The French staff at the woman's college is directed by Prof. Alice Williamson de Visme. Miss Louise H. J. Dulieu, Instructor in French, has returned to France. Miss Elisabeth Boussus has been added to the staff as Instructor in French.

University of Buffalo, N. Y. Prof. John P. Rice is absent on leave as George Westinghouse Visiting Professor to Italy for 1929–30 under appointment by the Italy America Society. During his absence Prof. R. E. L. Kittredge, formerly of the University of Toronto, is acting head of the Department. The University recently received a legacy of $125,000 for the creation of a chair in French literature.

University of Delaware, Newark. Dr. D. O. Evans has resigned as Head of the Department in order to accept a professorship at the University of British Columbia. Associate Prof. E. C. Byam has been appointed as Acting Chairman of the Department for the current year. Miss Myrtle Volkhardt has been added to the staff of instructors at the Women's College of this University.

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque. Prof. E. Allison Peers of the University of Liverpool, who is Visiting Professor of Modern Comparative Literature at Columbia University during the present year, will be Visiting Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature at the Summer Session of this University during the first three weeks of its Summer Session. Miss Anita Osuna, Asst. Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature, has been awarded a fellowship by this University to do research work during the Spring of 1930 in the University of Madrid, and during the Summer Session of 1930 in the University of Grenoble.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Dr. E. K. Kane, formerly Associate Professor of Spanish, has resigned to become Head of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of Tennessee. His place has been filled by Ralph S. Boggs, newly appointed Assistant Professor of Spanish. Prof. S. E. Leavitt devoted the fall and winter quarters in research in Madrid. Prof. U. T. Holmes has returned after teaching during the past Spring Quarter at the University of Chicago. Associate Prof. H. R. Huse is absent on leave during the winter and spring semesters. Associate Prof. N. B. Adams spent part of the past summer at Simancas and Madrid. Dr. G. Ward Fenley, formerly Instructor in French, has been promoted Assistant

Professor and spent the summer and autumn pursuing research in Paris. Asst. Prof. J. Coriden Lyons, and Mr. M. I. Barker, Mr. John Carroll, Mr. R. W. Linker, and Mr. John Downs, Instructors, spent the summer in France. Mr. W. C. Salley, Instructor in Spanish, taught during the summer at the University of Alabama. Mr. D. R. McKee and Mr. M. L. Radoff, Instructors in French, have resigned. Newly appointed instructors and assistants are: Mr. W. M. McLead, Mr. A. C. Jennings, Mr. A. St. C. Sloan, and Mr. J. A. Thompson.

University of Oregon, Eugene. Louis M. Myers, who received his M.A. degree at Columbia University last year, has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages at this University. Chandler B. Beall, formerly associated with George Washington University, has been appointed as Assistant Professor of Romance Languages.

University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The Department of Romance Languages is at present composed of the following members: Elisha K. Kane, Chairman; F. F. Frantz, Professor of French; A. M. Withers, Professor of Spanish; E. H. F. West, Instructor of Spanish; E. F. Bradley, Instructor of French and Spanish; F. O. Adam, Instructor of Spanish; S. Buck, Instructor of French; and L. W. Ryan, Instructor of French and Spanish.

University of Vermont, Burlington. A. B. Myrick, Professor of Romance Languages, in collaboration with N. E. Griffin, translated in prose *Il Filostrato* of Giovanni Boccaccio. This work contains an Introduction by Professor Griffin and was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in September, 1929.

University of Wisconsin, Madison. The following changes have taken place in this Department: Miss Marguerite Andrade has resigned to become Instructor in French at DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.; Miss Augusta Boschini has accepted a position as Instructor in Italian in Hunter College, New York; Miss Irene Cornwell has become Asst. Professor of French at George Washington University, Washington; Mr. Oliver Hauptmann has received an appointment as Instructor in Spanish in the University of Florida, Gainesville; Mr. J. Homer Herriott has been assigned a position as Instructor in Spanish in Princeton University; Mr. Georges Lemaitre has left in order to become Assistant Professor of French in McGill University, Montreal, Canada; Miss Ruth Garwood has accepted a post as Instructor in Spanish in Texas Woman's College, Ft. Worth, Texas. Mr. Raphael Levy is abroad as a Guggenheim Fellow, investigating the field of Hebrew-Old French Relations. Mr. William J. Gaines is on a leave of absence for the year; Mr. A. G. Solalinde was absent on leave for the first semester. Mr. Hugh A. Smith, Director of the American University Union in Paris, is absent on leave for the year. Mr. C. D. Zdanowicz and Mr. R. F. Bradley have returned from leaves of absence. Among the new members of the department are: Mr. Wm. R. Kingery, formerly of Cornell University, as Instructor in Spanish; Mr. De Vaux de Lancey, previously of the University of Vermont, as Lecturer in French; and Mr. J. Rossi as assistant in Italian.

University of Wyoming, Laramie. Dr. Maximilian Rudwin, who was Head of the Department of Modern Languages for the past few years at Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas, has accepted a similar position in this institution. Miss Mary Perkinson, A.B. and A.M. of the University of Oklahoma, has been appointed Instructor in Modern Languages. Miss E. Crete Wood, who spent last year in study abroad, has returned as Instructor in Modern Languages.

Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. Dr. C. B. Brown (A.B., Wes-

leyan; Ph.D., Chicago) has been assigned to take charge of the work in Italian in this University. He was formerly connected with Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. Clarence E. Leavenworth, professor of Romance languages and chairman of the foreign language division, received his Ph.D. degree at the University of Chicago. His dissertation was *Repetition and Recurrence in Molière.*

Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo. George B. Marsh, who received his Ph.D. at the University of California, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Spanish and Italian. Sherman Eoff, a Ph.D. of the University of Chicago, has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Spanish and Italian.

Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. The Department of Romance Languages consists of the following: Agnes R. Riddell, Ph.D., Professor of Romance Languages, head of the department; Marguerite Métivier, A.M., Associate Professor of French; Marie-Rose Buchler, A.M., Instructor in French; Anne Harrington, A.M., Assistant Professor of Spanish; Helen R. Parker, A.M., Instructor in French and Spanish, and E. Dorothy Littlefield, A.M., Instructor in French. Miss Buchler, Miss Parker and Miss Littlefield obtained the A.M. degree last June or during the summer. Miss Parker acts as head of "la maison blanche," the French house at this College. During the summer, Miss Buchler and Miss Littlefield taught at Middlebury College.

Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Prof. Frederick B. Luquiens was on leave of absence in Spain during the year 1928–29. He returned to the University and has been appointed Chairman of the Department of Spanish and Italian. Prof. Joseph Seronde has been appointed Chairman of the Department of French. Prof. Albert Feuillerat, formerly of the University of Rennes, has been appointed Director of Graduate Studies in French. Recent appointments as instructors include A. E. A. Naughton, French; R. F. McNerny, Spanish; and L. E. Monge, Spanish.

Caroline Matulka

New York City

## OBITUARY

### RAYMOND FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC (1864–1929)

The death of Raymond Foulché-Delbosc has left a gap in the ranks of Hispanic scholars which will not readily be filled. He was easily the most outstanding among those who investigated Franco-Spanish literary relations, and he brought into that complex field all his experience as a scholar of wide interests. He was not merely a limited specialist studying obstinately a few details of some more or less important question, but a man who had the mental power to embrace the whole field and to perceive the inter-relation of each part of his work. Among his other achievements, his *Bibliographie hispano-française* and his *Bibliographie des voyages en Espagne et au Portugal* remain as monuments to his exhaustive and patient labors in Comparative Literature. His interests in the wider fields did not in the least diminish the value of his exhaustive work in more precise and limited aspects of these fields. In fact, it is because he occupied a point of vantage from which he could judge the relative importance of the specialized studies he undertook, that his labors as a specialist have been important and durable. His *Manuel de l'Hispanisant* and his *Bibliographie hispanique* remain fundamental to anyone who wants to undertake research in specific Spanish fields. After finishing his studies in Arabic and Oriental languages he pub-

lished more than thirty rare or unknown Spanish texts, some of which are of primary importance, and he translated three or four Spanish works. In the field of Folk-lore, he published *Proverbes judéo-espagnols*. Besides many reviews and critical studies he wrote a Catalan and a Spanish grammar. But, as much as to all these works, which, for lack of space we cannot here enumerate, his name will remain attached to the *Revue Hispanique*, which he founded and of which for thirty-five years he was the sole editor. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Archer M. Huntington, he was enabled to devote almost his entire existence to his outstanding work as a scholar and a critic. The *Revue Hispanique* disappears with him.

We shall remember Raymond Foulché-Delbosc as a scholar by vocation, of wide information and varied activities, dominated by an exclusive devotion to the work which he had undertaken and which he pursued notwithstanding his illness to his very last breath. He did not attain recognition of a purely academic nature and received no honors and no decorations, except for being a directing member of the *Hispanic Society* and a corresponding member of the *Real Academia Sevillana*. His real monument will be his work.

G. L. van Roosbroeck

Columbia University

## Varia

Educational and Bibliographic.—Columbia University created recently the chair of Daponte Professor of Italian Literature to which Professor Dino Bigongiari was named as the first occupant. This event, together with the appearance of two new translations into English of Daponte's *Memoirs*, one by Arthur Livingston and Eliz. Abbott and the other by L. A. Sheppard, have aroused widespread interest in the librettist of Mozart, as is revealed by the long article on him by Walter Littlefield in the *New York Times* of Nov. 24, 1929.—In regard to Canadian French *Cuer le feu* (cf. Romanic Review, XX, 1929, 265–266) Rev. J. A. U. Rivard of St. Joseph's College, Calif., writes that, in his locality (Eastern Quebec), the change of *t* to *k* before *e* is not unusual, viz., *quiens, la quienne, morquier, tourquière, quiède, quiers*, etc. Before *u*, however, the tendency is rather the converse, i.e., *k* becoming *t*; thus *tuillère* for *cuillère*. The voiced dental *d*, like the voiceless *t*, shows a similar tendency to change to its corresponding guttural *g* before *a* and *e*; thus, *guiable* and *le Bon Guieu* for *diable* and *le Bon Dieu*. Rev. Rivard also calls attention to Armand Yon's *Au Diable Vert* (Paris, 1928) in which may be found many a "Canadianism."—On Dec. 9, 1929, Gov. Theodore Roosevelt of Porto Rico appointed as Commissioner of Education of the island Dr. José Padín, of New York, a former assistant commissioner of education and now a member of the publishing firm of D. C. Heath & Co. Dr. Padín was the commencement speaker at the University of Porto Rico last spring, and at that time urged the complete liberation of the university from political influence.—The American Council of Learned Societies announced recently a series of grants in Aid of Research and Research Fellowships in the Humanities, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. The Grants are of two kinds: Small Grants ($300–$500), designed to encourage research by scholars who are trained in scientific methods of investigation; and Larger Grants ($750–$2,000), reserved for mature scholars of demonstrated ability in constructive research, who should be able to devote six months of uninterrupted work to their investigations. The Research Fellowships

($1,800 each) are awarded to American citizens of not more than 35 years of age. For further information address the Permanent Secretary of the Council, 907 15th Street, Washington, D. C.—The International Conference of Experts on General Linguistic Bibliography requests that the following desiderata be communicated to scholars in Romance linguistics or philology: 1) With a view to facilitating the work of bibliography, it is desirable that authors of linguistic studies or articles should append to their publications brief summaries of their contents and conclusions. 2) In order to prevent omission of important critical notices from bibliographies, it is desirable that such notices should take the form of articles with a special title.—Dean H. E. Hawkes announced, on January 13, 1930, the following changes in the modern language requirements for the A.B. degree at Columbia College. Three years of college French or German; two years of the equivalent of either college French or German combined with one year of college Greek or Latin, or two years of either college French or German combined with two years of college study of any other language. Under the new regulations, French and German will be on a parity, according to the *New York Times*, and Italian and Spanish will likewise be on a parity, below that of the two former languages. Hitherto Spanish has been on a parity with French. Dean Hawkes explained, adds the *Times*, "that this readjustment was considered justified in view of the greater cultural contribution of France and Germany, compared to that of other nations. Spanish will remain on a parity with French in the School of Business." Dean Hawkes expressed the belief that "one effect of the change will be to concentrate greater attention on French and German in the preparatory schools." The above changes in the curriculum conform in general to those announced last summer by Princeton University (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XX, 1929, p. 304).—Ambassador Claudel formally opened, on Nov. 20, the Salle Lafayette in the Romance Pavilion at the University of Virginia, as a memorial to the friendship of Thomas Jefferson and the Marquis de Lafayette. The donor of the room is Mr. Ormond G. Smith.—The French Institute in the United States received from its President, Ormond G. Smith, on Nov. 20, 1929, a gift of the property at 24 East 60th St., New York, adjoining its present quarters. It is planned to erect thereon a fourteen-story building, from which the rents will create an endowment fund for the Institute. At the same time, adequate space will be provided for housing the art and library collections of the Institute as well as for reading rooms and lounges for the use of members.—Abbé Alphonse Lugan, the well-known French writer, announced on Nov. 17 that he was trying to revive, in Boissy-Saint-Léger, near Paris, the Port Royal des Champs made famous in the 17th century by Pascal, Racine and Arnaud. He intends to call it the Villa Oxanam-Gibbons, in memory of the great French social worker and the American cardinal. The Villa will be open to scholars of every nation and creed.—The Library of Congress received recently a gift from Judge A. K. Nippert of Cincinnati consisting of a fourteenth century vellum manuscript of the *Chirurgia Magna*, the famous thirteenth century work of Bruno of Longoburgo. Seymour de Ricci, the bibliographer, is now preparing for the Library a catalogue of its collections of classical and medieval manuscripts dating before 1500.—The Bibliothèque Nationale opened on Jan. 22 an exposition of books, works of art, etc., commemorating the centenary of the inauguration of Romanticism in France. Another centenary that will soon be celebrated is that of the conquest of Algiers, in July, 1930. Finally, the centenary of Lamarck's death is also being commemorated in a fitting manner.—The British Museum has now in press a catalogue of its collections of books, the preparation of which has taken ten years and cost $1,000,000. As in the case of the Vatican Library

and the Bibliothèque Nationale, this new catalogue was undertaken to meet the American demand.—The Music Division of the New York Public Library recently received from its patrons gifts of 450 rare music manuscripts purchased at the Werner Wolffheim Library sales in June, 1928, and June, 1929. A full account of these and many other valuable recent acquisitions is contained in the *New York Times* of Jan. 5, 1930.—Irreparable loss was sustained by Canadian historians when a fire destroyed the 50,000-volume library of St. Joseph's Seminary at Three Rivers, Quebec, on Nov. 19, 1929. Many rare volumes dealing with the early history of French Canada as well as Franco-Canadian cultural relations disappeared in the holocaust.—Mrs. Alice Dickson has prepared a revised and supplementary list of "Suggestions for Teachers of French in Securing Realia," which is very useful to all those interested in things French. Mimeographed copies (35 cents each) may be obtained from Dean S. Freeman, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.—The Permanent Italian Book Exhibition, Inc., opened a branch exhibition of 4,000 volumes in the Philadelphia Free Library on Nov. 25. Ambassador de Martino delivered an address on the occasion.—The Republic of Santo Domingo announced recently the creation of a "Great Columbus Library," under the auspices of the Permanent Executive Committee of the Columbus Light-House. The plans for the library include the gathering of historical data on all the countries of North and South America, to be housed in a building of twenty-five or more sections.—Marcel Aubert, associate curator of the Louvre, and exchange professor at Harvard this year, stated in an address before the Museum of French Art in New York on Dec. 7, 1929, that he was "amazed by the museums and libraries and the wealth of French cultural associations" in the United States. He added that "there are certain branches of French art which are better represented" here than in France.

Necrology—Professor D. Behrens, for many years editor of the *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, died on December 20, 1929. He will be succeeded as editor by Prof. G. Rohlfs, of the University of Tübingen.—Professor George Edward Woodberry, who held the Chair of Comparative Literature at Columbia University from 1891 to 1904, died at Beverly, Mass., on Jan. 2, 1930, at the age of 74.—Emile Loubet, President of France from 1899 to 1906, died at Montelimar on Dec. 20, 1929, in his 91st year.—Eduardo Gomez Baquero, the Spanish writer, died in Madrid on Dec. 15, 1929, at an advanced age. He was widely known in Spanish-speaking countries under his pseudonym, "Andrenio."—Professor Charles P. Lebon, who taught for 35 years in the English High School of Boston, died at Brookline, Mass., at the age of 78. He was born at Tours, France, in the same room where Balzac was born.—Giovanni Riviello, founder of the newspapers *Giornale della Sera*, *Mezzogiorno* and *La Basilicata*, and of the review *Italiani pel Mondo*, died at Naples on Jan. 2, 1930, at the age of 45.

Literature and Drama.—Roland Dorgelès, author of *Les Croix de Bois*, was elected on Nov. 20 by the Goncourt Academy to the seat left vacant by the death of Georges Courteline.—The 1929 literary prize of the Goncourt Academy was awarded on Dec. 4, 1929, to Marcel Arland for his novel *L'Ordre*. Other contenders for the prize were Henri Chéon, Blaise Cendrars and Maximilien Gautier. The winner is a young man of 30 years who published his first book in 1923. The French Letters prize was awarded on Dec. 18 to Mme Guillemette Marrier, a grandniece of the Argentine statesman Juan Manuel Rosas, for her novel *Lokama*.—The printing house of the Vatican State issued early in November a revised edition of the famous *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. Some 4,000 or 5,000 authors are listed therein, of whom

70 or more are Anglo-Saxons, though no American name appears. Italy and France easily lead all other nations, Voltaire having the largest number of titles (39). Among the French and Italian authors mentioned are Balzac, all of whose novels have been proscribed since 1841; Bergson, three of whose philosophical works were condemned in 1914; D'Annunzio, whose books are declared "offensive to faith and morals"; all of the novels of the two Dumas; *Notre Dame de Paris* and *Les Misérables* of Victor Hugo; all of the works of Anatole France, Maeterlinck and Zola; and several of George Sand.—The final ceremony celebrating the centennial of France's oldest literary monthly, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, was held in the Sorbonne on Dec. 15, 1929, in the presence of President Doumergue. The tenor of the addresses delivered on this occasion was that France will remain true to her classical traditions and high idealism, notwithstanding the present wave of modernization which has swept the country.—While Guglielmo Ferrero of Italy was a candidate for the 1929 Nobel Prize for literature, he failed of election. The only Latin nation represented among the winners of those famous prizes was France, since the 1929 physics prize was awarded to the Duc de Broglie of Paris. France now ranks third among the winning nations of the chemistry and physics prizes since the institution of the Nobel Prizes in 1901, having won 6 in physics and 4 in chemistry. The only person among the 150 Prize winners who has ever succeeded in securing a second award is Mme Curie, who shared the physics prize in 1903 with her husband and Henri Becquerel, and who won the chemistry prize alone in 1911.—M. Paul Morand, the well-known writer, contributed a long article to the *New York Times* of Jan. 12, 1930, entitled "The French Protest America's Play Invasion." In concluding he states: "The French theatre is passing through a crisis. This crisis, by its own faults, it has deserved. Let us hope that the lesson will be salutary and that it will come back victorious."—Among the plays that have aroused the attention of Parisian critics during recent months are Roger Ferdinand's *Touche-à-Tout*, Maurice Donnay and Lucien Descaves' *L'Ascension de Virginie* and Marcel Achard's *La Belle Marinière*, the latter of which, however, is criticized, says Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of Dec. 9, because the dramatist's "bargees talk like the peasants of George Sand." The Paris theatres are now undergoing their usual endemic of protests, the most recent of which being that of the dramatic critics against those managers who have suppressed the répétition générale.—Philip Carr, writing in the *New York Times* of Nov. 10, quotes Marcel Pagnol, author of *Marius* and *Topaze*, as follows: "Literature and the theatre are like cat and dog. It is impossible for them to live together. . . . The theatre is not a matter of writing but of creating living characters who behave and speak as they would in life. Did Molière write so very well, after all? No, no better than anyone else; but he felt things better and he thought better." This, says Mr. Carr, is illustrated in the revivals of Lenormand's *Mixture* and J. J. Bernard's *Le feu qui reprend mal* in both of which plays the characters give the impression not that they are talking literature, but that they "are living and feeling all the time."—Three French silent films which were received favorably by New York audiences during the past few months were "The Madonna of the Sleeping Cars," an adaptation of Maurice Dekobra's novel of the same name, "Venus" and "The Soul of France," the splendid war picture. The *New York Times* of Jan. 5, 1930, contained an editorial entitled "The Future of the Cinema," the subject of which was Bernard Faÿ's contribution to the December number of the *Revue Européenne*.—Gennaro Mario Curci's *Barbara*, which won the recent award of the Literary and Theatrical Chronicles of Naples, was successfully produced at the Gallo Theatre, New York, on Nov. 17, 1929, under

the direction of G. Emanuel-Gatti. In his review of it in the *New York Times* on Nov. 19, Walter Littlefield said: "It is realism par excellence, but a realism which lacks those touches of the imagination which make Ibsen what he is."—The *New York Times* of Dec. 15, 1929, contained an account of a recently discovered manuscript by Alexandre Dumas in which he describes a visit made to him in Paris by E. A. Poe in 1832. He speaks of the American writer as "a remarkable man," refers to his "power of divination" and describes his eccentricities, especially his love of darkness, which "amounted to a passion." However, in 1832 Poe is generally believed to have settled as a man of letters in Baltimore. Discovering Dumas seems to be the vogue of the day, for recently was issued in New York R. S. Garnett's translation of *On Board the Emma*, a supposedly unpublished journal relating Dumas' adventures aboard his yacht *Emma* in the Mediterranean in 1860, when he was on his way to join Garibaldi at Genoa.—Riccardo Savini contributed, on Nov. 24, 1929, a long article to the *New York Times* regarding the proposed removal of Dante's remains from the present tomb to the Church of St. Francis in Ravenna, where the poet himself "bowed his proud head in worship."

ART.—On Nov. 29, 1929, Ambassador Claudel officially opened the new Rodin Museum, a gift to the city of Philadelphia by the late Jules E. Mastbaum. In an article devoted to this important event, the *New York Times*, of Dec. 8, 1929, states that "the Rodin collection is comprehensive enough to permit of the visitor's forming a general impression of the famous sculptor's art."—On Jan. 1, 1930, the British Royal Academy opened in London a great exhibition of Italian art to which the Italian Government and private collectors loaned many precious treasures. Among the paintings exhibited were nine Titians, mainly portraits, several Botticellis, including the famous "Birth of Venus," Mantegnas, Ghirlandaios, etc. The exhibition will close on March 8.—In the latter part of November, two rooms were set aside in the Château de Fontainebleau as a museum for Rosa Bonheur, the artist, who died at the near-by village of By in 1899. Her most famous painting "Le Marché aux Chevaux" or "Horse Fair" was bought for $53,000 by Cornelius Vanderbilt, who presented it to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.—Jacques Mauny of Paris contributed to the *New York Times* of Dec. 22, 1929, a very interesting study on Antoine Bourdelle, the sculptor, Pierre Legrain, the master binder, and Jacques Doucet, the greatest French patron of contemporary art, all of whom died during the closing months of 1929.—The *New York Herald Tribune* of Nov. 10 contained a long article by Royal Cortissoz on "French Painting in the Opening Show" of the Museum of American Art in New York. He discusses especially the traits of Cézanne, Gauguin and Van Gogh. That this new art museum has proved to be very popular may also be seen in the long contribution of E. A. Jewell to the *New York Times* on Nov. 10.—The New York School of Fine and Applied Art awarded on Dec. 8, 1929, four scholarships for study in the Paris ateliers of the school and research work in Italy.—The Yale Gallery of Fine Arts announced on Nov. 23, 1929, that 62,000 persons visited its exhibitions during the year. Works of art especially admired were those of De Segonzac, Van Gogh, Pissaro, Rodin, Modigliani, Leoni and Tiepolo, and the Huntington collection of Louis XV furniture.—At the 28th international exhibition of paintings held recently at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, the first prize among the 392 works on display was awarded, for the second time in four years, to an Italian artist. The large canvas, "In the Studio," by Felice Carena of Florence, received the approval of the judges for its technique and depth of color.—French and Flemish tapestries of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, from the V. and L. Benguiat collection,

were sold on Nov. 30, 1929, at an auction in New York, for more than $130,000.—Among the recent acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art are a Spanish Gothic beamed ceiling of the fifteenth century, decorated with hunting scenes, and a female torso by Aristide Maillol, whom the Museum authorities call "the greatest living French sculptor." The torso is one of three replicas forming part of "L'Action enchaînée," designed as a symbolic monument to the revolutionist Louis-Auguste Blanqui (1805–1881), and erected at Puget-Théniers, France.—Henry Soulange-Bodin issued in December, 1929, in Paris, two volumes describing twenty-five of the most famous châteaux of Normandy, some of which, such as the Château d'O, are famous in history. Recently, volumes describing the Châteaux of the Ile de France were published in the same series, and now others treating of those of Eure, Orne and Seine Inférieure are promised. These works offer a mine of information to the student of architecture and customs of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The dispute over the Belgian Government's bill conceding to the Flemings that regular classes at the University of Ghent be conducted in Flemish, but offering to those desiring French optional courses in that language, is, according to the *New York Times* of Nov. 26, 1929, arousing bitter discussion in that interesting country. The conditions that obtain in the three Belgian universities are as follows: At Liège, in the Walloon country, lower classes are taught in Flemish, and the rest in French; at Louvain, in the Flemish country, both languages are also used in instruction; while at Ghent the students are taught in Flemish. "The government," says the *Times*, "has been strongly opposed to any sharp line of demarcation for fear such separation in the languages might lead to separation of the Flemish from the Walloon countries." "On the language question Belgium is really divided into three sections. In the Walloon provinces which contain, roughly, half of Belgium's population, French is spoken and the inhabitants are reluctant to learn Flemish. Then, those on the seaboard Flemish provinces, inhabited mainly by fishermen and peasants, who speak Flemish and refuse to learn French. In the other Flemish provinces the inhabitants speak both languages."—In an article in the Oct., 1929, number of *Lectures pour Tous*, André Laphin laments that the old Latin Quarter is no more: a change which he attributes to the enormous growth of the Cité Universitaire, to the influx of foreign students with their national foundations, etc. M. Laphin sees therein a menace to French intellectual growth, for while in 1900 there were 11,000 students registered in the University of Paris, of whom 1,200 were foreigners, in 1927 there were 26,106 students, of whom 18,893 French and 7,215 foreigners. "With money and leisure at their disposal," says an editorial in the *New York Times* of Nov. 22, "it is the foreigners within her gates who launch the literary and artistic styles of Paris." But a more cheerful view is taken by a writer in *La Nouvelle Europe* who sees in the mingling of many nationalities in the Cité Universitaire "a fortunate means of encouraging the youth of different nations to know and understand and like each other."—The New York Committee of Foreign Travel and Study announced on Jan. 2, 1930, that ten foreign scholarships, with stipends of $1,000 each, will be available to college Sophomores in the spring. Application blanks will be furnished by the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th St., New York City.—At the annual meeting of the France-America Society, held in New York on Dec. 12, 1929, James W. Gerard was elected to the vacancy on the board of directors caused by the death of Myron T. Herrick.—A new daily was born in Paris on Dec. 24, 1929. It is called *L'Ordre* and its editor is Emile Buré, who once made the old *Eclair* a success. Its opening editorial states that "disorder reigns at present, hence a choice must be made quickly:

either let us have Fascism or Bolshevism. Either would bring tranquility. Above all, let us have order. This means liberty, security, prosperity." The editor, who was an intimate friend of Clemenceau, is expected to continue his traditions.—The fiery Léon Daudet, Royalist editor, who was in voluntary exile in Belgium since his farcical escape from the Santé prison of Paris more than two years ago, was granted a pardon on Dec. 30, 1929, by President Doumergue. Among those who signed the request for amnesty was former Premier Herriot, the pet aversion of Daudet while a member of the Chamber of Deputies. Commenting editorially on the "Exile's Return," the *New York Times* of Dec. 28 remarks: "Such is the happy ending to one of the most amusing episodes in the Comic History of France."—A recent article by Walter Littlefield in the *New York Times*, entitled "Dreyfus Case Exposed from the German Side," tends to prove, from secret documents, that the Kaiser was convinced of the French captain's innocence, but would not aid in clearing up a controversy endangering France.—The publication of *Témoins*, the 700-page work of Professor J. N. Cru of Williams College, has aroused much discussion in the press of both France and the United States (cf. editorial in the *New York Times* of Dec. 22, 1930, and the reply thereto by Prof. Cru in the issue of Jan. 12, 1930).—Among the ten greatest women of the world, Emil Ludwig selects, in the November issue of the *American Magazine*, the following: Catherine of Siena, Joan of Arc, Mme. de Maintenon, Mme. Curie and Eleonora Duse.—A Uruguayan writer in the *New York Times* of Dec. 8, 1929, defines the "cholo" as "a mestizo who is proud of his mixed white blood. He feels infinitely above the honest, plodding, old-type indio, or chuncho."—The Academy of the Art of the Young, lately established in France by the young Marseillais, Alfred Nahon, called forth reams of persiflage from critics both in France and elsewhere. It seems to be the old story of *épater les bourgeois*, *redivivus*, and the young author may be congratulated on his success.—The French Academy is now discussing a successor to the chair made vacant by the death of Georges Clemenceau. Press dispatches of Nov. 26, 1929, attributed the failure of the Tiger to take his seat in the Academy to his reluctance to prepare a eulogy of Emile Faguet, his predecessor. Others, however, think it was due to his unwillingness to be received into the Academy by his old enemy Poincaré.—Antonio Aragon Cortes, Prince Pignatelli, a direct descendant of the Spanish conqueror, Hernán Cortes, was, according to Associated Press dispatches, expelled from Mexico on Jan. 7, 1930, for having sold in the United States valuable documents relating to the last resting place of Cortes. These documents, the Mexican government claimed, belonged to the nation.

J. L. G.

97 The town where I was born sits on the strand
beside the water where descends the Po
in quest of peace, with his companion band.
100 Love that in gentle heart is soon aglow
laid hold on this one for the person fair
bereft me, and the mode is still my woe.
103 Love that doth none beloved from loving spare,
to do him pleasure made my heart so fain
that, as thou seest, not yet doth it forbear.
106 Love led us down to death together: Cain
awaits the soul of him who laid us dead."
These words from them to us returned again.
109 Hearing those injured souls, I bowed my head
and held it for so long dejectedly
that, "Whereon thinkest thou?" the Poet said.
112 When I could answer, I began: "Ah me,
how many tender thoughts, what longing drew
these lovers to the pass of agony."
115 Thereafter I turned to them, and spoke anew:
"Francesca, all thy torments dim mine eyes
with tears that flow for sympathy and rue.
118 But tell me, in the time of the sweet sighs
by what, and how did Love to you disclose
the vague desires, that ye should realize?"
121 And she to me: "It is the woe of woes
remembrance of the happy time to keep
in misery,—and that thy Teacher knows.
124 But if thy yearning be indeed so deep
to know the first root of a love so dear,
I will do even as they who speak and weep.
127 One day together read we for good cheer
of Love, how he laid hold on Launcelot:
alone we were and without any fear.

LINE 97
*Ravenna, where Dante spent his latter years in the service or under the protection of its lord, Guido Novello da Polenta, a nephew of Francesca The mode of her death is so grievous to her because it deprived her of a chance to repent.*

Facsimile Page from M. B. Anderson's *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri.*

## XXX

### *The Celestial Rose*

LINES 1-9

*According to Dante's conception the globe of earth was considerably smaller than it really is, so that when the sun is in the zenith at a point about six thousand miles east of us it will not yet have risen where we are. As the brightest handmaid of the sun, Aurora, approaches our place of observation, the stars rapidly grow dimmer and dimmer until even the brilliant morning star is shut from sight. Meanwhile the vast conical shadow of earth will be sinking as the sun rises until, at a given moment, sun and shadow will balance each other on the plane of the horizon, just as in the picture at the beginning of the preceding Canto the rising full moon is balanced against the setting sun. So as Dante soars with Beatrice into the empyrean the angelic circles are quenched in that excess of light. Such is the comparison, at once precise and sublime, which stands as a pylon or stately gateway before this noble concluding series of Cantos.*

1 When, eastward ho! six thousand miles perchance
noon blazes, and toward the level bed
the shadow of this world already slants,
4 The deep of central heaven above our head
grows so suffused that here a star and yon
begins to pale the radiance it shed,
7 And, as the brightest handmaid of the sun
advances, so are quencht the heavenly graces
star after star, even to the fairest one.
10 Not else the Triumph that forever races
around the Point which overcame me quite,
seeming embraced by that which it embraces,
13 Was imperceptibly immerged in light;
whereat to turn mine eyes on Beatrice,
love laid constraint on me, and lack of sight.
16 Could what is said of her as far as this
all in one single act of praise conclude,
it would but serve the present turn amiss.
19 The beauty that I saw doth so elude
our measure, that its Maker, I surely deem,
alone can taste its full beatitude.
22 I yield me vanquisht at this pass supreme;
comic or tragic poet overborne
was never thus by crisis of his theme.
25 For, as to dazzled sight the sun of morn,
so doth her sweet remembered smile erase
my memory, of its very self forlorn.
28 From the first day when I beheld her face
in this life, even until the present viewing,
my song yet never faltered on her trace;

LINE 27

*The memory suffers, as Torraca puts it, "a solution of continuity." Cf. xiv, 81; xxiii, 61-63. This may have suggested to Lowell his sad witticism, "My memory has*

Facsimile Page from M. B. Anderson's *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri.*

# The Romanic Review

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## ESSAIS DE SOCIOLOGIE LINGUISTIQUE

### III. Personne, Personnage, Personnel

M. HANS RHEINFELDER, jadis lecteur à l'Université de Rome, aujourd'hui professeur à l'Université de Fribourg (Bade), m'envoie un livre de 200 pages sur le sujet indiqué par le titre ci-dessous: *Das Wort persona, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* (77, 1928). M. Rheinfelder a divisé son travail de la manière suivante: Il distingue *personne*, "terme de théâtre"; *personne*, "terme hors du théâtre." Ce qui se subdivise en *personne*, "homme"; *personne*, "valeur"; *personne*, "membre d'une société."

M. Rheinfelder a donc, après avoir patiemment choisi ses exemples, divisé son travail en suivant les différences sémantiques de son objet. Je pense, que dans un travail de cette espèce, les différences sémantiques devraient être le résultat et non le point de départ. Il vaudrait donc mieux diviser la matière autrement pour éviter tout à priori, tout axiome, tout préjugé. Mais comment? Voilà la question. Si nous divisons un travail de linguistique selon la différence des sens d'un terme, nous transformons, au moins en partie, l'induction pure en déduction. Comment faire pour laisser sa pureté à l'induction? Essayons d'entrer dans la matière en suivant un système simplement chronologique. Pour la chronologie, il n'y a pas d'à priori, ni de doute.

#### 1. *Moyen Age*

M. Rheinfelder explique à la page 90 sv.: "L'homme du peuple désigne le membre d'une société plus élevée par *magna persona;* mais il ne se désignera pas lui-même par *parva persona*, —pas même par *persona*." *Persona* donc, dans la langue de ce milieu, reçoit le sens de "magna persona." L'homme instruit, ainsi que celui qui a un rang ou de l'argent, appelle de même

tout ce qui se trouve au-dessous de lui *personae minores*. Ne se désignant pas lui-même par *persona*, le mot *personne* est vite péjorisé. Est-ce juste? D'abord, les petites gens ne forment pas un milieu hermétiquement clos: ils entendent parler le noble, le curé, le magistrat et le maître d'école, et ils imitent leurs parlers. Les classes dirigeantes ensuite ne sont pas isolées dans la réalité, comme on peut les isoler dans un travail scientifique. Étant jeunes, ils ont eu des nourrices et des bonnes; ils ont parlé avec les domestiques, le jardinier, les camarades.

Nous avons vu, dans le travail précédent, comment Louis XVI adopte le mot populaire *chandelle*. Nous avons vu que la cour de France, au Moyen Age, disait *chandelle* avec le peuple et ne disait pas *lumière* avec l'Église.

Saint Louis dit à son fils: "Je te prie que tu te faces amer au peuple de ton royaume"; il lave les pieds aux pauvres le jour "du grand jeudi." Et s'il se sert du mot *personne*, ce n'est pas du tout en grand seigneur. Il refuse de quitter le bateau en péril de mer en disant: "Je voi . . . que il a céans 800 *personnes* et plus; et pour ce que chascun aime autrement sa vie, comme je fais la moie . . . je demourrai céans pour mon peuple sauver." Tout cela tiré de l'*Histoire de Saint Louis*, par Joinville (éd. Fr. Michel, p. 1–5). Donc, Saint Louis dit *personne*, "membre de la société," sans s'occuper du rang. Joinville fait de même (p. 227): "Et estoit la terre le Roi si vague (si peu sûr) que quant il tenoit ses plez, il ne venoit pas plus de dix *personnes*." Et tous les deux se servent du même mot en parlant de la noblesse: "Les baillis et les vicomtes soient punis en leurs biens et en leurs *personnes*" (p. 226). De même, les seigneurs sont tenus "d'aler en ost en propre *personne*" (p. 226). Donc, si on dit, *en propre personne*, en parlant d'un tiers, on le dit aussi de "sa propre personne."

Il est clair que la distinction entre "biens" et "personne" de la page 221 est juridique. M. Rheinfelder l'a très bien remarqué à la page 157 de son livre (voyez la note). Du reste, cette distinction est romaine et le droit romain distingue toujours entre *persona* et *res*. Mais ces termes juridiques *en propre personne*, *en leur personne*, sont très répandus. Nous lisons dans *Bueve de Commarchis:*

As armes keurent tos, chascuns pour sa *personne.*

Ce vers a été cité par *Tobler* dans *Beiträge* (I, p. 32), en parlant de *personne*-pronom. Ainsi le noble qui ne dit *personne* qu'en parlant du peuple, est une fiction.

Naturellement, il y a style et style: si on lit d'autres pages du livre de Joinville, la façon de dire paraît changer. Prenez les pages 100 sv., vous trouverez:

"N'estoient pas *hommes* qui vausissent riens . . . les *barons* et plus de dix mil *personnes* . . . riches *hommes* . . . cors de *homme* . . . *home* de grant vieillesce . . . joenes *gens* . . . vieil *home* . . . de nos *gens* . . . *gens* de cest pays . . ." etc.

Au lieu de *personne*, Joinville dit généralement *homme.* Pourquoi choisit-il *personne* (p. 220 sv.)? Ce passage forme une espèce de sermon funèbre, un tableau aussi général que possible des qualités du feu Roi, de ses habitudes, de ses lois, tandis que (p. 100 sv.) Joinville raconte en fidèle chroniqueur, tâchant de peindre la vie en Orient aussi fidèlement que possible. Donc, dans la vie de tous les jours, il dit *homme* ou *gens* termes féodaux. Devant la loi, devant la mort, il emploie *personne*, terme plus général, partant plus solennel: devant la loi, devant la mort, nous sommes tous frères.

M. Rheinfelder n'a ni complètement tort, ni complètement raison, en disant que le noble ne se désigne pas lui-même par le mot *personne.* D'abord, c'est une question chronologique; ensuite, c'est une question de style. Ainsi, une division plus objective d'un travail de cette espèce serait: Distinguer les différentes périodes et, dans chaque période, les styles. Mais peut-on distinguer les styles, sans distinguer les milieux?

### 2. *La Renaissance*

Si nous passons du Moyen Age à la Renaissance, un changement s'opère: Le mot *homme*, "individu," devient plus rare; le mot *personne* devient plus fréquent dans ce même sens. Il est clair que cette observation, plutôt le fait qui la constitue, est dû à une augmentation de crédit des milieux lettrés, puisque nous avons déjà pu constater que le Moyen Age préférait *personne* dans le haut style. Dans l'ancienne farce de *Pathelin*,

pas de *personne*, ou presque pas. On dit *homme savant*, le *bon preud'homme, bonhomme, cest homme, povres hommes.* Il n'y a que le juge (notez bien!) qui commence en disant: "Où est le défendeur?—Est-il cy présent *en personne?*" Pathelin a été remanié et imprimé en 1552. Dans cette édition, republiée par le Bibliophile Jacob en 1876, nous lisons:

"Quant *une telle personne* est morte,—C'est pour tout le quartier dommaige . . ."
"Non, pas pour *sa propre personne* . . ."
"Et je l'ai bien voulu adresser—*A votre personne.*"

On voit le style a changé. Mais il pourrait avoir changé dans la société légiste seule, puisque l'on sait que Pathelin est sorti de la Basoche.

Demandons donc à Marguerite de Navarre la solution de ce doute. Nous trouvons dans son *Heptaméron*, entre autres (car il est impossible de citer tous les exemples):

I, 5: "Il y en a qui ont refusé des *personnes* plus agréables que ung cordelier"; I, 3: "Je ne nommerai les *personnes* . . ."; I, 7: "Qui vous nommeroit les *personnes* . . ."; I, 9: "changer les noms des *personnes* . . ."; II, 11: "Connaissant les *personnes* . . ."; III, 21: "Il n'y fait si pesant que l'amour de deux *personnes* bien unies ne puisse supporter . . ."; V, 46: "la *personne* soupçonneuse ne peut entretenir un parfait ami."

En somme, Marguerite désigne par le mot *personne* tous les figurants de ses contes, ainsi que l'homme se distinguant des autres hommes par quelque trait de caractère spécial. Mais, remarque très importante, elle ne les désigne ainsi que dans les conversations qui suivent ses contes, conversations de courtisans, comme on se le rappelle. Tandis que dans les contes mêmes il n'y a pas de *personnes* ou presque pas.

Les rôles du mot *personne* ont donc été renversés par la Renaissance. *Personne*, latinisme un peu lourd et abstrait, se trouvait au Moyen Age là où le style était solennel, élevé, savant, devant la loi, devant la mort. Maintenant, le mot appartient à la conversation, à la langue orale des courtisans de Marguerite, mais on l'évite dans les contes, dans la langue écrite.

### 3. *Mélioration et Péjoration*

Je n'ai trouvé aucune trace du prétendu terme admiratif et populaire de M. Rheinfelder: *personne*, "magna persona." Aucune trace du prétendu terme péjorisé et aristocratique: *personne*, "parva persona." Au contraire, *personne* paraît précisément incolore à Saint Louis, à Joinville, à Marguerite. *Personne* est tout le monde et tout le monde est "personne." Sans cela, *personne* n'aurait pas pu devenir pronom, négation, abstraction. Il n'y a *personne*, c'est l'abstraction par excellence.

Toutefois, nous lisons dans le *Nouveau Pathelin: une telle personne*, dans le sens de "grande personne." Mais c'est *telle* qui a l'accent et non *personne*. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que, pendant la Renaissance, on disait *personnage* pour augmenter la valeur de l'idée de "personne": "Un personnage de mes amis," dit le Roi Hircan dans l'*Heptaméron* (6). "Moi qui connais les deux personnages" est dit au Roi François et d'un comte (17). "Qui aurait connu le personnaige comme moi, . . . je n'ai point vu un plus beau gentilhomme" (26), etc. Ici, en effet, il s'agit d'une mélioration: *le terme passe sans épithète*. Ainsi, il paraît clair que, si l'on dit personnage pour augmenter la valeur de personne, personne sous la forme simple ne saurait suffire à l'amplification.

Toutefois, il serait hasardé d'en conclure que l'on n'a dit *personnage* que parce que *personne* était trop incolore. En effet, comme nous allons voir, *personnage* n'est pas du tout dérivé du mot *personne* tout court, ou trop court, mais du mot *personatus*, "dignitaire possédant un fief." Du reste, au Moyen Age, *personne*, "dignitaire," existait aussi. Mais c'était un terme purement ecclésiastique: "Persona dicitur in ecclesia qui habet dignitatem pro ceteris" (Voyez *Isengimus*, éd. E. Vogt, à l'Index). Et notez bien: *in ecclesia!* "Aime tous (sic) les *personnes* de sainte église," a dit Saint Louis (Voyez Joinville, *Saint Louis*, p. 238–9). L'anglais *parson*, "curé," "nom de famille," en dérive.

C'est un chapitre que M. Rheinfelder a très bien documenté. Mais il n'a pas souligné que ce *personne*, méliorisé, n'appartient ni au peuple, ni à l'aristocratie, mais au clergé seul. Et de

même *personne* péjorisé n'appartient ni au peuple, ni à l'aristocratie, *mais au clergé seul.* Ainsi nous lisons dans le *Besant Dieu:*

683 "Et les *personnes* que feront
Qui les riches iglises ont,
Treis ou quatre en une province,
Que diront-il devant le prince?"

Ce qui est dit du jugement dernier: le prince, c'est "Jésus," et les *personnes* ne sont pas prises dans un sens mélioratif.

Donc, ce que M. Rheinfelder avait essayé de généraliser sociologiquement n'est pas généralisable. C'est le haut clergé seul qui est désigné par *persona*, "dignitaire." C'est dans le clergé seul, naturellement dans le petit clergé, que *persona* dignitaire est péjorisé. Et c'est encore le petit clergé qui forme de *personne*, "dignitaire," un néologisme *personaus*, "hautain," "égoïste." M. Rheinfelder a trouvé le mot, mais il n'a pas osé l'expliquer.

C'est le Renclus de Moiliens qui chante des

"plus *personaus*
de ces grans abés crocheniers."

Or, le Renclus de Moiliens est un mécontent, un révolutionnaire dans l'Église. Et voilà la solution de l'énigme: il y a "clergé" et "clergé"; ce qui paraît bon pour l'évêque ou l'abbé, est mauvais pour le simple clerc ou le curé de village. Ce sont ces derniers qui parleront de ces *grands abés personaus et crocheniers.*

M. Rheinfelder remarque à la page 122: "Je ne sais pas si *personnel* est formé de *personne*, 'dignitaire ecclésiastique' ou si ce mot a le sens de 'digne' . . . en ce cas, ce sens aurait la nuance de quelqu'un qui se prélasse, 'praelatenhaft.'" M. Rheinfelder n'a pas remarqué que personnel en français moderne a encore le même sens d'"antisocial," d'"égoïste." Et il n'a pas remarqué qu'il a lui-même noté ce même sens pour l'italien ainsi que pour l'espagnol, mais à des pages distantes de sa remarque sur le Renclus. Il note parfaitement bien: *sentimento personale*, "egoismo," pour l'italien, et *personalismo*, "égoïsme," en espagnol. Il aurait donc fallu un système qui réunit *per-*

*sonaus*, ancien français, *personne*, français moderne, et les variantes des autres langues romanes, au lieu de les séparer. S'il avait rigoureusement séparé le milieu ecclésiastique des autres milieux, s'il avait distingué dans ce milieu le haut et le petit clergé, les curés et les moines, je crois que forcément il aurait trouvé le lien qui unit *personaus*, *personnel*, *personalismo* et *sentimento personale*.

### 4. *Personnel*, "*égoïste*"

Mon plus ancien exemple de *personnel*, "égoïste," en français moderne date de Saint-Simon. Il fait partie de son portrait si dûment célèbre de Louis XIV: "C'étoit un homme uniquement *personnel*, et qui ne comptoit tous les autres que par rapport à soi" (II, chap. 21).

Je retrouve ce terme à la cour jusqu'à la Révolution. Marie-Antoinette s'en sert (Frères Goncourt, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 292). Dans les *Manuscrits de M. Necker publiés par sa fille* (exemplaire de ma bibliothèque), nous trouvons l'article suivant:

§ 102 personnalité—"On dit communément qu'il est permis aux grands hommes d'être *personnels*, qu'on doit au moins le leur pardonner . . . mais s'ils étoient *personnels* en gloire . . . il y aurait un grand reproche à leur faire . . . l'homme *personnel* en gloire, s'il avait en main la toute-puissance, frapperoit à jamais de stérilité l'esprit et le génie."

On trouvera d'autres exemples dans Littré.

Donc maintenant, deux questions se posent: le mot *personaus* du Renclus et le mot *personnel*, "égoïste," mot en usage depuis le XVIII$^{e}$ siècle, sont-ils les mêmes? Le mot français *personnel*, "égoïste," et les termes italiens et espagnols, *personalismo* et *sentimento personale*, dérivent-ils d'une même source? Ou bien, sont-ce des néologismes que le génie de chaque langue a créés librement? Entre le *personaus* du Renclus et le *personnel* de Saint-Simon je n'ai pas trouvé de lien. Les classiques écrivent amour-propre, vanité, orgueil, mais ils n'écrivent ni *personnalité*, ni *personnel* dans ce sens. Il n'y a qu'un passage des *Lettres Provinciales* qui, peut-être, forme exception. Nous lisons dans la troisième lettre vers la fin: "Ce ne sont pas les sentimens de

M. Arnauld qui sont hérétiques, ce n'est que sa *personne;* c'est une hérésie *personnelle.*" Toute hérésie est personnelle. Donc, ce *personnel* paraît contenir un sens différent du sens général du mot. Est-ce un reproche adressé à la personnalité des Jésuites?

Un de mes amis comprend ce *personnel* de Pascal autrement: il ne peut pas y avoir d'hérésie pour la *personne* d'un individu, mais seulement pour ses *idées.* Donc, accuser quelqu'un d'hérésie personnelle, cela s'appelle lui imputer une impossibilité. Car une hérésie est dans les idées de la personne, ou elle n'est pas.

En tout cas, il n'y a pas de lien français entre le *personaus* du Renclus et le *personnel* de Saint-Simon. Mais les formes *personalismo* et *sentimento personale* révèlent la source: Le lien entre le *personaus* du Renclus, le *personnel* de Saint-Simon, le *sentimento personale* italien et le *personalismo* espagnol ne saurait être autre que le terme latin, *personalis.* Il est fréquent en latin, rare en langue vulgaire, et, de là, les difficultés que nous venons de rencontrer. En effet, *personale* est un terme de Droit Romain. C'est Rome qui distinguait le "beneficium *personale*" du "beneficium *reale.*" Idée et terme sont adoptés par le droit médiéval et, au Moyen Age, ils appartiennent aussi bien au droit temporel qu'à l'Église. Voyez les exemples de Du Cange de l'année 1103: "ante Gofridum filium comitis et alios *personales* viros"; 1107: "ab omni *personale* redemptione liberas"; 1268: "beneficium *personale*"; 1591: "personatus vel beneficia *personalia.*"

Le clerc écrivait donc aussi bien *personales viros,* en parlant de princes qu'en parlant d'évêques. Ainsi que *personne* dans le haut clergé, ce *personalis* a un accent mélioratif dans le grand monde, mais cette fois-ci dans le grand monde de l'Église *et des cours.* Ayant un accent mélioratif dans le grand monde, il tend à être péjorisé dans le petit. Voilà donc, à mon idée, le *personaus* du Renclus très bien expliqué: c'est un latinisme méliorisé par le grand monde et péjorisé par le petit clergé et les courtisans.

Ce latinisme reste une source perpétuelle de péjoration. Les courtisans rencontrent le terme et l'idée dans la leçon de morale, dans l'enseignement du droit temporel et ecclésiastique, dans la

confession. Ils apprennent que les *personales viri*, ce sont ceux qui possèdent un *beneficium personale*, autrement dit un *personatus*. Les biens de l'Église, aussi bien que les biens personnels, étaient accordés ou bien personnellement, ou bien réellement. Les avoir personnellement, c'était les posséder. C'étaient les Grands qui possédaient personnellement, qui étaient donc des personnages.

Toutes ces idées, tous ces termes jouaient un grand rôle dans la confession. Les confesseurs de cour étant en général des Jésuites, je m'adresse à un de ces confesseurs incriminés par Pascal et je choisis le traité d'Escobar, *Liber Theologiae Moralis* (édition de Munich, 1646, exemplaire de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Munich):

P. 78: "Les serments se font par la commune ou *personaliter*"; p. 192: "La Dime se paye ou bien *praedialis*, en nature, ou bien *personalis*, en numéraire"; p. 195: "*Personalis* est decima pars fructum provenientium ex industria et opera (sic) personae"; p. 197: "Beneficium *personale* quod conceditur immediate *personae*"; p. 200: "privilegium *personale* sequitur *personam*"; p. 461: (article feudum) "le servitium *personale* demande un obsequium *personale*."

Ces exemples ne sont pas cherchés. Je les ai pris au fur et à mesure. Le mot *personnel* était de rigueur dans la confession, et surtout dans celle des courtisans. Il revenait sans cesse au chapitre des bénéfices, des privilèges et du service.

La péjorisation de ce mot *personnel*, "digne," "sacré," se disait, mais ne s'écrivait pas. Le révolutionnaire qu'était le duc de Saint-Simon est le premier à écrire le terme sérieusement, en parlant du Roi. Ensuite viennent les exemples que j'ai tirés de Necker et d'autres. Ils montrent que le terme est reçu à la Cour. Aujourd'hui il est français. Et nous lisons dans le *Temps* du 3 avril 1929, à propos de l'enseignement du français dans le sud de l'Afrique: "Ce sont donc des Hollandais ou des Suisses, notoirement calvinistes, qui l'enseignent, et j'ai pu constater que leur français était plutôt *personnel*." On dirait que ce sont encore les milieux ecclésiastiques qui emploient ce mot de préférence. Huysmans au moins s'en sert assez souvent dans ses romans catholiques, par exemple dans l'*Oblat:*

L'art de la fugue et du contrepoint lui paraît "personnel et vaniteux" (chapitre 3, p. 51). Il raconte à la page 57 qu'il est défendu aux moines de dire *ma fourchette* et *mon couteau.* Il faut dire *notre fourchette* et *notre couteau.* "Il va de soi," continue l'auteur, "que ce mode *impersonnel* de dire les choses, ne s'applique qu'à ce qui est commun, donc aux ustensiles." Un des moines, un moniste sans doute, généralise la règle en disant: "Je crois, mon frère, que j'ai marché sur notre pied."

Ainsi le *personaus* du Renclus, le français moderne *personnel,* "égoïste," ont une source commune, qui ne tarit pas, le latin ecclésiastique. Est-ce la même source qui a produit un terme plus international encore: *personnel,* "l'ensemble des personnes qui constituent un service," allemand *Personal,* italien *personale?* C'est un terme qui, lui aussi, est en usage dans les couvents, voyez l'*Oblat* aux pages 405 et 412. C'est l'abbé qui dit: "J'ai besoin de tout mon *personnel* là-bas et il va être bien réduit."

### 5. *Une Belle Personne*

Le chapitre précédent a montré qu'il est impossible, en linguistique, de s'arrêter au Moyen Age. Le *personaus* du Renclus reste incompréhensible sans le français moderne, sans le latin de l'Église et de l'école. Il est impossible de comprendre le Moyen Age sans suivre les traces du mot latin jusqu'à l'usage moderne. Il est impossible de comprendre l'usage moderne, sans avoir étudié le Moyen Age.

En outre, un travail linguistique, voulant atteindre la vie même des mots, ne saurait reposer sur les lexiques seuls. Les lexiques ne donnent pas, en général, de distinctions sociologiques. Ainsi, leurs distinctions sémantiques ne reposent pas sur la réalité, qui est toujours dans l'individu et dans les groupes, mais plutôt sur des suppositions parfois assez vagues. Il faut donc partir, dans un travail linguistique, de l'homme particulier, de l'auteur, en étudier le milieu, la période, ne pas remplacer une nation par un milieu ecclésiastique, ne pas étudier le monde lettré en choisissant un modèle purement artistique. C'est alors que ce qui est personnel et ce qui ne l'est pas, ce qui est original et ce qui est commun à un groupe, ce qui est convention

et ce qui est style se détache. Et, ce qui a été style pour un groupe précédent, peut devenir la convention, la règle pour les jeunes.

Ainsi au XVIII[e] siècle *personne*, "individu," tend à disparaître dans la haute littérature, *belle personne*, "terme galant," a tellement impressionné la sensualité de certains milieux modernes que le terme érotique a éliminé ou presque, chez beaucoup d'auteurs, le terme incolore de *personne*, "individu des deux sexes." D'abord, en lisant Beaumarchais, je remarque:

*Barbier de Séville*, I, 4: "une *jeune personne* d'une beauté . . ."; II, 2: "la *personne* qu'il aime . . ."; "Cette *personne* est la pupille de votre tuteur . . .". *Figaro*, I, 5: "Une si jolie *personne* que Madame . . ." etc.

Du reste, hormis *personne*, pronom, pas de *personne*. Et ce n'est que l'avocat Bridoison qui dit des horreurs comme: "*personne* n'épouseroit *personne*." Depuis quand cette mode? Je cherche dans Marivaux, parce que c'est lui qui, vers 1730–1740, écrit la langue la moins littéraire. Et voici ce que je trouve:

*Marianne:* ". . . cinq ou six *personnes* . . ."; "les *personnes* tuées . . ."; "quelques *personnes* étendues mortes . . ."; "deux *personnes*, une dame et un cavalier . . ."

Tout cela tiré des quatre premières pages d'une édition quelconque. Marivaux se sert du terme incolore *personne* à chaque page. Mais la *belle* et *jeune personne* a déjà fait son entrée. Dans la seconde partie du *Paysan Parvenu*, aussitôt qu'Agathe paraît, elle est qualifiée de *jeune personne* et de *petite personne*.

Il faut donc chercher plus loin que 1730. Le plus ancien exemple que je parvienne à trouver de *personne*, "femme," est celui du *Baron de Phoeneste* (Livre II, chapitre 14). La bonne amie d'un curé, voulant lui dire que, pendant son absence, elle a été importunée par un individu, lui dit *sub specie rosae:*

"Il y a des *personnes* qui font bonne mine aux *personnes*, que si les *personnes* savaient la fidélité des *personnes* . . ."

C'est un jeu de mots basé sur trois sens différents du mot *personne*. Le premier *personne*, c'est "quelqu'un," le deuxième, c'est une "femme." *Faire bonne mine aux personnes*, c'est comme si l'on disait: Faire la cour aux femmes. Le troisième *personne*, c'est le "curé," et le quatrième, c'est encore la "femme." Ce double sens reste admissible pendant le XVII^e^ siècle. D'un côté, on dit *auguste personne* en parlant du Roi; on dit *sage personne* en parlant d'un magistrat. De l'autre côté, on dit *belle, jeune, charmante personne*, en parlant du sexe. On trouvera beaucoup d'exemples de cette façon de parler dans la *Muze Historique* de Loret. Ce n'est que vers 1750 qu'arrive ce que nous avons indiqué plus haut: *personne*, "quelqu'un," devient rare.

Donc, au XVIII^e^ siècle, nous distinguons deux périodes: Dans la *première*, on abuse de *personne*, "individu," mais *jeune personne, petite personne*, terme galant, est reçu. Dans la *seconde*, le terme galant a failli éliminer, dans un certain milieu bien entendu, le terme général et incolore. Précisons la date de cette élimination, ainsi que nous croyons avoir précisé la date de l'apparition de *personne*, "femme." Je choisis, pour des raisons faciles à deviner, la *Nouvelle Héloïse* de Jean-Jacques:

*Lettre première* (écrite à Julie): "Une *personne* si raisonnable . . ."
*Lettre cinquième* (de même): "Les charmes de ta *personne* . . ."

Le sexe masculin est, en général, désigné par *homme*. Il n'y a que la lettre 18, où il soit question de *quelques personnes* dans un sens incolore.

Mais la sensualité de ce roman, sa galanterie, sont tellement recouvertes de tendresse et de sentiment, que, il faut en convenir, j'ai mal choisi ma lecture. J'aurais dû m'adresser aux *Confessions* où apparaît le vrai Rousseau, le Rousseau des jours de semaine, sensuel et libertin. Et, en effet, les premières impressions sexuelles reçues du fait de ses tantes, lui font dire:

*Premier livre*, p. 22 de mon édition de 1793: "Je dévorai d'un œil ardent les *belles personnes*. . . . Mes trois tantes

n'étoient pas seulement des *personnes* d'une sagesse exemplaire. . . . J'ai ainsi passé ma vie à convoiter et me taire auprès des *personnes* que j'aimais le plus," etc.

Dans les *Confessions*, *personne* est dit en parlant de belles femmes qui tentent l'auteur et rarement en parlant d'hommes en général. Rousseau est-il le père de ce trait stylistique et sémantique caractérisant si bien le Rococo? C'est bien possible. Mais il faudrait des études très spéciales pour répondre oui ou non. Et ce qui m'intéresse dans ces articles, c'est moins le résultat définitif que la méthode qui y conduit.

### 6. *Personnage et Personnalité*

Après avoir fait la connaissance de la péjoration de *personnel*, il n'est pas difficile de prévoir que *personnage*, "celui qui tient un *personatus*," lui aussi est voué à la péjoration. Mais il serait impossible de déduire de quelle idée et par quel détour cette péjoration a évolué. Il n'y a que l'induction qui l'explique. Au XVI[e] siècle, *personnage* est encore le synonyme de "grande personne," ainsi que nous l'avons trouvé dans Marguerite de Navarre et dans Amyot. Voilà peut-être pourquoi le drame classique a changé le terme de *personne dramatique* en *personnage*.

Mais n'allons pas trop vite. Robert Garnier a d'abord dit *acteurs*, puis plus tard *entreparleurs!* Évidemment, on a voulu distinguer entre "personnages du drame" et "acteurs," "comédiens," et on a cherché un néologisme pour éviter l'équivoque. Pourquoi pas *personne* comme au Moyen Age? A cause du Moyen Age? Ou parce que *personne* est devenu trop général? Et pourquoi justement *personnage?* Parce que *personnage* avait un accent mélioratif? Et que la scène classique n'admettait que la haute société, dans laquelle il n'y avait que des personnages?

Hélas! La vérité est en général bien différente de ce que nous en imaginons par déduction ou par intuition. D'abord, si, au Moyen Age, on dit *personne*, ce n'est pas cela qui aurait déterminé les dramaturges du XVI[e] siècle à se défaire de ce mot, car *persona dramatis*, c'est le terme classique. Donc, si, en vérité, *personne* avait été trop incolore comme terme français, il

aurait pu passer comme latinisme. Mais, évidemment, le théâtre du XVI^e^ siècle a eu sa diction particulière, indépendante du Moyen Age aussi bien que de l'antiquité. Et acteur, signifiant "celui qui agit," on s'en est servi pour désigner le "personnage" aussi bien que "celui qui le joue" jusqu'au XVII^e^ siècle (Voir *Dictionnaire Général*). Ce qui est sûr, c'est que Garnier, en remplaçant *acteur* par *entreparleur*, a eu l'intention d'éviter le double sens d'acteur. Il n'a du reste pas inventé le mot *entreparleur*, mais il l'a traduit de l'italien *interlocutori*, dont se sert, par exemple, Machiavel.

Plus tard, on a remplacé ce terme un peu lourd par *personnage*. Quand? Les plus anciens exemples de *personnage*, "rôle," du *Dictionnaire Général* sont tirés des Classiques, surtout de Molière. Mon premier exemple est beaucoup plus ancien. Je trouve la première liste de personnages dans la traduction française du *Pastor Fido: Le Berger fidèle* (Paris, 1595, exemplaire de ma bibliothèque). Et l'original italien portait: *le persone che parlanno*. Donc, évidemment, on a évité *personne* et on a choisi *personnage* comme remplaçant. Impossible de fixer la cause. Les détails manquent. On sait que l'histoire du théâtre à la fin du XVI^e^ siècle est remplie de lacunes (Voyez le chapitre 2 du *Théâtre français avant la période classique*, par Eugène Rigal). La seule chose que nous sachions, c'est que *personnage*, "rôle," apparaît vers 1595 pour la première fois (?). L'usage du mot, naturellement, peut être plus ancien. On paraît avoir voulu éviter *personne*. A cause de sa polysémie? A cause de son sens négatif, là où *personne* est isolé, formant phrase à lui seul? Ce qui est sûr, c'est qu'on a voulu distinguer *acteur*, "rôle," et *acteur*, "comédien"; ce qui est possible, c'est que l'italien *persona* a eu son influence sur le choix du terme *personnage;* ce qui peut avoir décidé le choix, c'est l'accent, l'acteur n'ayant à jouer que des *personnages*.

Et voilà donc *personnage*, "rôle," introduit dans le français. "Vous ne pouvez pas soutenir ce *personnage* difficile," dira Figaro (*Barbier*, I, 4). C'est maintenant que *personnage* se péjorise. Car qui joue un rôle, est un comédien, n'est pas franc. *Quel est ce personnage* veut donc dire: "Quel est cet homme qui n'est pas à sa place." Ce doit être alors qu'on

remplace *personnage* dans le sens objectif de "somme totale des qualités d'une personne" par un néologisme, *personnalité*. Néologisme pour le sens, mais non pour la forme. Car *personnalité* est un terme juridique assez ancien et assez répandu (Voyez Rheinfelder, p. 58). Mon plus ancien exemple du néologisme *personnalité*, "total de qualités," se trouve dans les *Mémoires du Comte de Ségur: Souvenirs et anecdotes sur le Règne de Louis XVI*, éd. F. Funck-Brentano (p. 92): "Des personnalités universellement estimées." On ne dit plus *personnage* en ce sens. Ce qui n'empêche pas l'historien réaliste de traiter ses héros en *personnages* là où, véritablement, ils ont joué un rôle. Voir, par exemple, les portraits littéraires de Sainte-Beuve. La Fayette a eu son rôle, "plus que tout autre personnage de la Révolution"; on étudie La Fayette "dans son personnage politique," etc.

Ainsi, malgré sa péjoration, *personnage* reste, dans la littérature, l'amélioration, l'augmentation de *personne*, comme le prouve incontestablement le passage suivant de Balzac, tiré du quatrième chapitre de l'*Interdiction:*

"Paris, où la mode élève, abaisse tour à tour des *personnages* qui, tantôt grands, tantôt petits, c'est-à-dire tour à tour en vue et oubliés, deviennent plus tard des *personnes* insupportables comme le sont les ministres disgraciés."

Si on prive le *personnage* de son rôle, il ne reste que la *personne insupportable*.

*Conclusion*

Ainsi l'histoire de *personne*, de *personnel*, de *personnalité*, de *personnage* (surtout de ce dernier) ne laisse pas d'être dramatique. Mais il est inutile de chercher le drame dans les dictionnaires, ou dans les abstractions idéalistes. Le drame est toujours dans le concret, dans la réalité, dans l'homme particulier. La réalité est toujours dans l'individu, dans les groupes d'individus, dans les rapports si labiles d'individu à individu. Ce sont ces rapports qui font l'objet des études sociologiques. N'oublions donc jamais que "milieu," "famille," "société," sont des abstractions exactes, si on les observe en distinguant les individus qui les forment,—fausses, si on les étudie abstraitement, en

étudiant, par exemple, l'homme par l'humanité, la langue par son génie, le fait par une formule idéaliste.

Non, au contraire, il faut étudier l'humanité par l'homme qui la compose, qui en forme l'unité, le seul élément réel, palpable. Il faut étudier le fait par les éléments concrets dont il forme le rapport, la langue par ceux qui la parlent. Car toute abstraction est juste qui part du concret pour aller vers l'abstrait, qui part du fait particulier pour aller vers ce qui est général, en faisant, en route, abstraction de tout ce qui est spécial, personnel, original. Ce n'est que dans ce sens que la définition spirituelle, mais dangereuse, de Taine, "Tout abstrait est l'extrait d'un concret," est admissible. L'*abstrait* n'est pas "l'extrait d'un concret," mais "la somme d'extraits de beaucoup de faits concrets pareils et parents." Et la formule de Taine est un exemple excellent pour montrer que ce qui est spirituel n'est pas toujours juste et que ce qui est bien dit peut être absolument faux, hélas!

Toutefois un ami a essayé de sauver Taine en disant qu'il a voulu dire exactement la même chose que j'ai dite, moi. Que *un concret* veut dire, dans la langue de Taine, "l'ensemble de beaucoup de concrets." Mais alors ce n'est plus un concret, mais un abstrait. Et voilà pourquoi la définition de Taine reste aussi spirituelle que fausse. Car, si on comprend *un concret*, comme si on avait dit "un ensemble de beaucoup de concrets," cela équivaudrait à "un abstrait de beaucoup de concrets." On n'a donc pas dit autre chose que "l'abstrait est l'extrait d'un abstrait," ce qui revient à une simple tautologie. L'abstraction procède par l'analyse de ce qui est commun aux individus et aux faits d'une même classe, par l'analyse de ce qui est original, personnel, unique dans les individus et les faits. Ainsi l'abstraction est toute dans les rapports des personnes et des choses. L'*abstraction* est la "représentation par idées de rapports réels."

Classer les individus et les faits par leurs rapports réels, les analyser et en abstraire ce qui leur est commun, en déduire ce qui est original à l'individu ou à la classe, voilà la méthode que nous appelons *induction*. Elle est de rigueur dans la science, partout où les individus concrets ne font pas défaut. Procéder

par déduction là où l'induction est praticable, c'est ce que nous appelons le *dilettantisme.*

M. Rheinfelder a procédé par l'induction, dans son travail, en rassemblant une belle collection des dérivés du mot latin *persona,* collection basée sur une connaissance irréprochable de la langue. Ce que j'ai voulu montrer dans cette étude critique, c'est que, s'il avait divisé cette collection d'après les milieux et les auteurs qui la lui avaient fournie, au lieu de la diviser d'après le sens des locutions en question fixé au préalable, son étude aurait abouti à un rendement plus définitif et se rapprochant de plus près de la réalité, c'est-à-dire des auteurs et de leurs milieux, des hommes et de leurs rapports multiples.

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# FRANCESCA DA RIMINI AND THE *DOLCE STIL NUOVO*

THE episode of Francesca da Rimini (Inferno V) is beset by a deep contradiction. Francesca, as a sinner, is in the second circle of Hell, where those who have yielded to lust are tossed about by a raging storm, but in the episode she stands as a glorification of Love. Does Dante glorify the sinner in her? If so, why should he have placed Francesca in Hell? If not, why should he have presented her in the light of sympathy which he diffused around her? Here lies the contradiction which we wish to solve.

The apparent inconsistency has been felt by several critics who have dealt with it according to their interpretation of the episode and of Dante's entire poem. Dall'Ongaro evades the issue by saying that it is a "sublime contradiction." [1] Foscolo believes that Dante's attitude toward Francesca was actuated by his gratitude to her family, as he had been a guest of her father, Guido da Polenta, and of her nephew, Guido Novello. Ginguené goes further and states that Paolo and Francesca are not really damned.[2] Francesco de Sanctis faces the issue but solves it in a way that needs a brief discussion. "Those two go together," states the great critic in rejecting Ginguené's theory, "and they love each other even through eternity, not because they are not damned, but, indeed, because they are damned." [3] He explains his attitude by pointing out that in Hell all earthly conditions are made eternal and remain unchanged, as in the case of Filippo Argenti and Capaneo. True, but sin in the case of the latter two is their penalty. Filippo Argenti had yielded to wrath and through wrath he is punished. Capaneo had defied God and his own curses are his punishment. Virgil rebukes him thus:

[1] Francesco De Sanctis, *Nuovi Saggi Critici*, 1872, p. 14.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

"O Capaneo, in ciò che non s'ammorza
La tua superbia, se' tu piu punito;
Nullo martirio, fuor che la tua rabbia,
Sarebbe al tuo furor dolor compito." [4]

"There is not the slightest detail on which the word 'sin' is not written," [5] concludes De Sanctis, using the presence of sin to fashion a Francesca not different from a woman of contemporary fiction and seeing in Dante a forerunner of the realistic writers. Living in the age of Naturalism and reacting against the emptiness of the decadent Romanticism, De Sanctis tinged his criticism of Dante with his realistic aesthetic belief to the point that, to him, Francesca is the first real woman who has appeared in Italian literature, one who has eclipsed Beatrice and Laura, who are, to him, mere concepts of a feminine ideal. Benedetto Croce follows entirely De Sanctis' point of view, emphasizing even more the presence of passion in the episode. "Their love was a true love, complete and real, soulful, sensuous, with gentle and delicate aspirations, the ecstasy of beatitude; languor, abandon, perdition." [6]

To us, however, Francesca is Beatrice's sister and, if this can be proven, we propose to draw conclusions about Dante and his art which are very different from those of the above-mentioned critics. Francesco De Sanctis tried to remove the contradiction in the episode by glorifying Francesca's sin; we, on the other hand, shall try to show how Dante glorified Francesca in the name of Love as the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* conceived it.

When we find Dante in the circle of the lustful ones, he sternly and objectively points out the sinners who are punished in it:

"Intesi ch'a così fatto tormento
Enno dannati i peccator carnali,
Che la ragion sommettono al talento."

A storm rages in an atmosphere "mute of every light" and it tosses the spirits in the midst of shrieking cries, moans and laments. Dante wants to know the names of the sinners and

[4] Dante, *Inferno*, XIV, 63–66.
[5] Francesco De Sanctis, *Nuovi Saggi Critici*, 1872, p. 15.
[6] Benedetto Croce, *Poesia di Dante*, 1921, p. 77.

Virgil mentions Semiramis, Dido, Cleopatra, Helen of Troy, Achilles, Paris and Tristan. There is a vast difference between the way in which Dante refers to the sinners as an abstract moralist and his attitude toward the great lovers of antiquity and history. He is, to be sure, severe with Semiramis:

"Che libito fe'licito in sua legge"

but when Virgil mentions Dido:

"che s'ancise amorosa"

and Helen and Achilles, Cleopatra, Paris and Tristan, Dante's heart is filled with pity and he is almost overcome:

"Pietà mi vinse e fui quasi smarrito."

It seems that the key to the whole episode lies in this changed state of mind that gradually lets the episode drift away from the main narrative and gives to it a unity of its own. We, too, as we read, forget the sinners and the entire circle where lust is punished. As Dante listens to Virgil mentioning the great lovers of antiquity, he is no longer looking at their sin; he feels himself lost in the dream and beauty which are diffused around them. This attitude is quite natural in one who evokes memories of the great lovers of the past and looks at them through time which shrouds in solemn silence the deeds of man. Sin sinks into oblivion and only the noble transport of the human heart remains. The language itself in referring to the celebrated lovers has changed, and the strength of the first lines of the canto is followed by a musical sequel of *terzine*, light and luminous. Of Dido, he says that "s'ancise amorosa" and of all the other shadows that

"Amor di questa vita dipartille."

These *terzine* serve not only as a background to the episode, but they also show the change which has taken place in Dante's mind. In the presence of the great lovers of history, that which appeared lust to Dante, the moralist, has become love to Dante, the dreamer. A dreamer is not necessarily the man, and even less, the poet, who is ignorant of the negative and

relative sides of human nature. He is the man, and especially the poet, who ignores the negative and relative in the name of what is positive and absolute in the deeds of man, rising to love's loftier levels and forgetting the weakness of the flesh.

In the *Vita Nuova*, Dante's life exists, so to say, on two planes, on one side his stormy and passionate youth, on the other the sublime love for Beatrice. Beatrice represented for him an ideal embodiment of love which was marred and offended by the presence of other women in his life. To us, the women of the foil are not a mere imitation of a literary device used by the Troubadours, but real women for whom Dante did not feel the same Platonic love that Beatrice awakened in his heart. Were it not so, Beatrice would not have denied him her greeting, as Dante tells us:

"And for this reason, that is to say, for this widespread rumor that seemed to cast on me the infamy of vice, that most gentle lady . . . denied me her greeting which was all my beatitude." [7]

When Dante meets Forese in Purgatory, we learn from the poet's own lips how turbulent his youth had been, and we still possess an insulting sonnet written by the lofty poet of mysticism about Forese's wife. A fundamentally different Dante from the lover in the *Vita Nuova* appears in the *Rime Pietrose* in which he sings of his violent passion for a woman to whom he refers as Pietra. Guido Cavalcanti, in one of his sonnets, with tenderness and concern, grieves over the manner in which his dear friend, Dante, wastes his youth. In the *Vita Nuova* there is but a faint echo, and well disguised, of this turbulence, while Dante's youth appears suffused with the light that Beatrice casts on it. The *Vita Nuova* represents a frantic projection in the world of the absolute, a flight to a lofty plane in order to forget the tormenting struggle of a sensuous youth. Dante is plainly conscious of this projection into the realm of the absolute as we can see from a passage in the very beginning of the book:

"and since to dwell on passions and deeds of such extreme youthfulness seems a sort of language worthy of fable, I shall

[7] *Vita Nuova*, Chapter X.

leave this aside and . . . shall come to those words that are written in my memory under more important headings." [8]
In his quest for a higher plane and a nobler style, shunning the lowness of the "fabula," Dante chooses to relate the more important events of his life that refer to his love for Beatrice. In this fashion, he leaves out the struggle that he underwent to curb his violent and passionate nature. Had he not done so, he would have realized an aesthetic canon that became the accepted basis of art only in the nineteenth century. Love, with its relative characteristics, love in its becoming, does not appear in the *Vita Nuova*. Still less it appears in the *Commedia* where Beatrice, radiant with the beauty of immortality, leads him to the very pinnacle of human perfection, which is the contemplation of Truth and of God. Dante saw in Beatrice Love, pure Love, because he had in his soul the power to forget her body and to replace it by a spiritualized being. To imagine him ignorant of the human side is to follow in the foot-prints of Biscioni, Rossetti, or of Perez, who only saw in her an allegory and not a real person. Dante presents his love for Beatrice after he has purified it of all elements of passion. His story begins on the luminous threshold of Ideal, leaving out what appeared negative to him and what might disturb his dream. If we do not keep this in mind, the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* and almost the entire *Commedia* lose their meaning and value for us.

Dante's century was an age of sublime synthesis, in which all aspects of life were harmonized. In the early centuries of the Middle Ages, Asceticism had despised the human body. In the thirteenth century, on the contrary, Mysticism accepted all the earthly realities and lent them a spiritual significance. Dante, in the *Vita Nuova*, gave us the luminous tangibility of Beatrice's beauty, and his theory was that we are attracted by the tangible and bodily charms, but that we must rise through them to the contemplation of the absolute and eternal beauty. His love for Beatrice was interwoven with the moral problem of his youth, and Beatrice stood before him as the giver of a moral rhythm to his life. Love was to him spiritual affinity between gentle persons and, as such, it was sung by all the

[8] *Ibid.*, Chapter II.

songsters of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*. It is the same with Francesca da Rimini as with Beatrice. Dante saw in her the lover, he gave her his own feelings and only a luminous, gentle lady stood before him. This shows that in the *Commedia* there remained the same attitude toward love as had been expressed in the *Vita Nuova*, the marvelous book which grew under the influence of the ideals of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*.

It has been the custom to point out that a gap exists between the *Vita Nuova*, expression of Dante's idealism, and the *Commedia*, embodiment of Dante's realism. This leads to the question: was Dante a realist and in what sense was he a realist? Dante's reality was in the conscience of man and not in the world of senses. He was a Neo-Platonist. The great value of the *Commedia* lies in the fact that it portrays Dante's victorious journey to a moment of supreme inner quietude sought in vain through an active and stormy life, through war, politics, through the study of philosophy and science, and only found in the secret chamber of his heart where his dreams abode under the gentle light of Beatrice's love. This transcendental attitude permeates the whole of the *Commedia*. In it, life is looked at from a distance. It is a meditation on life which results in a tragic indictment of Evil, in the ghastly punishments of Hell, and in a glorification of Good, in the bliss of Paradise. The *Commedia* was written during Dante's exile, and it bears the scars that experience had left in his heart. Dante was a disillusioned and grieving man. Offended by actual life, he sought refuge in an ideal world. Hence, his constant projection toward the past, when beauty and chivalry reigned, his indictment of the present sordid misery and his losing himself in the light and harmonies of Paradise.

Love does not fundamentally change in the *Commedia*. It becomes more human in a Dantesque and universal sense as it is laden with all the weight of the sorrows of the poet's life. Love is more human, not because it acquires any element of passion, but because it is the only solace of the sorrows of a great soul. In many passages Dante discusses love. In the *Purgatorio*, he gives a definition of it which can be summarized thus: love is our bending toward an object of loveliness. Love is

followed step by step from its incipient stage to its highest development. His analysis takes into account, with the accuracy of a modern psychologist, all the elements, bodily as well as spiritual, which create this mysterious power. Love is awakened in us through our senses, but it develops into a spiritual phenomenon, because our desire is a spiritual movement.[9] Dante's intellectual and universal reaction is never dissociated from the actual experience of life, so that his idealism stands on a concrete basis. We find in this theory the same conception as expressed in the *Vita Nuova*, the love that Dante felt in the pure countenance of Beatrice, in the light of her eyes, in the radiance of her smile. When Dante meets Beatrice on the top of *Purgatory*, she reproaches him for having yielded to passion after her death. Her words rehearse Dante's theory that we have just illustrated.

> "Mai non t'appresentò natura od arte
> Piacer, quanto le belle membra in ch'io
> Rinchiusa fui, e sono in terra sparte;" [10]

Body and soul are here presented in a sublime unity, and pleasure is again spiritualized through the pure beauty that shone in Beatrice. The treatment of the concepts of "pleasure" and "beauty" interests us all the more that they appear in the episode of Francesca. It was the "bella persona" of Francesca that revealed love to Paolo's heart, just as Dante came to know love through the "bella membra" of Beatrice. Francesca, in requiting Paolo's love, shared the same "piacere" which gave Dante the joy that consoled and uplifted his heart in the days of his youth as well as during the stormy adventures of his manhood. The parallelism found in the two episodes shows beyond any doubt that Dante attributed to Paolo and Francesca the same kind of love that existed between him and Beatrice.

Francesca is not the only idealised woman in the *Commedia*. Indeed, Dante's poem is a marvelous garden where these flowers of feminine loveliness bloom. Pia, Piccarda, Lia, Matelda, Costanza, Cunizza express the embodiment of the feminine

[9] *Purgatorio*, XVIII, 19–39.
[10] *Ibid.*, XXXI, 49–52.

ideal such as Dante patterned after Beatrice or after his own dream.

Many reasons must have contributed toward Dante's idealization of Francesca. He must have seen and known Paolo during the time that the latter was *capitano del popolo* at Florence in 1282. Paolo is described by all commentators as handsome and given to the gentle cult of art. What more natural than to idealize his love for Francesca of whom Dante describes "la bella persona." Love, according to the code of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*, had nothing to do with the marriage ties of the lady or man. It was a humble worship that realized its goal in a poetical vent of lofty feelings. How gentle and delicate are the words and thoughts that Dante lends to Francesca! Peace and love hover over the whole episode and they spread a gentle light, a hush of mystic silence over the mysterious search for love that torments man. In that silence every toil, every contradiction disappears, and Dante's mind feels again that peace which Francesca wishes him and which he had experienced in Beatrice's presence; Beatrice, who made everyone chaste and cast a veil of longing melancholy on the soul of man.

At the time that Dante wrote the *Commedia*, the sad happening of the death of Francesca and Paolo belonged already to the past, and the lovers had taken their place for the love poets near Tristan and Iseult. They, too, had made the supreme sacrifice of their lives for love.

Dante's stern moral sense, however, condemned Francesca to Hell because she, being married to Gianciotto, had felt love for Paolo, his brother. No admiration, no affection, no sympathy ever stood in the way of Dante's moral sense. Ulysses, Brunetto Latini, Farinata, Ugolino, are all persons whom Dante admired greatly, but whom he placed, nevertheless, in Hell. He glorified them not for the sin for which they are punished, but for other attributes that he admired in them. As to Francesca, Dante vindicates the nobility of her love for Paolo when she relates to him the story of that love.

Paolo and Francesca are pictured in the episode against a background of courtly life which Gabriele D'Annunzio has reconstructed in his play so magnificently and so perfectly.

They are reading a book of courtly love, the romance of Lancelot. Unknowingly, they feel lost in an atmosphere of love. The simile of doves comes to Dante's mind. As doves glide toward their nest carried by their longing, so Paolo and Francesca answer the call of the poet, who begs them to come to him in the name of the love that gently carries them.

> "O anime affannate,
> Venite a noi parlar, s'altri nol niega."

Dante forgets altogether the circle, the sinners and the punishments. He addresses them as "anime affannate," referring to "affanni d'amore," and thus using the terminology of love-poetry. It is the love of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* as we can see from the mention of "cor gentile" and "dolci sospiri," "dolci pensieri," and from the personification of Love; a personification and a terminology which lead us back to the doctrine of love of that school. "It is as natural for a gentle heart to love as for a bird to hasten to the verger," had said Guinizelli, and Dante had clarified that thought in his sonnet:

> "Amore e cor gentil sono una cosa."

Benedetto Croce notices the presence of these concepts, but thinks that they are placed there to induce Paolo and Francesca to their sin.[11] On the contrary, their presence in the episode shows that, for Dante, Francesca's love for Paolo was a natural movement, natural in a superior order of concepts. Love, which to the songsters of the *Dolce Stil Nuovo* was the supreme power in the universe, echoes in the episode:

> "Amor che a cor gentil ratto s'apprende."
> "Amor che a nullo amato amar perdona."

If we forget that this conception of love is diffused around Paolo and Francesca, we are easily led astray. G. G. Parodi, another modern critic, sees in Francesca "a woman who loves that way, with all herself and forever," and "what does Francesca know of duty and of wrong? What do excuses matter to her?" [12] He bases his conception of Francesca on

[11] Benedetto Croce, *La Poesia di Dante*, 1921, p. 78.

[12] G. G. Parodi, *Poesia e Storia nella Divina Commedia*, 1920, pp. 70, 72.

Dante's line, "Amor ch'a nullo amato amar perdona." Parodi's conception of womanhood does not exist in Dante. What meaning have the words "it is a necessity to requite with love him who loves" severed from the philosophical background that Dante gave to them? To understand the episode, we must imagine it in close and immediate relation with the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*. Dante is simply above the excuses and wrongs in the question. He only thinks of love, and in that name he bids Francesca to tarry and speak to him. Again, how could Dante have spoken to Francesca of a love that reminded her of a sinful relation? While Dante, in the midst of the infernal storm, ponders over their tragedy, he feels in it only a pure and mysterious affinity between two noble and gentle souls. Francesca had discovered love in her heart in response to Paolo's delectation in her. Their love was made of "dolci sospiri," and it prompted them to read together the courtly romance of Lancelot. Dante delicately portrays their love as existing unknown to them. "Soli eravamo e senza alcun sospetto," Francesca tells him, and it is this feeling that makes the poet declare the two lovers innocent and wronged, in no uncertain terms. Dante calls them "anime offense" and bows his head in pity and sympathy, meditating on the beauty of their love. His chief anxiety is to know from Francesca how love was revealed to them:

> "Ma dimmi: al tempo de' dolci sospiri,
> A che e come concedette Amore
> Che conosceste i dubbiosi desiri?"

One day they were reading together how Lancelot, the gentle and timid lover, was kissed by Guinevere, and Paolo's lips sought hers. This moment of supreme ecstasy was shattered by their death. In the episode, three stages of their love are considered: the "dubbiosi desiri" when love was diffused in their lives without their being conscious of it; the revelation of it through their reading Lancelot's romance; and their tragedy, "il doloroso passo." Love was about to become passion and Dante called on Death to keep that love on the heights that Beatrice had assigned to it. The atmosphere of "fabula" was

about to envelop the two lovers in its prose and he jealously snatched them from it to raise them again to the regions of his lofty poetry where they abide in the luminous beauty of the episode.

Dante's sympathy was so stirred by Francesca's story that he arbitrarily created for the two lovers a vague state that differentiates them from the other sinners. Paolo and Francesca are not violently tossed by the storm like other sinners, but they are gently wafted by their love.

"'que due che insieme vanno
E paion sì al vento esser leggieri!"

Their love endures even through eternity and Paolo will never be divided from Francesca. Even the laws of Hell are broken as the storm, that Dante has just said never ceases, subsides around Francesca.

"Mentre che il vento, come fa, si tace."

In the light of this interpretation, Francesca, while condemned by Dante, the moralist, for having loved Paolo, is redeemed by Dante, the poet, for the nobility of her love. It is her innocence that gives a meaning to her resenting the way in which her life was taken. Likewise, it is her innocence that makes her voice echo in the silence and lull of the infernal storm when she cries,

"Caina attende che vita ci spense."

What meaning would these words have on the lips of an adulterous Francesca?

By following this interpretation we can also remove a vulgar meaning from the passage:

"Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante"

which is construed by critics to convey a veiled allusion to a tryst between her and Paolo. Could the Francesca we have known in the episode speak in such a manner? Could such a remark from Francesca be followed by the closing lines of the episode?

"Mentre che l'uno spirto questo disse,
L'altro piangeva si che di pietade
Io venni men cosi com'io morisse;
E caddi come corpo morto cade."

We interpret those words as a clarification of the "doloroso passo," their death: "We read no further because death claimed us in that very moment."

Furthermore, by considering the episode somewhat isolated from the main narrative, we can account for the fact that the two lovers do not share altogether the lot of the other sinners and for the subsiding of the storm. We can also understand why Caina, the circle of traitors, is waiting for Gianciotto, and, above all, we can see why Dante is so passionately sympathetic with Francesca.

The remembrance of the love that Dante felt for Beatrice had never abandoned him. It shone like a beacon above all his sorrows and disappointments, even to the last years of his life during the bitter days of his exile, when Francesca's countenance smiled on him. The conception of love which he lent to Francesca forms a link between Beatrice and her, between the *Vita Nuova* and the *Divina Commedia*, the first and last chapter of Dante's life.

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# UNPUBLISHED FRENCH LETTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*(Continued)*

## X. Mirabeau Fils [to M. de Rougemont]

The *liaison* of Mirabeau and Sophie de Monnier, the young wife of the septuagenarian marquis de Monnier, began in 1775. On May 10, 1777, the *bailliage* of Pontarlier declared Mirabeau "atteint et convaincu du crime de rapt et de séduction." The lovers were arrested at Amsterdam; Mirabeau was imprisoned in the Donjon de Vincennes, and Mme de Monnier was placed first in the *maison de discipline* of Mlle Douay in Paris, and later in the convent of the Saintes-Claires at Gien.[73]

Mirabeau's incarceration at Vincennes lasted three and one-half years—from June 7, 1777, to December 13, 1780. Pierre Le Noir, *lieutenant général de police*, allowed the prisoner to correspond with his paramour. Mirabeau's letters were first read by a special police agent named Boucher ("mon bon ange"), and then sent to Mme de Monnier, who was required to return them to the police. In 1792 Pierre Manuel published the letters with the title *Lettres originales de Mirabeau, écrites du Donjon de Vincennes*. . . . Besides the letters to Mme de Monnier, this collection contains a number addressed to other persons—for example, to the comte de Maurepas, M. Le Noir, and M. de Rougemont, governor of the Donjon.

The following letter, written by Mirabeau to M. de Rougemont, was, for some unknown reason, not included in the collection of letters published by Pierre Manuel.

J'ai l'honneur de vous remercier, Monsieur, des livres que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer.[74] L'histoire naturelle [75] est

[73] Paul Cottin, *Sophie de Monnier et Mirabeau, d'après leur correspondance secrète inédite (1775–1789)*, Paris, 1903, Introduction.

[74] During his imprisonment Mirabeau worked feverishly: he translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Tacitus's life of Agricola, parts of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Tasso's *Aminta*, and the *Basia* of Janus Secundus; he wrote a *Traité de mythologie*, a *Grammaire spéciale*, his celebrated book *Les lettres de cachet* (in which he attacks M. de Rougemont), a drama, a tragedy, two licentious works, etc.

[75] Probably by Buffon, who is mentioned in a letter written to Mme de Monnier on July 9, 1778.

précisément de l'édition que je la demandois. Quant au Tacite il y a erreur, et c'est ma faute; je croyais que vous acheteriez le recueil de la traduction de la bleterie [76] qui n'a été donnée d'abord que par parties séparées, et j'ai oublié de vous avertir que j'en avois une, précisément celle que vous m'envoyez. Je vous envoie l'une et l'autre; vous verrez que ce sont les mêmes; l'erreur sera facile à réparer, et le libraire ne fera aucune difficulté de reprendre un livre neuf en ayant un autre à fournir. Vous trouverez dans la note ci jointe un détail qui ne laissera aucune obscurité sur ce que je demande. Pardon de cette étourderie; heureusement qu'elle n'est pas grave. Je crois qu'il convient de renvoyer plutôt que plus tard pour que cela ne fasse aucune difficulté.

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien faire donner une décision à la police relativement à M. Fontelliau.[77] Je n'en parle point à M. Le Noir à qui je demande simplement une lettre de mon amie; [78] parce que je suis assez grièvement incommodé pour ne pouvoir pas écrire longtems,[79] et j'ai espéré que vous voudriez bien poursuivre cette affaire qui est purement de votre ressort.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec des sentimens respectueux, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur
vingt neuf juillet 1778. MIRABEAU FILS.[80]

## XI. D'ALEMBERT [TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN?]

This letter was probably addressed to Franklin, who, during his stay in Paris, was frequently called on by Frenchmen of every degree to act as intermediary in matters pertaining to the

[76] The abbé Jean-Philippe-René de La Bléterie published the following translations of works by Tacitus: *Traduction de quelques ouvrages de Tacite*, Paris, 1755, 2 vol.; *Description de la Germanie et des mœurs de ses habitants*, s. l., 1755; *Tibère, ou les Six premiers livres des Annales*, Paris, 1768, 3 vol.

[77] Fontelliau was physician of the château de Vincennes and of the convent of the Hospitalières of Saint-Mandé. In a long letter addressed to M. de Rougemont on September 29, 1778 (*Œuvres de Mirabeau*, Paris, 1835, V, 103–113), Mirabeau sets forth his grievances against Fontelliau. A few of his accusations are: drunkenness; neglect of duties at Vincennes in favor of outside patients; gossiping about dissensions among the prison authorities at Vincennes; discussing with Mirabeau M. de Rougemont's unjust treatment of prisoners; and, especially, endeavoring to persuade Mirabeau to lodge complaints with the police against M. de Rougemont.

[78] Mme de Monnier.

[79] During the year 1778 Mirabeau suffered from violent nephritic disorders.

[80] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Sumner 26, II, no. 96. 4 pp., last three pages blank. 8vo.

United States. Both James Parton and Albert Henry Smyth mention d'Alembert among Franklin's acquaintances.[81]

Vous avez bien voulu, mon très illustre et très respectable confrère, vous charger de faire parvenir ces lettres à Mr. Danieres, prisonnier en Amérique.[82] On vous les envoie, pour plus de sureté, toutes ouvertes, et par duplicata. Son honnête famille vous remercie mille et mille fois. Je joins ma reconnoissance à la sienne, et cette reconnoissance toute grande qu'elle est, est bien au dessous des sentimens de respect, et d'attachement avec lesquels je serai toute ma vie, mon cher et illustre confrère

Votre très humble et
très obéissant serviteur
D'ALEMBERT.[83]

à Paris ce 25 octobre 1778.

## XII. La Harpe to Panckoucke

Immediately after Voltaire's death (May 30, 1778), La Harpe, a favorite disciple of the Sage of Ferney, was bitterly assailed by both the friends and the enemies of his master. As a result of the bickering that ensued, La Harpe lost his position as chief editor of the *Mercure de France*, which was then owned by Charles-Joseph Panckoucke. Although La Harpe continued with the *Mercure*, first as theatrical critic and later as a mere contributor,[84] there is little doubt that the loss of his editorship was the cause of the ill feeling manifested towards Panckoucke in the letter published below.

At the end of 1781 La Harpe seems to have been still disgruntled. After belittling the collaborators on Panckoucke's new edition of the *Encyclopédie*, he adds:

"Le libraire Panckouke, qui est à la tête de l'entreprise, a choisi tous ceux que lui a désignés M. Suard, son beau-frère; et c'est ainsi que toutes les entreprises littéraires seront conduites, quand il y aura un libraire à la tête." [85]

[81] Parton, *Life and Times of B. F.*, Boston, 1864, II, 412; Smyth, *The Writings of B. F.*, New York, 1906, VIII, 129. For additional evidence that Franklin and d'Alembert were acquainted, see *Calendar of the Papers of B. F.*, IV, 371.

[82] I have been unable to find any further information concerning Danières.

[83] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last three pages blank. 4to.

[84] Eugène Hatin, *Histoire . . . de la presse en France*, Paris, 1859, I, 428, note 1.

[85] *Correspondance littéraire*, second edition, Paris, 1804, III, 302.

A MONSIEUR
MONSIEUR PANCOUKE

11 fevrier [1779?]

Je pourrais trouver un peu extraordinaire que Monsieur Pancouke me croye capable de supposer une promesse qu'il ne m'aurait pas faite, et de la part de tout autre, un pareil manque de mémoire pourrait passer pour une injure, mais avec lui, cette discussion me parait au dessous de moi. Ce qu'il ajoute de l'exemplaire qu'il se propose de donner, *dans le cas du succés* d'une entreprise à laquelle il est publié qu'il n'a pas conservé le moindre titre de propriété, est encore une preuve de son respect pour la vérité, et j'en suis édifié comme du reste. Ce qu'il me convient de faire, c'est de prier Monsieur Pancouke de me renvoyer au plutôt mes 60 lettres originales,[86] qui, dit il, *ne sont pas sorties de ses mains*, mon intention étant qu'on n'en tire point de copies et qu'on n'en fasse aucun usage. Je me flatte que l'extréme délicatesse de Monsieur Pancouke peut aller jusqu'à ne pas disposer du bien d'autrui. J'ai l'honneur de le saluer trés humblement.

DE LA HARPE.[87]

[86] I am inclined to think that the sixty letters mentioned here were letters written to La Harpe by Voltaire. In 1778, a short time after Voltaire's death, La Harpe wrote in his *Correspondance littéraire* (II, 296):

"Pankoucke vient de commencer la plus grande entreprise de librairie qui se soit faite depuis long-temps; c'est une édition complète des œuvres de Voltaire, augmentée de ses correspondances. . . . Comment se flatter de rassembler toutes les lettres écrites dans le cours d'une si longue vie . . . ? Pankoucke en possède du moins une assez grande partie. M. d'Argental lui a remis toutes celles qu'il avait. . . . Plusieurs gens de lettres ont donné au même libraire celles qu'ils avaient gardées . . . M^rs^ d'Alembert et Condorcet ont donné les leurs; je n'ai pas cru devoir refuser les miennes. . . ."

Panckoucke soon severed his connection with the "grande entreprise de librairie' mentioned above. In February, 1779, he sold to Beaumarchais for 160,000 *livres* his rights to the edition that appeared later at Kehl (1784–1789). See G. Bengesco,' *Voltaire—Bibliographie de ses œuvres*, IV (1890), 110; Fernand Caussy, *Mercure de France*, LXXXIV (1910), 94.

The Moland edition of Voltaire's works contains not exactly sixty, but fifty-five letters addressed by Voltaire to La Harpe.

[87] Autograph, Boston Public Library, Ch. G. 2. 20. 4 pp.; pages 2 and 3 blank, address on p. 4. 4to.

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(*To be continued*)

# MISCELLANEOUS

## A BRIEF EXAMINATION INTO THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MARTÍNEZ DE LA ROSA'S *LA CONJURACIÓN DE VENECIA*

IT is inevitable that students of the Romantic Drama in Spain should come into more or less intimate contact with *La conjuración de Venecia*, by Martínez de la Rosa. It is probable, however, that a majority of these students are comparatively unfamiliar with the historical background of the play, or with the degree of accuracy with which historical events are referred to in the work. Menéndez y Pelayo offers the following statement relative to the setting of the play:

"La Venecia del drama es la Venecia un tanto convencional, pero poética é interesante, de puñales y máscaras, de conspiradores y ejecuciones secretas, que habían puesto de moda los románticos, . . . . Pero como Martínez de la Rosa todo lo estudiaba bien y se cuidaba mucho de la verdad histórica, no se arrojó á presentar en la escena la conjuración de 1310, de los Querinis y de los Thiépolos, sin haber registrado antes, no sólo la *Historia de Venecia* del Conde Daru, sino los mismos documentos originales, coleccionados por Muratori en el tomo XII de sus *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, y especialmente las cartas del Dux Gradénigo." [1]

In his *advertencia* preceding the play, Martínez de la Rosa himself goes into considerable detail regarding his sources, together with his reasons for writing a dramatic work based upon this particular period in Venetian history.

"De algunos años á esta parte deseaba componer una obra dramática cuyo argumento fuese tomado de la historia de Venecia: la forma de gobierno de aquella república, la severidad de sus leyes, el rigor y el misterio de algunos de sus tribunales, me han parecido siempre muy propios para una composición de esta clase, . . . . Al fin me determiné á poner manos á la obra; y ya resuelto á bosquejar una de las revoluciones de aquel Estado, empecé por estudiar detenidamente su historia, valiéndome de la que escribió el conde Daru, . . . . Entre los grandes sucesos que presenta, me pareció preferible, por varias razones, la célebre conjuración acaecida en Venecia al comenzar el siglo XIV. . . .

"Da también la casualidad favorable de que no sólo han referido con alguna extensión este suceso los historiadores de Venecia, como Verdizzotti y otros, sino que existen unos documentos auténticos, sumamente preciosos, que dan de esta revolución una cabal idea. Tales son las cartas del mismo dux Gradénigo, escritas en aquellos días á los embajadores de la república y á los gobernadores de las provincias, dándoles cuenta de lo acaecido, en que él había tenido tanta parte; hallándose en la misma obra las sentencias de los reos y muchas circunstancias notables." [2]

There is appended the following footnote:

"Véase la crónica latina del dux Andrés Dándolo, y su continuación, insertas en el tomo XII, in-fólio, de la famosa obra de Muratori: *Rerum italicarum scriptores.*"

Since these sources cited by Martínez de la Rosa were not available, the present investigator has been forced to resort to such secondary sources as were accessible.

The explanatory subtitle, *año de 1310*, fixes the date of the supposed events

[1] Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de crítica literaria*, 1ra serie (2da ed.), t. I, Madrid, 1893, pp. 273–274.

[2] *Obras dramáticas de D. F. Martínez de la Rosa*, t. II, Madrid, 1861, pp. 309–310.

which form the nucleus of *La conjuración de Venecia*. The conspiracy of 1310 is, of course, authentic; but the reader must be on guard against minor anachronisms throughout the play, for there is the possibility that the author may invoke his creative license to the extent of modifying the historical framework to fit the dramatic requirements of the stage. This modification takes place, to a certain extent, but Martínez de la Rosa has been more conscientious in this respect than have the authors of a great number of pseudo-historical works.

Several persons in the cast of characters may be identified as actually having figured in Venetian history. The brothers Querini—Marco, Jacopo (Marcos and Jacobo in the play), and Pietro (not mentioned in the play)—were members of the old Venetian nobility which had expressed discontent with the Doge and his party on a number of previous occasions. Jacopo had recently been appointed Ambassador to Constantinople, and he took no actual part in the rebellion. Boemundo Thiépolo is Bajamonte Tiepolo, a descendant of former doges, and the son-in-law of Marco Querini. Tiepolo was called *il gran cavaliere* (the Great Cavalier) by the people, and his popularity with the masses was reckoned a great asset to the conspiracy. Badoer Badoer was of a family politically prominent in the Paduan suburb of Peraga, and it was at his own suggestion that Badoer was entrusted with the raising of troops in this vicinity to support the conspiracy.[3] Andrés Dauro is obviously Andrea Doro, a Privy Councilor who had been won over to the cause of the conspirators.[4] The two brothers Morosini, Juan and Pedro, are probably the author's creations, although the Morosini family was of some distinction in Venice and it is possible that two members of this house may have borne these baptismal names.

Rugiero, the hero of the play and the long-lost son of Pedro Morosini, may be historical, for mention is made of a Ruggiero Morosini who in 1296 was in command of a Venetian fleet that attacked Constantinople.[5] A plausible and quite probable explanation, however, would be that Martínez de la Rosa may have encountered the name of this Ruggiero while engaged in his historical researches and simply have bestowed it upon his hero, since the Morosini were to take such important rôles in the play. The mere use of an additional name of historical authenticity, in a play presumably historical, may have offered a suggestion of greater verisimilitude of which the dramatist was not slow to avail himself. The remaining characters of the play are either the author's own creations or else persons of little or no historical importance; hence they may be passed over without further comment.

A slight anachronism is indicated in the cast of characters, in which Pedro Morosini is given the office of "presidente primero del Tribunal de los Diez." This "Tribunal de los Diez," very obviously the Council of Ten, did not come into existence until after the rebellion had been crushed. The need for such a body was made apparent by the conspiracy of 1310, of which the Council of Ten may be said to have been a direct result. The revolt broke out on June 15, 1310, and the Council of Ten was created as a committee of public safety on July 10th of the same year. Designed at first to function only until Michaelmas, the Council soon became an integral part of the governmental machinery. After various extensions of time

[3] W. Carew Hazlitt, *History of the Venetian Republic: Her Rise, Her Greatness, and Her Civilization*, 4 vols., London, 1860; Vol. III, p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 458.

[5] Horatio F. Brown, *Venice, an Historical Sketch of the Republic*, London, 1893, p. 160.

had prolonged its existence, the Council of Ten was finally declared permanent in 1335.[6]

An adequate treatment of the various underlying causes of the conspiracy is impossible within the confines of this paper. The struggle between the old and the new orders of the aristocracy for the control of the Venetian government was growing more bitter and personal. Pietro Gradenigo, Doge from 1289 to 1311, represented the new aristocracy which sought to bring the control of the Republic into the hands of an oligarchy composed of members of the new order. A rupture was imminent when Doimo, Count of Veglia, was chosen to fill a seat in the ducal council in preference to Marco Querini, a member of the old aristocracy. Doimo's election was immediately claimed illegal by the party of Querini, since by law Dalmatians were excluded from all governmental positions except the *Maggior Consiglio* (the Great Council) and the Senate. Street fighting became so frequent that citizens were forbidden to carry arms, and the *Signori di Notte*, as heads of the police patrol, were ordered to enforce this edict. Marco Morosini, one of these "Lords of the Night" and an adherent of the Gradenigo faction, on one occasion endeavored to search Pietro Querini, the brother of Marco Querini, for concealed weapons. Pietro kicked Morosini in the stomach, knocking him down, and was fined for his resistance. Marco Querini resolved to act at once, and he called a meeting of various prominent nobles known to be in opposition to the Doge.[7] Bajamonte Tiepolo, whose popularity with the common people caused his aid to be considered a valuable asset to any projected conspiracy against the party in power, was not in Venice at the time; but it was decided to hold a second meeting to which he should be invited.

And now we approach the opening act of the play. This second meeting was held in the Querini palace (in the play it is represented as taking place in the palace of the Genoese Ambassador), and the grievances against the Doge and his faction were freely discussed. Among these grievances was the closing of the Great Council to all but a very small group of the nobility, a political stroke accomplished by the party of the Doge in 1297.[8] It is probable that the disastrous naval battle of Curzola and the loss of "Tolemaida" (probably Ptolemaïs), mentioned by Badoer in the play (Act I, Scene III), likewise called forth comment. The battle of Curzola, fought between the Venetians and the Genoese in 1298, had resulted in the almost total destruction of the Venetian fleet.[9] Ptolemaïs (better known as St. Jean d'Acre) had long been regarded as the "Key of Palestine," and its loss to the Mussulmans in 1291 was a severe blow to the Eastern trade of Venice.[10]

A more recent calamity was the outcome of the struggle with the Papacy for the overlordship of Ferrara, resulting in a bull of excommunication and interdict issued by Pope Clement V, March 27, 1309, directed against the Venetian Republic, her Doge, councils, generals, and all those who had offered opposition to the Papal control of Ferrara.[11] It is to this misfortune that Mafei alludes (Act I, Scene III) when he says: "Su (referring to the Pope) tremendo entredicho pesa sobre nosotros; y á su voz todas las naciones nos repulsan como apestados, . . . ." The "derrota del Po" cited by Badoer in the preceding speech possibly refers to an incident during the struggle for Ferrara.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 176–177.
[7] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
[8] Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–164.
[9] Alethea Wiel, *The Navy of Venice*, London, 1910, pp. 182–183.
[10] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 168–172.

Jacopo Querini opposed the use of violence against the Doge and his party, but on Jacopo's departure for Constantinople a final meeting was held and the details of the revolt were worked out. The attack on the governmental party was set for June 15th, and the conspirators were to gather at the Querini palace the night before. At dawn they were to start for the Piazza of St. Mark in two divisions, one of which was to be led by Marco Querini and the other by Tiepolo. The object was to seize the ducal palace, kill or capture the Doge and his chief supporters, and thus break the backbone of the resistance at one stroke. Badoer was sent to the mainland to take command of the troops previously enlisted from the vicinity of Padua. On the appointed day he was supposed to arrive with his forces by water, seize the Grand Canal, and unite with the other conspirators in the Piazza.

But it is necessary to return to the play in order to see to what extent it coincides with history. Acts II and III, although of great dramatic interest, may be passed over as having no direct historical relation to the outcome of the conspiracy. Act IV, in which the actual outbreak occurs, is effective from a dramatic viewpoint but contributes little or no reliable historical information. The idea of having the disguised conspirators mingle with the merrymakers while awaiting the signal for the attack is a good dramatic device, but it is historically inaccurate. The author is guilty of a rather serious anachronism (Act IV, Scene IV) when he makes the *Comandante* of the guard refer to the "Bridge of Sighs" as an exit from the ducal palace. This bridge, which connects the state prisons and the ducal palace, was constructed between 1595 and 1605, almost three hundred years later than the date of the Tiepoline rebellion.

The conspirators were confident of surprising the Doge by their attack, but this expectation was not to be realized. Marco Donato, who had joined the conspirators and thus become acquainted with their plans, secretly changed sides and betrayed the details of the carefully laid plot to the Doge the very afternoon before the scheduled attack of the morrow. The Doge acted with the vigorous promptness demanded by the occasion. He armed his own immediate followers, commanded the faithful nobles to arm themselves and their servants, called upon the citizens of the vicinity of St. Mark's to hasten to the Piazza for the purpose of defending the Republic, and he dispatched messengers to Chioggia, Murano, Burano, and Torcello, demanding reinforcements.

The conspirators, still counting the element of surprise in their favor, were delayed by a severe storm that broke just as they were preparing to start their march to the Piazza early on the morning of June 15th. The forces of Tiepolo and those of Marco Querini were led by different routes through the city, and it was Querini's misfortune to arrive first at the Piazza of St. Mark. Here he found the forces of the Doge ready and waiting, and in the surprise of the ensuing struggle Marco Querini was killed and his troops were quickly put to flight. Thus, when Bajamonte arrived he found the party of the Doge in full possession of the Piazza. Although surprised, Tiepolo offered battle at once, but his troops were soon routed and forced to flee beyond the Rialto. The Paduan contingent, led by Badoer, was met and defeated shortly thereafter on the lagoon by the reinforcements secured by the Doge from Chioggia. Badoer was captured, together with a number of his followers.

Thus the entire scheme of the conspirators had miscarried, and it merely remained for the Doge to punish the leaders of the insurrection. Querini had been killed; Badoer had been made prisoner, and his execution was but a question of time; Tiepolo, however, offered a more serious problem. He had covered his retreat by

cutting down the wooden Rialto bridge, and he and his surviving followers had strongly fortified themselves in the Querini houses beyond the canal. The Doge, uncertain of his own strength and possibly desirous of avoiding the public indignation certain to be aroused should a man of Tiepolo's popularity be executed, offered generous terms for Bajamonte's capitulation. Tiepolo and his chief aides were banished for life from Venice, a number of less influential patricians were exiled for shorter periods, and the more humble of Bajamonte's followers were pardoned. Badoer was shortly tried, sentenced and beheaded for his part in the conspiracy—a fate shared by a number of his Paduan confederates. During his exile Tiepolo made several attempts to stir up trouble for the Doge and his party, but the rebellion had been too successfully extinguished to be revived. The conspiracy of 1310 had resulted in strengthening the power of the new aristocracy, rather than in destroying it. The people, depended upon to aid the conspirators, had supported the Doge; and thus the oligarchy had received, outwardly at least, the confirmation of the Venetian populace.[12]

Act V of the play represents the trial of Rugiero before the dread Council of Ten; hence it may be well to briefly examine the composition and methods of procedure of this body—bearing in mind that the Council was actually created *after* the rebellion, as has been indicated, although a somewhat analogous Council or Committee of Ten enjoying far less power may have existed before the year 1310.[13] The Council created in 1310 actually consisted of seventeen members when constituting a court. Ten members were chosen from the Great Council to serve for a period of one year. With these ten men sat the Doge and six ducal councilors, and twelve of these seventeen members were necessary to constitute a quorum. Each month the Council chose three *Capi*, or chiefs, to whom the execution of its decisions was entrusted. The "three presidents" of the play are evidently meant to represent these *Capi*. A State Advocate (*Avogador di Comun*) was also present to inform the Council on points of law and legal procedure, but he had no vote. Later, twenty members chosen in the Great Council were customarily added to the Council of Ten when important cases were to be tried. The meetings of the Council were held in a room of the ducal palace and were presided over by the Doge. The Doge, it will be remembered, does not figure in the trial of Rugiero in the play.

The Council's method of conducting trials is very well brought out by the dramatist. The prisoner was considered guilty until his innocence was proved, and he had to conduct his own defense. He was permitted to see neither his accusers nor the witnesses in the case, and prisoner and witnesses might be put to the torture when such a method of securing evidence was deemed advisable by the Council. An elaborate system of espionage was maintained, as Pedro Morosini's conversation with the two spies reveals (Act II, Scene I). Among the types of punishment inflicted by the Council were fines, banishment or outlawry, imprisonment, sentences to serve in the galleys, and mutilation. The extreme penalty included death by beheading, strangulation, and drowning; and these executions might be either public

[12] Chief sources consulted for details of the conspiracy of 1310: Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–176; Horatio F. Brown, *Studies in the History of Venice*, Vol. I, London, 1907, pp. 68–76; Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 458–464; Vol. III, pp. 1–19; George B. McClellan, *The Oligarchy of Venice, an Essay*, Cambridge, Mass., 1904, pp. 92–97; William Roscoe Thayer, *A Short History of Venice*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, pp. 112–115.

[13] Brown, *Studies in the History of Venice*, Vol. I, footnote to p. 77.

or secret, at the discretion of the Council. The cord and pulley, and exposure of the victim's bare feet to fire were two modes of torture frequently employed.[14]

Martínez de la Rosa evidently made a rather intensive study of the Council of Ten and its judicial functions, and he endeavors to follow in some detail the customary procedure of this body. Evidence of this attention to detail is found in Pedro Morosini's reply to the insults of Mafei (Act V, Scene IV). "El tribunal juzga sin pasión y sin ira: ni las súplicas le ablandan, ni los insultos le exasperan," Morosini declares. As a matter of fact, the prosecutors were expressly forbidden to cross-examine in anger.[15] The statement of the secretary (Act V, Scene VIII) that Rugiero has been removed to "los *pozos*" is another case in point, since the *Pozzi* (Wells) was the name generally used to refer to the prisons located in the cellar of the ducal palace.[16]

Finally, with due allowances for discrepancies and an occasional anachronism, it must be admitted that Martínez de la Rosa has handled his setting very effectively from a dramatic standpoint; and *La conjuración de Venecia* is certainly not inferior in point of historical accuracy to many plays, both of earlier and of later date, whose backgrounds are presumably historical. Plays with historical settings invariably present difficulties, and an occasional slight deviation from strict historical accuracy of detail may be pardoned the dramatist, especially when such minor changes serve to heighten the dramatic interest.

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## TWO NOTES ON *LES CENCI* OF STENDHAL

FOLLOWING the bibliography of *Les Cenci* in the 1921 edition of Stendhal's *Chroniques Italiennes*, in which the works on the same subject antedating Stendhal's are: "P. B. Shelley. The Cenci, a tragedy in five acts, Italy, 1819," and "A. de Malartic. *Relation de la Mort de Giacomo et de Béatrice Cenci et de Lucrèce Pétroni*, Paris, 1828," the editor says:[1] "Il serait curieux de savoir ce que Stendhal doit à Shelley et à l'édition de 1828 comme inspiration; d'autre part, la confrontation de son texte avec les études postérieures pourrait servir à établir le sens critique de Beyle et sa puissance d'affabulation." One might expect an *édition documentaire* to satisfy these curiosities but it does not.

The reading of Shelley's tragedy and of Stendhal's story is sufficient to convince one that from a literary standpoint Stendhal owes nothing to Shelley. The works are incomparable, Shelley's being a work of art. Still, Stendhal's is not a mere rehash of an old *relazione* as Crawford[2] would have us believe. His eleven page preface on the Don Juans of literature and his three page description of the portraits in the Barberini palace as well as his interpolations[2a] in the text make his *Cenci*

[14] Brown, *Venice, an Historical Sketch of the Republic*, pp. 177–180.

[15] Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[1] René-Louis Doyon, t. 1, p. 103.

[2] *The Century Magazine*, v. 75 old series, Jan. 1898.

[2a] Twice he interrupts his translation, explaining in parentheses the reason for so doing, the first time, however, omitting practically nothing, the second time, about half a page. None of his interpolations alter the current of events.

something superior to what might be inferred from Crawford's words or even to a mere translation as Stendhal himself calls it.

His only indebtedness to Shelley could be in borrowing Shelley's inventions. Crawford says:[3] "It is Shelley's invention that the Turbantina was a portrait of Beatrice by Guido Reni." Nevertheless, this is doubtful. It seems more probable that this opinion was common property when Shelley wrote, "I had a copy of Guido's picture of Beatrice which is preserved in the Colonna palace," he says[4] in his preface, "and my servant instantly recognized it as the portrait of La Cenci." Max von Boehn in his volume of 1910 on Guido Reni[5] makes no mention of Shelley in his discussion of the Turbantina legend. He attributes the invention to the zeal for tips of a custodian of the Barberini gallery, catering to the romantic fervor of the early nineteenth century, familiar in Italy with the Cenci story from its circulation in manuscript. Corrado Ricci in his monumental work[6] on the Cenci says that he had examined some fifty of these manuscripts. It is to be noted likewise that Stendhal finds the portrait in the Barberini palace where it is regularly reported to be, while Shelley says it was in the Colonna palace. Crawford[7] attributes to Stendhal the assertion that he "had been in love with Beatrice's famous portrait for thirty years." What Stendhal did say[8] was that he had gone to see the portrait in 1823 and was charmed by it. Crawford refers to the 1855 edition of the *Chroniques Italiennes*, apparently being unaware that *Les Cenci* had been already published in 1837 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and that Stendhal had died in 1842.

The other invention attributed to Shelley, the banquet scene,[9] that "fantasia tanto sbrigliata quanto feroce," as Rinieri calls it,[10] was certainly not appropriated by Stendhal. He simply says,[11] following the old chronicle, that the father on the death of his sons "ne voulait pas dépenser une baïoce pour des cierges," "neppure in lume volle spendere un bajocco," and that he would be happy only when all his children were buried and when the last happened to die he wanted to set fire to his palace as a sign of his happiness.

Stendhal had had plenty of opportunity to become acquainted with Shelley's work before he published his own. An edition of Shelley's poetical works, including his *Cenci* but without his translation of the *relazione* he used, had been published in Paris in 1829.[12] There is even a bit of evidence that might indicate that Stendhal was familiar with Shelley. Paul Hazard in his *Vie de Stendhal*[13] cites Stendhal's

[3] *O.c.*, p. 458.

[4] Ed. Ingpen and Beck, v. 2, p. 73.

[5] P. 36. "Das Bild ist erst im neunzehnten Jahrhundert aufgetaucht; nachdem die Literatur sich des Stoffes bemächtigt und ihn nach dem Bedürfnis der Romantik zurechtgemodelt hatte, da hat ein findiger Custode dem Gemälde durch die geschickte Taufe ein lebhaftes Interesse und sich der Rührung entsprechende Trinkgelder gesichert."

[6] Milan, 1923, 2 vols., 658 pp.; v. II, p. 195.

[7] *O.c.*, p. 462.

[8] *O.c.*, p. 115.

[9] Crawford, *o.c.*, p. 461.

[10] P. J. Rinieri, *Beatrice Cenci*, Siena, 1909, p. 2.

[11] *O.c.*, p. 127.

[12] The Philadelphia reprint of this edition in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society bears the date 1832, not 1831 as Woodberry gives it in his edition of the Cenci of Shelley, p. 152.

[13] Ed. 1927, p. 139.

writing in 1832: "Je ne respirais qu'en soupirant (Shelley)." Stendhal may also have met Shelley in Italy although we cannot believe that it was in 1816 as he says because at that time Shelley was in England.[14]

Nevertheless, we find no indication that Stendhal in his *Cenci* owes anything to Shelley. If, as Rinieri says,[15] Stendhal "riproduce il concetto dello Shelley," it is only true in so far as Shelley followed the old story on which his tragedy was based.

As for what Stendhal owes Malartic it must first be noted that M. Doyon's date for Malartic's version of the Cenci story is 1828, the same date as that given by Rémy de Gourmont in his article on the Cenci in the *Grande Encyclopédie* and by Rinieri.[16] Newberry in his note on the sources of the Cenci refers[17] to Crawford's mentioning "an Italian account of the trial and execution, which he describes as "based on the *relazioni*" and published in London, 1821; and he adds that a copy of "the relation" itself was first printed in Paris, 1822, by F. d'Urbain in the *Bibliothèque de la Société des Bibliographes*, and was translated into French by Alphonse de Malartic." When I was in London the summer of 1928, I found at the British museum the publications to which reference is here made. The date of Malartic's work as given by Crawford and Woodberry is indeed 1822, not 1823 as given by Cordier,[18] nor 1828 as given by Rinieri, Rémy de Gourmont and M. Doyon. But "the Italian account of the trial, . . . based on the *relazioni* and published in London, 1821," is itself simply a *relazione*. It bears on its title page "Londra da' Torchi di J. Moyes, Greville St. 1821" and, curiously enough, is bound with a copy of the second edition of Shelley's tragedy, published by C. & J. Ollier, and not Shelley's original *relazione* or his translation of it as one might have expected. Malartic's translation followed by his Italian original is found in a big volume of *Mélanges* published by Didot for the *Société de Bibliophiles français*, not *Bibliographes*.

A comparison of the two Italian accounts in the British Museum and the Shelley translation shows that Stendhal's *relazione* follows more closely that of London 1821 than Malartic's or Shelley's. Stendhal's translation contains, toward the close, a paragraph[19] that does not appear in Shelley's or Malartic's but which does appear with variations in the Italian of 1821.

"Le soleil avait été si ardent, que plusieurs des spectateurs de cette tragédie moururent dans la nuit, et parmi eux Ubaldino Ubaldini, jeune homme d'une rare beauté et qui jouissait auparavant d'une parfaite santé. Il était le frère du signor Renzi, si connu dans Rome. Ainsi les ombres des Cenci s'en allèrent bien accompagnées." "Tra le molte migliaja di persone, che si trovarono alla morte di questi miseri, molti non aspettarono il giorno presente che morirono di scaranzia (sic); tra gli altri morì il Signor Ubaldino Ubaldini, giovine di 35 anni, benissimo disposto, fratello della Renza, tanto nominata in Roma, per le sue rare bellezze maritata ad un fratello di mon signore Bendi."

In Malartic's *relazione*, the brothers are sent to school to Salerno; in that of 1821, as in Shelley's, to Salamanca. In Malartic's, one of the brothers was assassinated by a Dorcino; in that of 1821 by a Norcino. Stendhal did not have the critical sense to divine here *un' Orsino*, one of the family of the Orsini, and translated a *charcutier*,[20]

[14] Doris Gunnel, *Stendhal et L'Angleterre*, pp. 45–46; P. Trompeo, *Nell' Italia romantica sulle orme di Stendhal*, Roma, 1924, p. 257.

[15] *O.c.*, p. 17.

[16] *O.c.*, p. 5.

[17] "The Cenci," p. 130.

[18] *Bibliographie Stendhalienne*, 1914, p. 167.

[19] *O.c.*, p. 157.

[20] *O.c.*, p. 126.

the inhabitants of the commune of Norcia being renowned for its pork butchers. Since a quack surgeon may be dubbed in French a *charcutier*, and in Italian a *norcino* Shelley, who had before him in this particular a text like Stendhal's, was a shade less accurate in translating *Norcino* unqualifiedly "surgeon." Stendhal has the prisoners given to prepare their defense "un sursis de 25 jours,[21] as in the 1821 *relazione*, and as in Shelley; Malartic, "tre giorni di tempo per le loro difese." Stendhal's description of Beatrice [22] resembles much more that in the 1821 version than Malartic's or Shelley's:

"Béatrix Cenci, qui inspirera des regrets éternels, avait justement seize ans; elle était petite; elle avait un joli embonpoint et des fossettes au milieu des joues, de façon que, morte et couronnée de fleurs, on eût dit qu'elle dormait et même qu'elle riait, comme il lui arrivait fort souvent quand elle était en vie. Elle avait la bouche petite, les cheveux blonds et naturellement bouclés. En allant à la mort, ces cheveux blonds et bouclés lui retombaient sur les yeux, ce qui donnait une certaine grâce et portait à la compassion." "La Signora Beatrice era dell' età di anni 26, piccola e ritondetta, con bellissima faccia, con occhi piccoli, naso profilato e guancie tonde con le fosette, con petto giusto, di maniera che morta pareva ancora che ridesse come in vita; aveva similmente al mento una fossetta proporzionata, e bella bocca, capigliatura bionda e crespa, e inanellata, onde andando alla Giustizia li cadevano giù l'anellature dei capelli che li davano una grazia non ordinaria." Malartic's original reads: "La signora Beatrice era di statura giusta (*grande* in his translation), ben formata, ed in tutte le sue parti bellissima, ma quel che è più, di spirito elevatissimo, di carnagione bianca, ed aveva anche ella bellissima faccia, e capelli castagni chiari, ma ricci, con occhi neri e vivaci che più le davano bellezza, leggiadria, non passava l'età di anni ventidue circa, nei quali ella per sua cattiva sorte e disgrazia fece di se un non degno spettacolo alla sua patria."

The dimples are transferred in Malartic's version to the step-mother, *Lucrèce Petroni* —"guancie rotonde con la fossetta dimodochè da morta ancora pareva ridesse, come in vita." Again, Malartic's manuscript reads that the Pope, suspecting that the first judge to whom the case was committed, was affected by Beatrice's beauty,

"gli levò la causa delle mani con commetterla ad altri, facendole tormentare il bel corpo e farla rasare e poi fece venire avanti la matregna ed i fratelli, mentre stava legata alla corda."

Naturally if her head had been shaved, she had no curls to grace her on the way to the execution. In the version of 1821 she had only been threatened with being shaved, the second judge "volse prima farli venire avante la matregna ed i fratelli, mentre stava legata alla corda." Shelley at this point translates:[23] "The pope committed the cause to another, who found out another mode of torment called the torture of the hair and when she was already tied under this torture he brought her before her mother-in-law and brothers." He had evidently in his text the same words as in Stendhal's *ad torturam capillorum* [24] which Stendhal explains in parentheses, "c'est-à-dire qu'on donna la question à Beatrix Cenci en la suspendant par les cheveux." Yet he still says what Shelley omits: "En allant à la mort, ces cheveux blonds et bouclés lui retombaient sur les yeux."

It will be noticed above that Malartic's version is historically accurate in making Beatrice twenty-two years old when she died. Shelley makes her twenty. But Stendhal's version is not the only one that says she was sixteen. A *relazione* published

[21] *O.c.*, p. 142.
[22] *O.c.*, p. 156.
[23] *O.c.*, p. 139.
[24] *O.c.*, p. 140.

in Paris in 1825 also makes her sixteen. Rinieri claims [25] that it was from this *relazione* that

"lo Stendhal, poi quasi tutti i seguenti publicatori di storie e di novelle sulla famiglia de' Cenci—tutti attinsero le loro notizie alla detta Relazione."

The question has even been raised whether this Paris (1825) *relazione* was the work of Stendhal and from outside evidence rather hesitatingly decided in the negative.[26] But the content of this Paris print precludes at any rate its being the same *Relazione* that Stendhal used for his *Chronique italienne* of 1837 in spite of its agreement with him here on the age of the heroine. The older daughter, for example, who is nameless in Stendhal, is called in the 1825 version Olimpia and is represented also as a victim of her father's vice.

The above details are sufficient to show that Stendhal owed nothing to Malartic and that it was not Shelley's version that he had. The fate of these manuscripts of the story furnishes a lesson to editors of old French texts which have come down to us in more than one form. Although Adolphe Paupe says [27] that Stendhal was never deceived (*jamais dupe*), he was at least once in considering [28] his *relazione* of the Cenci an historically accurate document, written the day after the execution recounted. This fact granted, much of the criticism of his *Cenci* is wide of the mark. M. Geffroy, for example, reviewing the second edition of Bertoletti's work, says: [29]

"Quant aux âges, le récit prétendu contemporain que Stendhal a traduit en l'altérant comme il n'est pas permis de faire pour un document qu'on donne comme historique, est postérieur de près d'un siècle: il prête à Béatrice 16 ans en même temps qu'il ôte vingt années au père dans une intention trop facile à comprendre."

This last statement is wrong, and Crawford is right in fact when eighteen years later he complains that Stendhal made the additional mistake of making Francesco born in 1527 instead of 1549, but both seem to fail to appreciate that he is but following his Italian account of the story.

This seems to be the case likewise with M. Doyon when he raises the question of Stendhal's indebtedness to Malartic, or of the critical sense or power of affabulation which Stendhal shows in the *Cenci*. To be sure he must be credited with not tampering with his old story as some of his successors have done. At the British Museum, I examined a copy in English of the seventh edition of a History of Beatrice Cenci by Amedeo Barbiellini Amidei [30] in which we read:

"It was then the turn of the beautiful Beatrice. Pale, with her lovely fair hair, and dressed in white, she looked like an angel, a sad but beautiful angel. She ascended the scaffold, firmly knelt down and with eyes turned heavenward cried out: 'My God, I die innocent.'"

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[25] *O.c.*, p. 47.
[26] H. Cordier, *Bibliothèque Stendhalienne*, 1914, p. 168; Doyon, *o.c.*, p. 102.
[27] *La Vie littéraire de Stendhal*, p. 161.
[28] *O.c.*, p. 118.
[29] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1880, t. 38, p. 943.
[30] Roma, 1909, p. 34.

## THE SECOND PERSON PLURAL IN PORTUGUESE

WITH the exception of the perf. ind., all Latin tenses[1] that have been preserved in Portuguese present in the ending of the 2d plu. an intervocalic *t*, which became *d* in early Portuguese, and was preserved for several centuries.

While the classical Latin prototypes of the 2d plu. of the cond., imperf. ind., pluperf. ind. and imperf. subj. were paroxytones, they became proparoxytones in Portuguese by analogy with the whole singular and 3d plu., in which the accent falls on the syllable immediately following the verb-stem.[2] The fut. subj. comes from a form that was originally a proparoxytone. Of these five tenses having proparoxytonic forms, the cond., imperf. ind., pluperf. ind., and imperf. subj. preserved their penults.[3] The fut. subj. alone dropped its penult, producing a new paroxytone in which the *d* was no longer intervocalic and therefore was retained. In the other eight tenses the *d* became silent.[4] Final unaccented *e*, now in hiatus, became *i*,[5] although it persisted orthographically as *e* for a long time, especially after *a*.

At a much earlier period in the history of the language, an *i* in hiatus with a preceding *a* changed the *a* to *e*.[6] This is exemplified in the 1st sing. of the perf. of the first conjugation: *amái* > *amei*. With the *d* silent, one might expect the same development in the 2d plu. pres. ind. and pres. impv. of the 1st conjugation and pres. subj. of the 2d and 3d conjugations, from the combination of accented *a* plus *i*, as well as in the 2d plu. imperf. ind., pluperf. ind. and cond. of all conjugations, from the combination of unaccented *a* plus *i*. But, although the activity of this phenomenon probably extended over several centuries,[7] it had by the time *d* dropped lost much of its force. Accented *a* plus *i* remained unchanged. However, unaccented *a* (which had weakened in general to obscure ə) plus *i* changed to *e*.[8] Thus

[1] This includes, of course, the forms habētis and habebātis, which developed into the endings for the Portuguese fut. ind. and cond.

[2] Cf. Zauner, *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft*, I, p. 145.

[3] The penult of proparoxytones drops except when it is *a* or when it is preceded by a group of consonants; cf. Zauner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77, § 402. In the 2d plu. of the imperf. subj. in Italian, *ss* was simplified to *s* and the penult dropped. Thus a form developed which is the same as the perf. It was probably to avoid this ambiguity that the simplification of the consonant group and the resultant syncope did not take place in Portuguese.

[4] This *d* is still retained in many Portuguese dialects; hence many such forms in Gil Vicente; cf. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Lições de Filologia Portuguesa*, 2d ed., Lisbon, 1926, p. 187.

[5] Cf. J. J. Nunes, *Compêndio de Gramática Histórica Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1919, p. 69, Obs. III, 3. Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, 5th ed., Madrid, 1925, § 282. For the sound represented by this symbol, see T. Navarro Tomás, *Manual de pronunciación española*, Madrid, 1921, § 47.

[6] J. J. Nunes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[7] Cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, Madrid, 1926, § 183.

[8] In these forms in Spanish, unaccented *a* remained unchanged because in the proparoxytonic forms *d* dropped much later than in the paroxytonic forms, and in all forms much later than in Portuguese; cf. R. J. Cuervo, *Las segundas personas de plural en la conjugación castellana*, in *Romania*, XXII, p. 74 ss. Furthermore, unaccented *a* probably never became so obscure and therefore, so unstable as in Portuguese; compare Sp. *arraigar* and Port. *arreigar*, Sp. *traidor* and Old Port. *treidor*.

the stages through which, for example, the imperf. ind. of the 1st conjugation passed, are as follows: *-ávades* > *-ávaes* > [avɐis] > *-ávees*, which is now spelled *-áveis*. It is curious that no such form as *-ávaes* is found, although it is a necessary step in the development, and corresponds to the Spanish form. For example, in a document [9] of the early fifteenth century containing both forms with *d* and forms without *d*, we find the following examples of the tenses in question:

Imperf. Ind.

| | |
|---|---|
| deuiades (p. 66) | andauees (p. 23) |
| auiades (p. 68) | faziees (p. 24) |
| traziades (p. 134) | percebiees (p. 68) |
| | erees (p. 68) |
| | partiees (p. 92) |
| | tardauees (p. 137) |
| | amauees (p. 171) |

| Pluperf. Ind. | | Cond. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| amarades (p. 171) | tardarees (p. 137) | deueriades (p. 185) | leuariees (p. 68) |
| | acharees (p. 137) | | |
| | derees (p. 171) | | |

Old and new forms stand side by side, the words of the same speaker, as *auiades*, *percebiees*, *erees*, and *amarades*, *derees*. But the intermediate stage is missing. There can be only one explanation for this, namely, that *d* became silent long before it dropped in spelling, and that scribes became conscious of the discrepancy between pronunciation and orthography with regard to both phenomena (*i.e.* the silence of the *d* and the consequent change of *a* to *e*) at the same time. It is therefore quite likely that the writer of the old forms, quoted above, pronounced them wholly in the new way.[10]

There are a few verbs in modern Portuguese which still display a *d* in one or two forms. In *tendes*, *vindes*, *pondes* (pres. ind.), and *tende*, *vinde*, *ponde* (pres. impv.), *d* ceased to be intervocalic because of the juxtaposition of *n* which had moved forward by progressive nasalization.[11] In *credes*, *rides*, *vêdes*, *crede*, *ride*, *vêde*, *sêde* and *vades*, *d* was obviously strengthened by reminiscence of the preceding *d* of the Latin stem. *Ledes*, *lede* developed by analogy with *credes*, *crede*, while the retention of *d* in *ides*, *ide* preserved their very identity.

Contrary to the opinion of Adolfo Coelho [12] and Reinhardstoettner [13] that the

[9] *Chronica do condestabre de Portugal Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira*, edited by Mendes dos Remedios, Coimbra, 1911 (vol. XIV of *Subsídios para o estudo da História da Literatura Portuguesa*).

[10] The *Chronica do condestabre* contains about one hundred 2d plu. forms, of which about twenty are forms with *d*. As the chronicler was probably an intimate of the hero, and as all of our examples are taken from quotations, it is likely that he actually heard the words he reports. At times he remembered their very forms (*i.e.* with *d*), while at other times he yielded to current usage (without *d*).

[11] For a discussion of progressive nasalization, see E. B. Williams, "Three Irregular Portuguese (and Galician) Imperfects," *Modern Language Notes*, XLIII, pp. 467–471.

[12] F. Adolfo Coelho, *Theoria da Conjugação em Latim e Português*, Lisbon, 1870, pp. 29 and 30.

[13] Carl von Reinhardstoettner, *Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1878, p. 212.

presence of forms of the 2d plu. with *d* and of others without *d* in the *Leal Conselheiro* of King Duarte indicated the simultaneous use of these forms at the time this work was written (between 1428 and 1438),[14] Leite de Vasconcellos[15] argues that this apparent simultaneity is due to the fact that King Duarte retained the *d* only in passages quoted from older texts, either through fondness for the quaintness of these texts or disinclination to take the trouble to adapt their orthography. He supports his contention by the identification of quoted passages and the observation that in official royal documents (reign: 1433–1438) King Duarte always used forms without *d*. With this question thus settled Leite studies two earlier texts than the *Leal Conselheiro* but without date, the *Historia dos Cavalleiros da Mesa Redonda* (probably middle of fourteenth century), and the *Livro de Esopo* (probably end of fourteenth century),[16] in both of which *d* is still retained, and a much later text, dated 1448, the *Chronica de Guiné* of Gomes Eannes, in which *d* has disappeared. He further examines two documents from southern Portugal dated 1402 and 1410 and a document of Evora dated 1418. The document of 1402 contains the following forms: *conhecedes*, *solvades*, *consintades*, *digades*, that of 1410, *tenhaes* along with the stereotyped expression, *comprades e façades comprir*, found commonly as late as the end of the century and therefore valueless;[17] the document of 1418 contains the form *leixedes*. From this evidence Leite concludes that the critical period during which the change took place was the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Additional forms have been collected and are arranged below in chronological order.

| date | forms | work[18] | volume | page |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1390 | queredes, dessedes, etc. | AH | I | 57 |
| 1390 | pronũciedes, condapnedes, etc. | AH | III | 24 |
| 1395 | aiudedes, fazedelhas, etc. | AH | X | 210 |
| 1401 | ponhades, ffazedelhes, etc. | DC | I | 318 |
| 1405 | fazernosedes, creades, sabedes, dessedes, etc. | MP | | 65 to 68 |
| 1411 | busquedes, dedes, guardade | AH | IV | 45 |
| 1416[19] | trabalhades, stades, etc. | RL | I | 336 & 338 |

[14] Cf. Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Studies in Portuguese Literature*, Oxford, 1914, p. 44.

[15] "Fórmas verbaes arcaicas no *Leal Conselheiro* de el-rei D. Duarte," in *Mélanges Chabaneau*, Erlangen, 1907, p. 176.

[16] The vagueness of the date of the *Livro de Esopo* is indicated by the fact that Leite believes it to be a *leitura nova*, *i.e.* a fifteenth century copy of a fourteenth century manuscript, in which certain archaisms of the original were preserved; cf. *O Livro de Esopo*, Lisbon, 1906, p. 121.

[17] Other similar expressions are: *e hũs e outros al nõ ffaçades* and *sabede*.

[18] AH is abbreviation for *Arquivo Histórico Português;* DC, for *Dissertações chronológicas e críticas*, by João Pedro Ribeiro, Lisbon, 1810–1819; MP, for *Catalogo dos manuscriptos portuguezes existentes no museu britannico*, by Frederico Francisco de la Figanière, Lisbon, 1853; RL, for *Revista Lusitana*.

[19] The *Livro da Montaria* of João I, which was probably written between 1415 and 1433, contains only forms with *d*. But this document cannot be considered of any value in the present discussion because it is based on a copy of 1626, the language of which is marked by numerous characteristics of seventeenth century Spanish. See *Introducção* to edition of Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira, Coimbra, 1918.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1434 | dees, consentaaes | AH | III | 86 |
| 1436 | dizeis, leixaseis, teries, etc. | DC | I | 319 |
| 1437 | ponhaaes | AH | III | 101 |
| 1437 | leixees, fazee | AH | III | 84 |
| 1441 | costrangaaes, fazee, etc. | AH | III | 105 |
| 1451 | tomees, conssentaaes, etc. | AH | VIII | 36 |
| 1451 | façaaes, cõsentaaes, etc. | AH | VIII | 45 |
| 1452 | prendaaees, etc. | AH | II | 183 |

This new material amply confirms the conclusion of Leite. Certainly by the year 1435 intervocalic *d* in the 2d plu. had completely disappeared from non-dialectal Portuguese documents.

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## SPANISH *COLMENA*, PORTUGUESE *COLMEIA*

IN the *Revista de filología española* (6.340), A. Castro refers thees words and Galician "*colmena*" to *columella*. The Galician form is *colmea*. Meyer-Lübke considers *culmus* the general basis, but fails to acount for the suffix.

To explain *colmena* beside *colmillo*, Castro asumes a disimilacion ov *-ella* to *-ena*, and compares it with the development ov **conucula* from *colucula*. Doubl consonants were not commonly subject to disimilativ changes in erly Romanic. And the formacion ov **conucula* contradicts Castro's theory. We shood expect the *l* ov *colus* to protect the *l* ov the diminutiv; why did it not become **colucuna* or **colucura?* Evidently the asociacion ov *-cula* with the same suffix, in countless other words, kept it from undergoing a special change in eny singl word. And the same thing wood be tru ov *-ella*, an extreemly common suffix. Disimilacion wood hav produced Portuguese **cormella*, later **cormela*, and Spanish **cormiella*, later **cormilla*. But if we admit Castro's general idëa, the suffix shood hav become *-enna* (Spanish *-ieña*). There is no reazon why disimilacion ov *ll* shood produce a simpl *n* instead ov *nn*. The entire theory is founded on wrong asumpcions.

The suffix ov *colmena* and *colmeia* reprezents the final porcion ov Greek *smēnē*, latinized as **smēna*. Greek *smēnē* is the regular plural ov *smēnos*, but the sense 'bee-hives' is such that singular and plural cood eazily be confuzed. Aparently *smēnē* was sometimes uzed as a singular in Greek; in eny case the common ending *-ē* wood naturaly become *-a* in Latin. With regard to the general basis, Meyer-Lübke's idëa seems better than Castro's.

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## PROPERTIUS, LAUDATOR TEMPORIS ACTI

LENGLET-Dufresnoy's Marot edition [1] calls attention to a famous passage of the *Roman de la Rose*, in which Marot supposedly found inspiration when writing his rondeau, *De l'amour du siècle antique*. The passage, well-known through Bartsch' *Chrestomathie*,[2] is a lengthy praise of the bliss and happiness of the Golden Age of mankind. According to Bartsch and to Langlois,[3] Ovid [4] was Jean de Meung's

[1] La Haye, 1731; II, 192.

[2] 12th ed. revised by L. Wiese, 1920, p. 251 ss.

[3] *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, 1890.

[4] *Metamorphoses*, I, 88 ss.

authority for depicting the charms of the "Age of Innocence," even though Jean de Meung refers merely to *letre* in general in the third line of the passage. Still, Ovid's panegyric lacked one important feature of Jean de Meung's enthusiasm,—the praise of love in olden times. It would be too hasty a conclusion to infer from the omission that Ovid was perfectly satisfied with the woman of his day. Misogyny, often represented as a privilege of the mediaeval *bourgeois*, was a sentiment familiar to the Ancients also. Invectives against woman, a ubiquitous motive in the literature of the mediaeval Third Estate,[5] and particularly strictures on woman's greed and duplicity, were a topic common to the elegists of Rome, to Tibullus [6] and Propertius [7] as well as to Ovid.[8]

One elegy of Propertius (III 13),, however, joins all motives of Jean de Meung's praise of yesteryear. Jean de Meung's *Ami* is led to eulogize primitive mankind by deploring the cupidity of "modern" woman. After a series of Ovidian reminiscences, he continues:

"Seur teus couches con je devise,
senz rapine et senz couvoitise,
s'entracoloient et baisoient
cil cui li jeu d'Amours plaisoient.
cil arbre vert, par cez gaudines,
leur paveillens et leur courtines
de leur rains seur eus estendoient
qui dou soleil les defendoient." [9]

Propertius, after having contrasted the corruption of Roman women with the purity of Oriental wives, recalls with a wistful sigh the innocence of the Golden Age:

"Felix agrestum quondam pacata juventus,
Divitiae quorum messis et arbor erant" (*o.c.*, v. 25–26).

A fruit fresh picked, a basketful of berries, a bouquet were welcome gifts in those times; the scenery of this bucolic love is almost literally paraphrased by Jean de Meung:

"His tum blanditiis furtiva per antra puellae
Oscula silvicolis empta dedere viris.
Hinnulei pellis stratos operibat amantes,
Altaque nativo creverat herba toro,
Pinus et incumbens lentas circumdabat umbras . . ." (*o.c.*, v. 34–38).

It is characteristic of the two epochs that whereas Jean de Meung goes on to a general consideration of the consequences that resulted from the passing of pastoral beatitude and uses the opportunity to write a virulent diatribe against kings and princes and private property, the Roman poet deplores in patriotic despair the state of his fatherland and predicts the downfall of Rome.

In view of the dearth of Propertian manuscripts before Humanism,[10] Jean de Meung's paraphrase ought to be of interest to students of Classical Philology also.

But a close examination of Marot's poem will show that his inspiration could

[5] Théodore Lee Neff, *La Satire des femmes dans la poésie lyrique française du moyen âge*, 1900.

[6] II, 4.

[7] II, 13; III, 11.

[8] *Ars amatoria*, II, 275 ss.

[9] Bartsch, *o.c.*, 252, v. 77–84.

[10] Martin Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*, II. Teil, I. Hälfte, 1911, p. 261.

be due only partly to the *Roman de la Rose*. While the passage in question depicts the lovers as not caring for gifts or presents (*senz rapine* et *senz couvoitise*), Marot is specific, and instead of a negative, he says:

"Un bouquet donné d'amour profonde,
C'était donné toute la terre ronde . . . ."

A bouquet of flowers was one of the modest gifts by which Propertius' innocent lover courted his sweetheart:

"Ille munus erat decussa Cydonia ramo . . .
Nunc violas tondere manu, nunc mixta referre
Lilia virgineos lucida per calathos . . ." (*o.c.*, 27–30).

It is a known fact that Marot read Propertius, and thus, it is probable that he found his model rather in the elegy of Propertius than in the *Roman de la Rose*.

Since Birch-Hirschfeld,[11] it has been a much debated question how far the Roman Elegists influenced Marot. On Roedel's, Guy's, and Wagner's painstaking labors, Villey's summary pronouncement: "Voilà de quoi prouver tout au plus que Marot avait lu Ovide, Properce et Tibulle . . ." [12] may be justified. And yet, in spite of recent attacks on "source-hunting," [13] sources may be useful and instructive. In the case in question, a comparison between Marot and Propertius is illuminating for a fuller comprehension of Marot's genius. The contrast between the two is striking, and it directly proves that Marot's *fond de sensibilité* was, after all, not negligible.[14] Propertius is more specific and plastic than Marot; but his plasticity and realism lack that emotional and sentimental tone which has kept Marot a "modern" after four hundred years.

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[11] *Gesch. d. frz. Lit. seit Anfang des XVI. Jhdrts.*, 1889, I, 120.
[12] *Les grands Ecrivains du XVIe s., Rabelais et Marot*, 1923.
[13] L. Cazamian, *Criticism in the Making*, Macmillan, 1929, p. 3 ss.
[14] Plattard, *La Renaissance des Lettres en France*, 1925, p. 97.

# REVIEWS

Melville Best Anderson, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: A Line-for-Line Translation in the Rime-Form of the Original*, San Francisco, John Henry Nash, 1929, 4 vols., folio.

Professor Melville Best Anderson devoted over a quarter of a century to the actual translation of *The Divine Comedy* in English *terza rima*, and we venture to say that previous to this "delightful labor" Professor Anderson spent another quarter of a century in study and research. By virtue of his achievement in "recreating" Dante's Poem in English, and for his scholarly studies on the Poet, Professor Anderson takes a unique place among the Dantists past and present. His name will pleasantly and inevitably call to mind Norton, Toynbee, Grandgent, Fletcher and others.

Some of the other versions heretofore rendered on the *Comedy*, though having their redeeming features and high qualities, have been found wanting in more ways than one. We can say with conviction that rarely up to the present has one soared to the heights of poetry in translation-form, sustaining in its entirety the essence of Dante's creation. Carlyle, Rossetti, Byron, and others have given translations which come close to the spirit and form of the original, yet these have either been episodes or fragments, or, at most, a canto. Professor Norton's prose translation and Longfellow's version in blank verse have been useful and inspiring, but the Dantesque vein frequently lags, and sometimes is lost sight of completely. In his line-for-line translation in triple rhyme, Professor Anderson has not only preserved the beauty and dignity of Dante's masterpiece, but has imparted to it the qualities that make the translation "read like an English poem." This he has accomplished no matter how defying the task may have been—whatever despair some of the subtleties of the great Poem may have offered. Should any other person with less genius, with less profound knowledge, with less love for the task than Professor Anderson have undertaken the work, the translation, we are sure, would have failed to see completion:

"Per che, pensando consumai la impresa
Che fu nel cominciar cotanto tosta."

To think that Professor Anderson was discouraged by some of his colleagues in his project! On the contrary, far from discouraged, and, moreover, undaunted by examples of previous failures, Professor Anderson has tried to surmount every obstacle, and has, let it be repeated, given to posterity of the English peoples a poem which reads like a counterpart of the *Divine Comedy*, faithful to the lofty spirit of the "loftiest of poets." Nor has Professor Anderson gone without reward for his huge undertaking. His own words tell us of the many happy hours spent in communion with his "Master": "There were moments when I felt near the Master,—when he seemed to take the pen out of my hand and show me how the lines should read in English. Moments of happy, stimulating illusion, such as come to the translator as the supreme reward of fidelity!" It is indeed a privilege to give here a few passages along with the originals,—passages taken for the most at random, except those reproduced on the frontispiece plates of this issue of this magazine. This we have done to give an idea of the uniformity of the translation which, similar

to the *Commedia*, rises everywhere to poetry of transcending beauty. Note the clarity achieved in this extract:

"Manifold flocks of naked souls I saw
Who all did woeful lamentations pour,
And they seemed subject unto diverse law.
Supine were lying some upon the floor,
And some were sitting all together bent,
And others went about forevermore.
The more were those who round about there went,
And fewer those who lay in torment low,
But had their tongues more loosened to lament."

"D'anime nude vidi molte gregge,
Che piangean tutte assai miseramente,
E parea posta lor diversa legge.
Supin giaceva in terra alcuna gente;
Alcuna si sedea tutta raccolta,
Ed altra andava continuamente.
Quella che giva intorno, era più molta;
E quella men che giaceva al tormento,
Ma più al duolo avea la lingua sciolta."

In the following passage the poetic simplicity of the original is retained in the translation:

"'Turn, Beatrice, turn,' so ran their lay,
'Thy holy eyes upon thy servant leal
Who moved his steps to thee from far away.
Of thy grace to us, graciously reveal
Thy smile to him, so that he may discern
The second beauty which thou dost conceal.'"

"'Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi santi'
Era la sua canzone, 'al tuo fedele,
Che, per vederti, ha mossi passi tanti!
Per grazia fa' noi grazia che disvele
A lui la bocca tua, sì che discerna
La seconda bellezza che tu cele!'"

The next extract shows striking fidelity to the original:

"Then as a chiming horloge doth ring
To rouse the Bride of God to matin-song
Unto the Spouse, His love soliciting,
Where one part draws another and thrusts along
With tintinnating note harmonious
Whence love in well-tuned spirit waxes strong,—
The glorious wheel I saw revolving thus
And render voice to voice, in concord blending
With sweetness never to be known of us,
Save in that place where joy is never ending."

"Indi come orologio, che ne chiami
Nell'ora che la sposa di Dio surge
A mattinar lo sposo perchè l'ami,
Che l'una parte l'altra tira ed urge,
*Tin tin* sonando con sì dolce nota,
Che il ben disposto spirto d'amor turge;
Così vid' io la gloriosa rota
Muoversi, e render voce a voce in tempra
Ed in dolcessa, ch'esser non può nota,
Se non colà dove gioir s'insempra."

And now, relative to the essays which make up the introductory volume, let it be said in passing that, in addition to being gems of English prose, they offer information on Dante and his *milieu* which is as historic as it is colorful and vivid. To illustrate just one instance of the charming device used by the author in presenting his material, let us reproduce in fragment a picture of Dante as seen by the fictitious, thirteenth-century English traveler, Roger Purbeck,[1] or "Ruggiero Perbacco" as the Florentines would have put it in their own terms (the scene takes place in the home of the Portinari; an evening reception. Roger Purbeck is engaged in conversation with Giovanni Villani, the chronicler of old Florence, when two gentlemen of distinction enter upon the scene):

"'These,' whispered Giovanni, 'are Guido Cavalcanti and Dante Alighieri.' As soon as there was a little lull, he hurriedly told me more concerning them, being naturally unaware of all that I had already learned. 'Guido,' he briefly remarked, 'is not only one of our first gentlemen of high lineage, but is a man of great parts, being both philosopher and poet. His father betrothed him early in a marriage of state to the daughter of the renowned Farinata, then the Ghibelline leader and master of Florence. Dante, by nature and intellect our greatest man, is now leader of the bolder faction of the White Guelfs, those who would stir the Cerchi to more spirited opposition to the designs of Pope Boniface.' While Villani was speaking, I gazed at Dante who was embracing Ricovero[2] with great tenderness. After the first salutations had been exchanged, I guessed that Ricovero was asking permission to introduce me. Coming over to where I stood, Ricovero, first greeting Villani and craving his pardon, led me where I was face to face with him to me of living men the most admired. Clasping my hand firmly, Dante bade me welcome to Florence, gently adding: 'Ricovero has told me such things of you as make me hope we may be friends.' When, soon afterwards, Dante turned his face toward Guido, I noted the aquiline contour of his nose and his underhung jaw, the lower lip projecting a little. This peculiarity gives his face in repose a somewhat grim expression; otherwise his features are those of a sensitive spirit under iron self-control. In manner he is beyond all others gentle and urbane. 'A great favorite with the ladies,' quoth my friend Giovanni. Despite his modest mien one somehow feels an underlying self-confidence, if not outright pride. He is not one to multiply words, which are to him no counters but coin, and that golden. He gives you the sense of vast resources in reserve. In no mood this evening for much talk, he answered with sharp concision and simple clarity every question, whereupon that powerful jaw would close like a trap. A little later I saw him chatting easily and graciously with a lady of the Portinari, but even then I fancied that his thoughts were far away. No wonder if cares of state weigh heavily upon such a man at a moment when Florence, like a ship in a storm with no strong hand at the helm, is like to be crusht between such clashing rocks as threatened the Argonauts. Philip the Fair of France is in league against the peace of Florence with mean King Charles of Naples, both being tools in the skilful hands of the terrible Pope Boniface. Meanwhile the Emperor Albert of Hapsburg sits inert beyond the Alps, suffering the garden of the Empire to go to waste. Perhaps, if one could read the thoughts of Dante now, they would be found to be preoccupied with the traitorous intrigues at Rome of his own powerful and able kinsman, Corso Donati, who is more than suspected of advising the Holy Father to create a Tuscan kingdom for a member of the Gaetani family" (Chap. II, pp. 30–31).

From Chapter III (p. 34) on the author abandons historic fiction and devotes himself to outlining history, *per se*, with the Florence of Dante as a background. Lack of space robs the reviewers of the pleasure to quote much fascinating information contained in these studies, destined to serve as indispensable reference for all students and scholars.

[1] Character appearing in Chapters I and II (see pp. 6 and 30) which for "critical purpose" the author has couched in "fiction masking historic truth."

[2] Brother of Beatrice and friend of Roger Purbeck (see p. 15, Chapter I).

And now, digressing a bit from our premise, the question arises as to the difficulty of diffusing this de luxe edition. Though a work of art in printing and binding, this edition will, because of its price, exclude many a lover of Dante from owning a set, and, more regrettable still, fail to reach university or municipal libraries. A service of infinite value could be rendered to American scholarship if some benefactor would make it possible for libraries of large centers to have sets at the disposal of the public. (Even this review could not have been made were it not for the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. English Walling, who placed the volumes at our disposal for consultation.) In view of the fact, then, that this special edition will serve only as a monumental marker, and that the first version published by the World Book Co. (1921) is either exhausted or nearly so, we urge a republishing of the work for use in university classes and for the public in general.

For a description and *raison d'être* of this edition permit us to give herewith an interesting outline made by its printer, Dr. John Henry Nash, in his announcement prior to the publication:

"It is my privilege to announce the forthcoming publication of an English verse translation of THE COMEDY OF DANTE ALIGHIERI OF FLORENCE, the work of Melville Best Anderson. Dr. Anderson started this translation twenty-eight years ago. He chose as his poetical medium, terza rima or triple rime, the nearest English equivalent to the Dantean verse form. Many other attempts have been made to translate Dante in English terza rima; most of them were unfortunate, and hitherto none could be called a true success. That Dr. Anderson has achieved greatly where others failed may be stated on the authority of Paget Toynbee, the late commendatore, Guido Biagi, and other Danteans of high rank. Dr. Toynbee, in particular, has watched Dr. Anderson's undertaking with sympathy and has encouraged it with praise.

"The story of this Dante publication begins with 1923. In that year Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, President of Mills College, suggested to me that I should devote myself to a monumental publication for the honor of California. About the same time Dr. Reinhardt introduced me to Dr. Anderson, and I learned of the great work to which Dr. Anderson was devoting the ripest years of his life. Having obtained Dr. Anderson's permission to print this DIVINE COMEDY, I immediately prepared plans. In 1924 I went to Europe to consult with the Van Gelders of Amsterdam and this famous old house began the fabrication of a special watermarked paper. The text meanwhile was being composed two pages at a time as proofs were revised and re-revised by Dr. Anderson. Last year I made a second trip to Europe, and arranged to have the books hand-bound in classic vellum tooled in simple gold lines by Hubel and Denck of Leipzig. The sheets of all four volumes are now in the hands of these great bookbinders.

"Dr. Anderson's Dante is presented in four volumes. The first volume is devoted to a series of introductory essays, in the first of which Dr. Anderson vividly and colorfully recreates the Florence of Dante as seen through the eyes of a contemporary English traveler. One volume apiece is given to the Inferno, the Purgatorio, and the Paradiso. The books are of folio size, and contain no ornament except type and rule, from cover to cover. The type is Cloister Old Style Lightface, the Dante marking the first use of this cutting.

"From the beginning it was my ambition to make this Dante my *magnum opus*. I endeavored to assimilate the advice that Jean Grolier (1479–1565) wrote to his protégé, Aldus, in a letter that is a classic expression of the printer's responsibility.

"'You will care with all diligence that this work, when it leaves your printing shop to pass into the hands of learned men, may be as correct as it is possible to render it. I heartily beg and beseech this of you. The book, too, should be decent and elegant; and to this will contribute the choice of the paper, the excellence of the type, which should have been but little used, and the width of the margins. And if this decency and elegance shall increase your expenses, I will refund you entirely. Lastly, I should wish that nothing be added to the original or taken from it.'

"It is my sincere hope that I have met these requirements. For more than five years now I have been reverently turning the pages of the great poet, striving always to make this presentation of his masterpiece a monument alike to him, to his translator, and to the printing art. It has been an experience rich in intellectual reward. The intimate association with Dr. Anderson that the work involved has been a delightful privilege—a privilege of a sort that I have come to value more and more as the years follow one another, deepening the appreciation of mental gifts. The result seems to round out my Dantean labors which began when I printed Boccaccio's *Life of Dante* as a gift for my friends."

In conclusion let us repeat a recent judgment on Professor Anderson's translation in that it was destined to preclude the probability of another ever being attempted. It is our privilege, too, to say that Professor Grandgent's opinion is that it combines accuracy with real beauty.

O. A. Bontempo
John L. Gerig

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## SOME STUDIES ON RIMBAUD

Marcel Coulon, *La Vie de Rimbaud et de son Œuvre*, avec de nombreux documents inédits ou ignorés, Paris, Mercure de France, 1929.

François Ruchon, *Jean-Arthur Rimbaud, sa Vie, son Œuvre, son Influence*, avec un bois dessiné et gravé par William Metein et deux hors-texte, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1929.

A. Rolland de Renéville, *Rimbaud le Voyant*, Paris, Au Sans Pareil, 1929.

Arthur Rimbaud, *Correspondance Inédite*, précédée d'une introduction de Roger Gilbert-Lecomte, Paris, Aux Éditions des Cahiers Libres, 1929.

These studies on Arthur Rimbaud fall into two distinctly unlike groups. The first two form what is undoubtedly the most comprehensive survey we have had thus far of the life and works of one of the great rebels in the poetic heavens of the nineteenth century. The last two are the most original contribution to an understanding of his incredible genius.

Truly Rimbaud flashed through the literary skies like a veritable meteor, consuming and turning into bitter ashes everything terrestial and human he encountered on his brief pilgrimage. He vent the fire of his irrepressible ire on everything art and life had held holy up to then. No altar was sacred enough for his anathemas. In words of a radiant and burning resonance, he threw down the gauntlet to gods and men. He rose in his Quixotic ecstasy to pose, at least in his own eyes then, and increasingly so in the eyes of a small but worshipful progeny now, as the passionate revolter, the anti-social, the Antichrist, and even, in the end, as the anti-poet. Finding the civilization of the West too apathetic for his tumultuous adolescence, and in apparent spiritual stagnancy, his volcanic genius lifted high its flame as if to set divine fire to all that was, to whatever seemed to his hallucinated vision old, decrepit, and dying; to whatever was worn out by physical, social, and moral disease. The verses from his youthful mouth must have sounded to an Izambard, to a Verlaine, like the angry, and yet divinely captivating admonitions of a young and virile prophet. This child felt that he was rising from the dust, from the depth of soulless tradition, fear, social stratification, and nerveless religion, to lead man back to his pristine glory as the *fils du Soleil*. And it was because he felt he had failed, because his hysterical genius wavered in the end before the stupendous indifference, or stupidity, of mankind that he made the great sacrifice, and destroyed the secret of that magic alchemy from which he had extracted so many miraculous verses.

Of the works here under consideration, those by MM. Coulon and Ruchon are the more comprehensive and the more judiciously planned interpretations of the life and work of the poet; but that by M. de Renéville is the more inspired, if more controversial, summing up of the significance and message of the "Voyant." All of them are the very opposite of what "romanced biographies" are. They are proof of what scientific criticism can achieve when it is served by the intelligence and the intuitions. As M. Coulon says:

"Historienne, érudite, psychologue, esthétique: *intégrale*, sachant marcher sur le sol de l'anecdote comme battre le ciel spéculatif de son aile, la Critique permet à un esprit créateur une création aussi pure, originale et définitive que l'œuvre d'imagination."

No less than all that is required to get at the riddle of Rimbaud.

While he is still a student in rhetoric, under the indulgent but over-cautious guidance of his teacher Izambard, he spreads his wings laden with spiritual dynamite. In the Spring of 1870, he lifts his vision above the black turmoil of those somber months, and to the then regnant political and social upheaval, he opposes the individual, but more terrible frenzy of the anarchy he sets adrift in his mind. He writes to Th. de Banville: "Je ne sais pas ce que j'ai là, qui veut monter." And he is only fifteen. But his dazzling genius leaves us already aghast with its wondrous daring. He is already a fallen angel with the piercing darts of a Satan on his tongue, with an irremediable knowledge of good and evil in his heart, and an unquenchable desire to rise above both.

Rimbaud's poetry, M. Coulon shows, is the most autobiographical of any poet's, not excluding Villon's. Not one of his verses but speaks a phase of his melodramatic adolescence in terms of a spiritual transmutation. Not a mood of his oppressed childhood but finds an echo in his haunting words. The poetic import of his poems is thus enhanced by the critic who shows their all too-human sources. M. Ruchon's exegesis, on the other hand, is rather impersonal, and somewhat frigid. This is a dangerous method in dealing with a temperament like Rimbaud's. Reality in the brief years of his poetic consciousness, by eluding constantly his physical grasp, compelled him to withdraw within the fantastic reality of his inner being. Therein all his earthly, sodden acts and feelings were metamorphosed into unearthly music, of which only the echo resounds in his verses. The critic who will not enter into that world with utter sympathy had better leave out all hope of ever hearing that music.

Rimbaud's spiritual anarchism knew no literary or social frontiers. His scorn for the literature of his contemporaries and ancestors was boundless. "Racine, peuh! Victor Hugo . . . pouah! Homère? Homère!" He speaks of the dull exoticism and starched classicism of such poets as Lisle, Banville, with frightful satire:

"Tas d'œufs frits dans de vieux chapeaux. . . ."

In the matter of mere artistic form, however, so far as his *Premiers Vers* are concerned, Rimbaud owes much to Hugo, Banville, Gautier. But it is to Baudelaire and Verlaine he owes most, especially the musicality of such poems as *Les Chercheuses de Poux* and *Voyelles*. His search for a musical ultimate ended in a dilemma, especially in the last poem. He turned then to prose.

"Trouver une langue, qui sera de l'âme pour l'âme, résumant tout: parfums, sons, couleurs. Une langue définissant la quantité d'inconnu s'éveillant . . . dans l'âme universelle . . . permettant à ce voleur de feu qu'est le poète de faire sentir, palper,

écouter ses inventions. Une langue grâce à laquelle si ce que le poète rapporte de là-bas a forme, il donne forme; si c'est informe, il donne de l'informe."

That is the theory of the language of *Illuminations*. M. Ruchon's analysis of them is most valuable precisely in this connection. His is not a mystic interpretation of Rimbaud. He studies the poet's technique in so far as it is possible with erudition and insight. For the first time he gives us a general survey of Rimbaud's versification that reveals something of the inner mechanism of that "Alchimie du Verbe" which has remained an invulnerable secret with the poet. Ruchon insists that Rimbaud was not a *vates*, a frenzied spirit writing under the spell of his unconscious self, as the surrealists claim. On the contrary, his æsthetics, he tells us, rest on a system that was willed, conscious, artificial. And yet it is when most apparently so that his hallucinations become most mystifying. Casting his emotions, his passions, his deliriums into the crater of his willful genius, he invites misunderstanding, scorn, hatred, even death, morally, to reach the infinite core of life unshackled, naked to the depth of his soul, and more intact than a deity before the act of creation.

So it is in *Bateau Ivre* that one can approach closest to the fiery pit in the soul of Rimbaud; for whereas *Illuminations* are hermetical, and apparently beyond all human reason and rhyme, or as M. Ruchon will make us believe they are: "vanité et tourment d'esprit, bruit de chimère bombinant dans le vide," *Bateau Ivre* retains the sequence of reason and human logic. The tread is not broken between dream and reality. The poet's thirst for ultimate freedom, for the unknown, for the absolute finds in it its intensest expression. When he reaches *Illuminations* he has broken all his moorings. The "Voyant" gives us glimpses of the unearthly visions he sees in his itinerary. They are the intoxicating ravings of one who finds human expression too stilted, too theatrical to speak his naked truth. His "Alchimie du Verbe" sparkles with new and strangely phosphorescent glimmers. He steals from chaos, or the absolute harmony of things, some hard, dazzling gems of light. But they blind our earthly vision rather than illumine it. So his failure, and there is failure, lies in his inability to discover a language that transcends the power of silence, of the silence that must fall upon anyone who beholds the central mystery of life. And so, in the case of Rimbaud, after this failure, his maddening descent into the vortex of nihilism had reached an impasse. There was nothing else for the disillusioned sky adventurer to do than to flee, not only from life, but also from himself:

"Europe, Asie, Amérique, disparaissez. . . ."

But as if ultimately conscious of the hopelessness of his revolt, his nihilism, the poet adds as an after-thought at the end of the poem: "(Ce n'est rien, j'y suis, j'y suis toujours)." This faculty of the poet never to lose absolute and ultimate contact with hard reality is what makes M. Ruchon, I suppose, consider Laforgue rather than Rimbaud the ancestor of the surrealists whose æsthetics is founded on a complete "absence de tout controle exercé par la raison," to quote A. Breton's *Manifeste du Surréalisme*. But that is only a matter of degree.

This again is what renders his religious affiliations so speculative a matter, and as elusive as gossamer threads. Brought up in the strictest Catholic atmosphere, he turned out to be if not most anti-Christian, certainly a very Antichrist. His antagonism to the Church was both social and æsthetic. He rejected it as an instrument of oppression of the poor, and of oppression of the flesh. He turned to the paganism of Venus to be redeemed from what he considered its dissolving curse:

"J'étais bien jeune et Christ a souillé mes haleines. . . ."

All four critics here reviewed are unanimous in their estimate of Rimbaud's anti-Christian feelings, and find themselves at odds with M. Claudel who sees in Rimbaud one of the most Catholic of nineteenth century poets, and his own spiritual godfather. It is true that as M. Ruchon declares with regards to *Une Saison en Enfer:* "il n'est pas difficile d'y trouver des textes pour l'une et l'autre thèse," and yet to interpret Rimbaud's religious spirit as Isabelle Rimbaud, as Paterne Berrichon, as Henri Bordeaux, and as M. Claudel have done it is to put more of one's self in the text than there is in it. One must, of course, bow to the deeper insight and supreme authority of M. Claudel in matters of poetry, especially religiously inspired poetry. But may it not be that much of the Christian mysticism he finds in Rimbaud is only a reflexion of that which shines in his own spirit? At any rate, the anti-Christianity of Rimbaud fairly staggers one who reads him with no Catholic talisman to shield his piety. He seems truly then like a reincarnation of Satan challenging not only human morality and justice, but also Christian goodness and love.

M. Coulon casts much light on many obscure episodes in the intriguing career of the poet. Regarding his relations with Verlaine, both Coulon and Ruchon agree with Berrichon that "la Vierge folle" can be no other than "Pauvre Lélian." To believe with Delahaye, and more recently with Louis Pierquin, that Rimbaud was referring to his "amie ardennaise" is to destroy the real significance of *Délires* I, and render the interpretation of *Une Saison* doubly difficult. To Coulon again we must turn for accurate data regarding his relations with Germain Nouveau; for his perpetual struggles with Vitalie Cuif, his Flemish mother; and for his stoical, pragmatic, infinitely tragic pilgrimage through Africa in the last few years of his life after his abandonment of his *folie littéraire*, his *folie altruiste.*

If M. Coulon's book is the more lucid and rational exposition of Rimbaud's enigma, and M. Ruchon's is the more academic and impersonal treatment of it, M. de Renéville's is the more ingenious. For what, after all, was the secret spark that lit up the genius of Rimbaud for a moment only to become extinguished soon after like a vanishing star? M. de Renéville sees in Vedic and Brahmanic literatures the source of Rimbaud's rebellious mysticism. The evidence he bares to attest his thesis is rather inconclusive, and consists of his alleged readings from Oriental books in the library at Charleville. Granting the critic's hypothesis, however, his thesis is most convincingly and startlingly developed. The various Upanishads teach that man is but a spark sprung from a great universal fire which is the spirit of God. Without being a god, the individual is part and parcel of it. M. de Renéville takes Rimbaud's famous expression *Je est un autre*, and interprets it in terms of Brahmanic philosophy. He has an intriguing art of forcing Rimbaud's verses to say anything he wishes them to say. His effort to collate passages from Rimbaud with excerpts from Oriental religions lends much color to his argument. To Rimbaud's preoccupations with an "Achimie du Verbe," with what is supra-sensible, and with the idea of the Absolute, he tags Oriental and Pythagorean epithets. He shows Rimbaud aiming at the Absolute through what is sensible even at the risk of, and perhaps only at the cost of destroying the physical universe as our senses know and feel it. Asceticism, he declares, is one of the avenues to travel to reach the central blessedness of Nirvana, and, following M. Berrichon's Romantic coloring of his brother-in-law's sufferings in Paris, M. de Renéville declares: "La vie se chargeait donc de renforcer l'ascéticisme que Rimbaud désirait pratiquer." But when Rimbaud left finally for Paris, with *Bateau Ivre* in his pocket, he was not craving asceticism. He was not craving it when he wrote *Soleil et Chair.* Rimbaud's

confession to Delahaye on "Juinphe," 1872, from Paris: "Maintenant c'est la nuit que je travaince," seems to M. de Renéville conclusive evidence of the poet's ascetic, meditative, and Oriental bent of mind, although most poets have also the same unconventional craving for silent communion with the night, and although a poem of Rimbaud written at exactly the same period as the letter just quoted: *Bonne Pensée du Matin*, has nothing ascetic or Oriental about it.

Many passages in Rimbaud, however, lend support to M. de Renéville's occult theories according to which the poet is a "fils de l'Orient par l'esprit." Didn't he write: "Qu'a-t-on fait du brahmane qui m'expliqua les Proverbes?" And again: "Je retournais à l'Orient et à la sagesse première et éternelle." And there, M. de Renéville holds, Rimbaud discovered the occult center where lies that divine unity in which good and evil are forever reintegrated. Nothing is further, of course, than this from the Christian concept which regards good and evil as irreconcilably divided. Rimbaud's aim, we are told, was to escape this duality, and attain to the Absolute unity of divine Love. But to reach it is by the same token to give up all effort at earthly action and expression. The wonder adventure ends thus in a blind alley, for the artist, for to express it is to lose it, at the same time. In his highest flight the poet was doomed to silence in a world of expression. "Cela s'est passé. Je sais aujourd'hui saluer la Beauté." Which brings us to the same conclusion as that of the more rational exegesis already referred to.

M. de Renéville's thesis is fascinating, but too labored at times. One does not have to make of Rimbaud a disciple of cabalism or of Mrs. Annie Besant to get at the inner radiance of his poetry. Such a treatment was to be expected, however, from a firm follower of surrealism. Incidentally, the letters of Rimbaud are also edited, or simply introduced, by an ardent surrealist who, as he declares in a footnote, considers the book of M. de Renéville we have been reviewing "le seul ouvrage sur Rimbaud que je puisse admettre." This *Correspondance* is *inédite* only in name, for all these letters are well-known to students of Rimbaud. They include all those he wrote between 1870–1875 with which literature is concerned. Those to his mother from his earthly inferno in Africa are excluded, and are of little moment. But here, brought together, with the poems he enclosed in them, are those soul-revealing letters he wrote to his friends: that to Izambard of May, 1871; the so-called "lettre du Voyant" to Demeny of May 15, 1871, upon which we depend for much elucidation of his æsthetics. Towards such an elucidation MM. de Renéville and Gilbert-Lecomte contribute much that is both controversial and illuminating. M. Ruchon, on the other hand, beclouds the whole ticklish problem when as the conclusion of a remarkably clear and instructive work he has only this to say regarding Rimbaud's most hermetic poems: "une ombre: idée banale ou enfantillage." He redeems himself, however, with a most complete, scholarly, and timely "Bibliographie Rimbaldienne" for which we must be very grateful.

Rimbaud's revolt against society, against literature, and against life were varieties of his poetical frenzy. He suggests a solution to life's muddle, but it is a solution that invites its own destruction. He would annihilate all so-called civilization and substitute for it the rarefied vision of a mystic, and especially of an Oriental mystic. Brought up in a petty, morally stifling atmosphere, he erected upon a scaffolding of reality that is topsy-turvy an edifice of surreality breath-taking in its immateriality. His poetic span extends over four years of his adolescence, at the end of which, in full meteoric blaze, he fell to earth, to bury his burnt genius in the clay of the earth.

Rimbaud joins in him the visionary to the positivist; the mystic to the critic. He feels the itching desire to tear asunder the veil that shrouds the secrets of life. Then his vision clears—he sees it all with the eyes of a rationalist. "Moi, moi qui me suis dit mage ou ange, dispensé de toute morale, je suis rendu au sol, avec un devoir à chercher, et la réalité rugueuse à étreindre! Paysan!"

That is why Rimbaud is Romantic and most anti-Romantic; why he can influence poets so dissimilar as Valéry, on the one hand, and Claudel and the surrealists, on the other. Nothing brings out more completely this complexity of his nature than the two groups of studies we have been reviewing, one of which is a rational exposition of his life and art by two clear-thinking scholars, and the other a mystic interpretation of it by two avowed theosophists. Both sides can say with equal sincerity and reason: "Behold the true Rimbaud." For Rimbaud is, indeed, many while he remains always and essentially one and indivisible.

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Daniel Mornet, *Histoire de la Clarté française*, Paris, Payot, 1929, in-8., 358 pp.

M. Mornet a conquis une célébrité légitime avec ses études littéraires, et son *Histoire de la Clarté Française*, sujet bien rarement traité à cause de sa difficulté reconnue, lui fait trop d'honneur pour ne pas mériter un examen attentif. Examinons donc la thèse de M. Mornet.

Bien qu'il existe dans la plupart des bonnes œuvres françaises une clarté relative, cette clarté, loin d'être instinctive, est le résultat d'une élaboration réfléchie. Au Moyen Age, la scolastique donne une certaine précision de la pensée et inspire plus tard la méthode cartésienne, mais c'est la rhétorique omnipotente qui a donné les plis invincibles à la pensée, car du XVI^e^ siècle jusque vers 1870 elle règne en maîtresse dans l'enseignement. Ce dernier, toujours conservateur, a corrigé plus ou moins toutes les révoltes contre les règles, et les traditions de l'enseignement ont aidé au maintien de la tradition littéraire. La rhétorique semble avoir disparu de l'enseignement mais, aujourd'hui encore, malgré les assauts des romantiques, des réalistes et des symbolistes, l'intelligence française est en grande partie gouvernée par cette loi de rhétorique qui veut qu'on parle avec clarté, et qu'après avoir choisi ses raisons, on les dispose dans l'ordre le plus convaincant. Cette discipline générale a défendu la pensée française contre les deux défauts vers lesquels elle semblait se précipiter irrésistiblement, la préciosité et le burlesque. Durant trois siècles, la rhétorique réduisit la clarté en méthodes, règles et principes. Pour être claires, les idées doivent être parfaitement déterminées, et la rhétorique détermine exactement le genre, le but, les procédés, les qualités et les défauts d'une œuvre. Pour le choix des idées, un des codes essentiels de la rhétorique est la théorie des *lieux-communs*, ou méthode pour découvrir et présenter des arguments qui puissent servir à tous les sujets, ce qui donne l'avantage d'une clarté commode et sûre. La composition oratoire, à son tour, ordonne les idées, et par elle, la rhétorique devint le guide du théâtre aussi bien que de la poésie lyrique et épique.

Un des principaux efforts du XVII^e^ siècle est de simplifier la langue pour la préciser et lui donner l'aisance et la souplesse. Ce fut l'œuvre des grammairiens, de Balzac, de Malherbe, et surtout de Vaugelas. Grâce à eux, la clarté devint le principe fondamental de la langue et du style dans la génération de Boileau, et le P. Lamy peut écrire en 1688: "Le génie de notre langue est la netteté." Le but des classiques a été la clarté permanente, universelle, basée sur la raison générale, in-

dépendante des individus, lieux ou temps, ainsi que la description de ce qu'il y a de stable dans la nature. Ils ont rejeté, au contraire, l'accident, le particulier, ce qui ne rentrait pas dans l'expérience commune. Tout ceci conduit les classiques à la théorie du beau raisonnable à laquelle se joindront, au commencement du XVIII^e^ siècle surtout, l'esprit de finesse et de géométrie.

Pour résumer M. Mornet, la scolastique d'abord, la rhétorique toujours, et dérivant de cette dernière, la raison, les lieux-communs et la composition oratoire, ont créé la clarté française. Il leur joint en second lieu, la doctrine de l'imitation des anciens, le but moral de l'art, la culture mondaine et le goût de l'analyse psychologique.

M. Mornet expose les conséquences fâcheuses de la rhétorique et de l'esprit classique. En dépit du charme contenu dans l'œuvre des grands écrivains, la clarté classique, simple et nue, conduit à une limpidité sans saveur, et transpose la vie en une sorte de discours d'où la réalité vivante, confuse et compliquée est nécessairement absente. Sous la rigidité tyrannique de la rhétorique en quête de clarté, les œuvres de la pensée deviennent un art aristocratique et artificiel rejetant toute une part de la beauté, tandis que le purisme et la préciosité préparaient l'appauvrissement de la langue.

M. Mornet décrit les révoltes contre la rhétorique et l'esprit du classicisme. Après que l'abbé Dubos eût substitué le *beau de sentiment* au *beau raisonnable*, Diderot et surtout Rousseau, opposent à une littérature basée sur les règles celle qui jaillit des instincts aveugles qui ne prennent pas le temps d'être clairs, si bien que la passion, le sentiment et le cœur deviennent la force essentielle de la vie. Dès 1760, le XVIII^e^ siècle ne demande plus à la nature des impressions d'harmonie, mais des chocs de sensations et des tumultes d'émotion. Rousseau montre que la langue française était faite autant que toute autre pour émouvoir et il créé le *style sensible* en opposition au *style clair* des classiques. La philosophie du sentiment prend la place de la philosophie de la raison. Le progrès des sciences expérimentales montre que la pensée humaine n'était ni immuable ni partout semblable à elle-même, mais complexe, mobile et diverse. La fixité de la langue classique est ébranlée, et l'on reconnaît la nécessité des néologismes puisqu'il faut des mots nouveaux pour expliquer les pensées nouvelles. Bientôt après, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre créé le *style pittoresque et plastique* que perfectionnera Chateaubriand.

Se révoltant plus hardiment que le XVIII^e^ siècle, le Romantisme représente la complexité mouvante de la réalité, il frappe la sensibilité et l'imagination sans besoin de comprendre et de réfléchir notre émotion. Balzac emploie toutes les langues, tous les argots, les patois, la langue du peuple et des métiers, comme le feront plus tard les naturalistes tels que Zola et Huysmans. Durant cette période s'ébauchent, chez Chateaubriand et chez Gérard de Nerval, les conceptions nouvelles de la poésie intuitive.

Le symbolisme, cependant, a été la vraie réaction contre la clarté. Plus d'idées, plus de sentiments clairs, mais bien l'inconscient ou le subconscient, la recherche du principe de la poésie dans le domaine de ce qui n'est plus intelligible où les musiques et les colorations seules des mots importent. Verlaine introduit le rêve et Rimbaud l'hallucination dans la poésie. Le théâtre suit les mêmes chemins, quoique plus lentement, chez Ibsen et chez Maeterlink. Actuellement, Valéry prétend nous apporter des poèmes d'idées pures. Une telle pensée n'a rien de commun avec la pensée commune, la raison pratique, et l'ordre logique qui nous était familier depuis les classiques est totalement brisé. Symbolistes, unanimistes et surréalistes, sont

les poètes des mondes d'instincts et d'extases, où la pensée s'élance et la vie se déroule, poussées vers l'inconnu par des forces obscures et mystiques.

Certains points de détails peuvent intéresser ceux qui enseignent l'histoire littéraire. La pensée du Moyen Age a eu pour but la recherche du symbole, la confusion qu'on y trouve était faite d'ignorance et est le produit d'une doctrine étroite enfoncée dans les subtilités. L'œuvre des humanistes, masse lourde et confuse, vient de ce qu'ils savaient trop de choses sans discerner où elles les conduisaient, témoin Rabelais, et Montaigne lui-même ne fut pas exempt de cette pédagogie de quantité. La Renaissance française embrasse trop de pensées nouvelles, elle préfère délibérément la richesse à la simplicité, la somptuosité à l'ordre, l'éclat à la clarté. La Pléiade tombe dans la même erreur, et Ronsard prisait surtout ses odes pindaresques, odes si savantes qu'elles en sont pesantes et obscures. L'impression de clarté et de simplicité donnée par la période classique est assez trompeuse car on n'en doit pas juger seulement à travers les œuvres de Racine, Molière, Bossuet et La Fontaine. Ces derniers, quant au fond, sont restés aussi pédants que leurs prédécesseurs, car tous entassent préfaces, examens et discours pour défendre leurs œuvres. Descartes, réellement, pense comme ses contemporains, il ne leur apprend pas à penser.

Quelques passages du livre de M. Mornet méritent d'être signalés en raison de leur valeur intrinsèque. L'étude sur la théorie des lieux-communs (Part. I, ch. III), et un résumé excellent de la clarté française et du symbolisme (Part. I, ch. IV); une explication de tout premier ordre sur la clarté (Part. III, ch. I, II, III), et une table montrant l'influence de la rhétorique sur le mécanisme descriptif des passions, reproduite de *La Philosophie morale expliquée en tables*, de Louis de Lesclache (1651), pp. 168–169.

Tout en admirant la puissance de travail et les dons intellectuels de M. Mornet, quelques critiques s'imposent, car la clarté française qu'il veut décrire est enfouie, perdue même, dans son livre trop complexe et un peu confus. En donnant trop d'exemples, en déversant trop de notes, il abuse de l'érudition qu'il condamne chez les écrivains du XVI^e^ siècle. A ce propos, pourquoi intitule-t-il le chapitre premier du livre: *La Renaissance*, alors qu'il n'accorde à cette dernière que sept pages sur vingt-cinq? Le chapitre trois de la deuxième partie explique l'abus de la rhétorique dans la tragédie au XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ siècle, ainsi que la fureur qu'on avait d'écrire tragédies et comédies au XVIII^e^ siècle, mais la clarté française qui fait le sujet du livre n'y est pas mentionnée. Malgré son désir, M. Mornet a surtout écrit une histoire méthodique des variations de la pensée dans la littérature française, celle aussi de la rhétorique et du mécanisme des genres suivant les périodes littéraires. Un point encore; si de 1817 à 1824 on vend 1,598,000 volumes de Voltaire contre 492,500 de Rousseau, est-ce bien dû, M. Mornet l'implique, au fait que Voltaire suit la méthode rhétoricienne? N'y-a-t-il pas là une raison historique plus importante que la rhétorique? Rousseau est le champion d'une démocratie dont la Révolution a déçu tous les espoirs, tandis que Voltaire, porte-parole d'un libéralisme pratique et clair, attire à soi les libéraux de l'Europe coalisés contre les buts et l'esprit de la Sainte-Alliance.

Pour en finir, quelle impression la clarté française fait-elle sur M. Mornet? Il nous dit que sa qualité de professeur le range parmi ceux qui souhaitent que le goût de la vérité claire des classiques ne soit pas vaincu puisqu'il nous a donné des chefs-d'œuvre. Un peu partout dans son livre, cependant, il constate que cette vérité claire est artificielle et ne représente pas suffisamment les réalités de la vie et il conclut

ainsi: "Quand il y a désaccord, inadaptation de l'une à l'autre c'est la clarté qui doit s'adapter à la réalité et à la vie et non pas la réalité et la vie qui doivent être mutilées sur le lit de Procuste de la clarté." Rien de plus juste, mais ceci ne fait pas de M. Mornet un partisan de la clarté. En fait, c'est un moderne. Ses études admirées de tous sur la pensée du XVIII[e] siècle ont fait de lui, sinon un disciple de cette pensée, du moins un apôtre de la théorie du progrès en littérature.[1]

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M. Romera-Navarro, *Miguel de Unamuno, novelista-poeta-ensayista*, Madrid, 1928, 328 pp.

The writings of Miguel de Unamuno have not received in the past the amount of critical attention that his position in the Generation of '98 would seem to have demanded. An unsympathetic critic has said that this vigorous and dynamic Basque's personality has so overshadowed his work that few have taken the trouble to read him. Yet no one of that vaguely defined group, not even Baroja, offers so likely a subject for a relatively definitive study. Certainly not Azorín nor Valle-Inclán, whose present display of alacrity in marching abreast of the younger men makes one pause before attempting an evaluation. Even Baroja moves forward, if only in the company of his heroes, who are grown mellow, more sentimental and more rheumatic. Unamuno, however, remains the same, even in his latest work, perhaps just because of the dominance of his personality and because he has in a measure anticipated the younger writers.

Sr. Romera-Navarro, in the present book, is the first to undertake anything like a complete survey of Unamuno. The order in which he takes up Unamuno's writings, indicated in the title of his study, has no special significance. For him, as for most people, Unamuno is first and foremost an essayist (p. 20) and his greatest work *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* (p. 173). And as he finds more to censure in the poetry than in the novels of Unamuno, it may be supposed that he would consider the novels as more important, which is again the usual opinion. In general one will agree with Professor Romera's judgments, as, for example, when he finds *Niebla* to be Unamuno's outstanding novel and *La tía Tula* his least successful one.

If Sr. Romera's discussion of Unamuno the novelist can be criticized at all, it is not for what he says but for what he leaves unsaid or fails to emphasize. For instance, much could have been made of Unamuno's cultivation of what has been called the novel *démeublé*, as exemplified in the radical change made in his second novel and adhered to thereafter, of reducing to a minimum the description of characters and setting. Sr. Romera is of course aware of this, but he dismisses the fact in a sentence (p. 87). Yet it must figure prominently in any estimate of Unamuno's novels and is in fact, if its implications are considered, the only proper basis for such an estimate. For Unamuno's adoption of this change in technique implied his inability to handle successfully all the material at the artist's command, to create an organic whole out of the concrete and the abstract, as all great novelists have done. Witness his failure in *Paz en la guerra*. But out of this very weakness grew his strength, for scorning mere realism, he devoted himself henceforth to the

[1] L'édition très soignée n'a que peu de fautes typographiques. Il faudrait lire, cependant, *elle*, p. 35, l.7; *1630*, p. 52, l.32; *raisonner*, p. 93, l.35; *conversation*, p. 97, l.32; *semer*, p. 101, l.13; *programmes*, p. 111, l.31; *adroit*, p. 117, l.17; *naufrage*, p. 252, l.35.

invention of such delightfully ingenious mentalities—characters would be too material a name for them—as appear in *Amor y pedagogía* and *Niebla* and of those sombre personifications of human wills and passions that inhabit the timeless and spaceless world of the later stories. The fact that Unamuno has more than once thought it necessary to defend his method—in *Niebla*, in the prologue of *Tres novelas ejemplares* and in that of the second edition of *Paz en la guerra*—would seem to call for some consideration of that method.

One is tempted, moreover, in view of the recent tendency in Spain toward greater intellectualization of the novel, to examine into the possibility of Unamuno's influence. Do not his fictions foreshadow those of such contemporary writers as Benjamín Jarnés? Full justice has not yet been done Unamuno as an innovator. He has sometimes been compared to Pirandello in his attitude toward his characters, and it has been pointed out that without knowing *Sei personaggi in cerca d'autore*, he conceived the amusing and original situation of having the hero in *Niebla* rebel against the author. What I have not seen stated yet is that Unamuno, as far back as 1897 and 1902, in his first two novels, attempted, though apparently without realizing its possibilities, the 'stream of consciousness' method that has since become, with the advent of psychoanalysis, of such great importance in the modern novel.

When he comes to study Unamuno the poet, Professor Romera finds much to criticize in him on the side of form. A close scrutiny of Unamuno's best volume of poetry, the *Rosario de sonetos líricos*, uncovers numerous flaws: harsh, unpoetic vocabulary, ungrammatical constructions, obscurities, inversions and other censurable traits. In some instances one may feel that Sr. Romera's criticism is uncalled for, that there is no need, for example, to find fault with "el temple diamantino de tu daño," with the poet's comparison of a flame with the crest of a wave (p. 130) or with his use of *enjambement* (p. 132). But in general the criticism is just and indeed more favorable to Unamuno than might have been expected.

For most people, I suppose, the poetry in Unamuno's nature is best revealed in his essays. Here is the full lyric expression, intense, paradoxical, illogical, of this modern mystic's doubts and affirmations. To these writings Sr. Romera devotes the last half of his book. The *Vida de don Quijote y Sancho* he shows to be a work of uneven merit. *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* he summarizes by chapters. These two works and the remaining essays are then drawn on for a general exposition of Unamuno's fundamental thoughts and preoccupations: his deep concern with the religious problem, his conception of God, his belief in faith and hope, his ideas on intuition and intelligence and consequent distrust of logic, his passion for will and action. Sr. Romera establishes many points of contact here between Unamuno and a number of modern philosophers, beginning with Spinoza, many of whom have offered pabulum to his insatiable curiosity. A final section, less successful it seems to me than some of the preceding pages, attempts to determine Unamuno's contribution to the efforts of his generation to create a new and better Spain.

The most serious criticism to be made of Sr. Romera's book concerns omissions. The only error of fact that I have noticed is the statement, preceding Sr. Romera's comparison of Unamuno with Browning, that the former "jamás menciona el nombre de Browning" (p. 161). As a matter of fact Browning is mentioned numerous times in *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* as well as in other writings of Unamuno. But Sr. Romera is more vulnerable on the side of omissions. In studying Unamuno the novelist, some brief mention at least might have been made of the short stories included in the volume *El espejo de la muerte*. (Unamuno himself has not failed to

group them with his novels: "mis cuentos—que novelas son.") No reference is made, either in the text or the bibliography, to a volume of Unamuno's poetry entitled *Teresa*, published in 1923. (Surely one cannot take seriously the subtitle: *Rimas de un poeta desconocido presentadas y presentado por Miguel de Unamuno.*) Sr. Romera says nothing, finally, of Unamuno's tragedy, *Fedra*, merely listing it in the bibliography, not however as a drama but under the essays as an *ensayo dramático.* These omissions do not seriously detract, however, from the value of Sr. Romera's study, which remains a useful guide to the understanding of one of the most complex and compelling figures in modern Spanish letters.

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Miguel de Unamuno, *Mist*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1928, 332 pp.

The English-speaking public is to some degree acquainted with the unique Spanish thinker and scholar, Don Miguel de Unamuno through translations of such works as *The Tragic Sense of Life in Men and in Peoples, The Life of Don Quixote and Sancho*, and *Solliloquies and Essays.* Through *Mist* (Unamuno's *Niebla*), excellently translated by Professor W. Fite, the public will become acquainted with one of his most purely imaginative works—a tragic-comic novel or *nivola* as the author carefully characterizes it. By writing in this new form, Unamuno permits himself the widest liberties, violating the established notions of unity and action customarily observed in the novel.

The name of the town where the action takes place in *Mist* is not given. It might be any town in Spain. The action is, as it were, rigorously simplified and spiritualized. Since his *nivola* is a conflict between souls which is fought within in the kingdom of the spirit, considerations of time and space become irrelevant and are reduced to a minimum. It is a record of what happens to a character without regard to sequence or importance. His characters, incarnations of himself, are intensely human. Their delineation is reduced to the utmost simplicity.

In *Mist*, as in his other works, Unamuno takes the public by the hand, looks into their eyes and tells them what is in his heart and soul in a lively, virile, exclamatory, perhaps disjointed manner, which is always striking. The *nivola* is an extremely clever, satirical work—a brilliant commentary on humanity written by a philosopher and an artist.

The amazing and unhappy love affair of Augusto Pérez is the means by which Unamuno swings us back and forward into the world of fact and that of illusion. Augusto, who takes himself seriously, decides that life is but a vast mist of trifling incidents. Out of this mist emerges the beautiful Eugenia who makes him conscious of himself—that he is a man. Augusto is at last awakened and asserts himself by repeating to his little dog, Orfeo: "I have a character of my own. You bet I have! I am I! Yes, I am I!"

Since Eugenia is in love with another, Augusto vainly strives to have his laundry maid fill her place. He is in despair and is on the verge of suicide. He pauses, however, long enough to make a journey to Salamanca to ask Unamuno for advice. In this most witty and amusing chapter, his creator informs him that he has no independent existence, being but a figure in a tale that is told, and that he cannot commit suicide because he does not exist!

Don Miguel explains that authors, like God, kill their creatures when they can no longer think of anything for them to do. Then Augusto threatens to kill Unamuno

if he does not withdraw his death sentence! In self protection, the author must kill his creature. Augusto returns home and involuntarily succeeds in eating himself to death. With keen satire and exquisite grace, Unamuno writes an epilogue in which Orfeo delivers his master's funeral oration and says what he really thinks of his poor master and of the curious race of man.

Unamuno, the supreme individualist, the living soul of that Spain he loves so well, never wearies of affirming in all his works that man is an end in himself, not a means. In *The Tragic Sense of Life*, that passionate record of the adventures of the spirit that ranks with the self-revelations of Saint Augustine or Pascal, the Spanish philosopher, says: "They tell me that I am here to realize I know not what social end. I feel that I, like each one of my fellows, am here to realize myself, to live." The thought that man becomes exhausted by tending the machinery of progress wearies him. Unamuno believes society exists for man, not man for society, Referring to Unamuno on this point, Madariaga says:

"Man is in Spain a concrete being, the man of flesh and bones and the whole man. He is neither subtilized into an idea by pure thinking nor civilized into a gentleman by social laws and prejudices. Spanish art and letters deal with concrete, tangible persons. There is no more concrete, tangible person than yourself. We can only know and feel humanity in the one human being which we have at hand. It is by penetrating into ourselves that we find our brothers in us."

This searching within, Unamuno has undertaken with a sincerity and fearlessness which cannot be excelled.

Throughout Unamuno's works one feels his desire to be a whole man with all his affirmations and negations and a passion for the indefinable persistence of his being. This passion is a source of sympathy for all humanity. The philosopher seeks God through the individual soul, and the salvation of man, not from sin but from death, from annihilation. Immortality is at the very core of his thoughts and emotions.

The thought of Unamuno seems to fall into no definite philosophical system. The readers can only know him by knowing his loves, hopes, and despairs reflected in the writings which are part of him—the man. Constantly Unamuno asserts that the author develops himself while creating his work, which in its turn perfects itself in perfecting the author.

Don Miguel de Unamuno, the philosopher of paradoxes, of contradictions and strife—an awakener of the soul—is worth reading. "For a new friend enriches our spirit, not so much by what he gives us of himself, as by what he causes us to discover in our own selves."

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Baron E. Seillière, *Romanticism*, Preface and Translation by Cargill Sprietsma, N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1929, 66 pp.

In a long array of polemical volumes and several hundred articles, Ernest Seillière has for years been battling against that most ruinous of all social and esthetic diseases,—Romanticism. In company with Laserre, Maurras, Babbitt, and several others, he has exposed the personal weaknesses of numerous Romanticists, their immorality, their morbidity, their mental, esthetic and social aberrations and the lamentable rôle they have played in producing our "modern neurasthenia" and our "modern decadence."

No one will be tempted to call these opinions either new or startling. The dogma of modern decadence is a time-worn antique in the store-house of critical accessories; and the notion of a general physical "disease" underlying the manifestations of all modern art, is a relic from the times when Lombroso identified genius with madness and when Max Nordau proclaimed the "degeneration" of the "modern" art of the esthetic 'Eighties and 'Nineties. M. Seillière's opinions were formed during these far-off decades when the critics were fond of explaining even the most spiritual and ethereal work of the Symbolists by the influence of tobacco, alcohol and social diseases. To these tenets, he added after the fashion of Brunetière, the defense of the "tradition,"—of a Roman Catholic tradition,—thus establishing his critical equations: physical health and mental sanity are dependent upon the Tradition, which is the same as Intelligence, and is most completely expressed in the discipline of the Church.

It is somewhat astonishing to find that he holds that the best artistic expression of this Tradition is to be found in neo-classicism, in the imitation of the Greeks, who obeyed very different morals and lived up to a very different tradition than the ones which M. Seillière has defended with so much talent and persistency. It is obvious that his esthetic tenets remain in conflict with his esthetic principles. His mental attitude should logically have led him to the apology of a Christian and a moral Romanticism as exemplified in the *Génie du Christianisme*, which he cannot really reject for reasons exclusively ethical. The Abbé Brémond, more consistent in his reverence for the Catholic past, did establish the distinction between a "good," or moral, Romanticism and a "bad," or amoral, Romanticism. He objected to M. Seillière that "certaines façons de décrier le Romantisme me semblent mettre en péril, avec la poésie véritable, la religion elle-même. Néoclassicisme, rationalisme, le premier ne mène-t-il pas au second?" (*Pour le Romantisme*, 1923). One could object, of course, to the Abbé Brémond, that it would be just as easy to distinguish between a "good" or moral classicism and a "bad" or amoral classicism,—without invalidating, in either case, its esthetic value. And, similarly, the objections raised against Romanticism, are neither historic nor esthetic, but "moral." They reveal the moralist's point of view rather than the esthetic value of a work of art or its historical significance.

M. Seillière's "façon de décrier le Romantisme" is based upon his moral convictions, upon a few principles or prejudices which reappear in all his books. He proclaims a doctrine that could be expected from a Roman Catholic whose loyalties are those of his social caste,—the conservative nobility. His anti-Romantic doctrine has, therefore, the merit of being neither complex nor novel. This will be obvious as soon as we divest it from its somewhat sonorous terminology:

(A) Each individual and each social group is largely led by *Imperialism*. This term has not for M. Seillière its ordinary meaning, "the desire of conquest, of domination which powerful nations possess." It designates with him the vital and unavoidable impulse of each being or group toward domination and self-expansion. He uses *Imperialism* largely as a synonym for the *libido dominandi* of Christian psychology or Nietzsche's *Wille zur Macht*.

(B) With this "desire for power" is frequently allied, he stresses, a certain *Mysticism*. And here again he attributes to *Mysticism* a meaning of his own. It has with him no special religious connotation, it does not designate ecstasy or union with the divine; it is not a direct and supra-sensual road to knowledge by internal illumination. To him *Mysticism* simply means a tendency of human being or groups

to claim the sanction and the help of some supernatural power, which justifies our desire of domination.

When M. Seillière refers to "mystic imperialism" or an "imperialistic mysticism" in individuals or nations, he means a desire for power or domination, which justifies itself by an appeal to a divinity, or to a mysterious natural force, or to an abstract conception of any kind. The "Gott mit Uns," or the divine right of kings, or the rights of "superior race or of a chosen people," or the "unspoiled instinctive goodness" of the lower classes which fits them for government by domination,—all of these are forms of the same alliance of *Mysticism* and *Imperialism*, which means the alliance of the thirst for power with a justifying principle or a supernatural being.

M. Seillière recognizes that these two tendencies of the human being or of human groups are instinctive, ineradicable and general. Every individual and every group tends unavoidably toward expansion and domination, and wants to justify this impulse by claiming that "God willed it," that its actions are the consequence of a well-established truth or principle, or that they are in harmony with "the laws of nature," etc.

Indeed, the Abbé Brémond was justified in his fear that such an attack on Romanticism puts in danger *la religion elle-même*. This doctrine sheds a quite unholy light upon the origin and rôle of all religions and all philosophies: In last analysis they appear as masks of the eternal *libido dominandi*. They are, in a sense, machines of war and conquest. This universal scepticism would, of course, rob all doctrines (including M. Seillière's doctrine), of all transcendental value. His own anti-Romanticism would be, according to his own premises, a "machine de guerre," an exercise of his Will to Power, which claims justification through the invocation of a principle and an alliance with a divine being. He found this principle in *Reason* (which means to him Tradition) and his divine Ally in the God of all good Frenchmen a kind of a "Dieu des bonnes gens," or rather a "Dieu de la bonne classe sociale."

(C) But the very notion *Reason* was for M. Seillière a dangerous and double-edged weapon to use. He did not want at all to give free rein to the "critical intellect" like Voltaire; and he certainly did not desire to conceive it, like the rationalists, as a supreme and law-giving principle, *opposed to faith*. On the contrary, his Reason had to be identified with Faith. And, therefore, M. Seillière defines Reason as "the condensed social experience of which the morals, the philosophy of Christianity—or, rather, Catholicism,—are the most complete expression." In other words, Reason for him is neither a collective term for reasoning, nor the logical power that tends to order facts or observations into some more or less coherent system;—but it becomes identical with Tradition and Faith. And when M. Seillière describes himself as "un mystique de la raison," he does not intend to accuse himself of any rationalist heresy; he means that he is "un mystique de la Tradition et de la Foi."

It is rather remarkable that this anti-Romanticist professes a doctrine as anti-intellectualist as any form of Romanticism. Any rationalist would, of course, classify these principles as a form of the "abdication of the intellect." In any case, this elucidation of M. Seillière's vocabulary allows us to gauge the significance of his main reproach to Romanticism,—that it has removed the restraint of "Reason" (that is, Tradition and Christianity), and that it has, therefore, allowed the "mystical imperialism" (that is, lust for power and its "divine sanctions"), to run riot, unchecked, in man as well as in groups or nations. Romanticism, he says, unloosens all lusts, including the *libido dominandi*.

From this it should follow that during unromantic or classic periods,—when faith and tradition triumphed,—these lusts were bridled and held in check. Now it happens—strangely enough!—that the most classic of epochs, that of Louis XIV, remains far removed from all this virtue and all this restraint. It betrays a most unbridled lust for power and conquest, not only in the person of the *Roi-soleil*, but in the whole texture of the period. The persecution of the Protestants, the wars for European domination, are hardly proofs of the "restraint" of the *Wille zur Macht!* And as to the morals of the *grand siècle*, M. Seillière no doubt remembers the *Francion* or the *Drame des Poisons* or the *Messes Noires*, or the "diabolical possession" of the "religieuses de Loudun," etc., etc.

M. Seillière has divided history into two armies in constant battle: the diabolical host of unrestrained Romanticists, who, unloosening the most unavowable *libidos* in man, destroy rule, law and morality in order to precipitate humanity into dark decadence,—and the celestial cohorts of the Classicists, who, tempering man's lusts and his devilish propensities to the creation of original art, teach him to respect every social convention, the classic tragedy and the novels of Henry Bordeaux. This respect for the "tradition"—which tradition? Villon or Rabelais are "tradition" too . . .—will lead humanity upward, climbing the hills of progress, in the resplendent sunlight of divine favor.

This conception of literary history seems to me too much like Bossuet's "finger of God" visible in history. M. Seillière is not primarily a historian; he is by choice and temperament a moralist who defends his conception of morality by "examples" which are not always historic, although frequently edifying. Mr. Sprietsma has, therefore, rendered a real service in providing us with an excellent translation of this very significant treatise on *Romanticism* by M. Seillière.

Jules Laforgue, *Six Moral Tales*. Edited and Translated by Frances Newman, New York, Horace Liveright [1929], 292 pp.

"Alas! Poor Yorick!" . . . After forty-two years of posthumous celebrity, Jules Laforgue has finally been translated, and his prose has come out of this ordeal, as out of a hand-press, strangely mangled and mauled, its lustre and delicate glamor dulled, deprived of the interplay of its intricate internal rhythms. . . . His *Moralités Légendaires* have been rebaptized *Six Moral Tales*, a lame title that would fit stories by Crébillon *fils* or Marmontel, but does not give a hint of the meaning of Laforgue's title. And his coquettishly complex prose, replete with intellectual innuendo, shaded and ambiguous, has been rendered into a flat monochrome, which has rather successfully removed all the subtlety from Laforgue's pseudo-naïve phrases.

This dolorous clown of the Infinite with his tearful smile, who, in the face of approaching early death, juggled with his heart and brain in an ironically unique performance,—cold despair before the "eter-nullity" of things and gods, and lives and suns and worlds,—has been *discovered* (Alas! Poor Yorick! After forty-two years! . . .), and brought home as a slightly funny, a slightly *scabreux* and daring article *à la mode de Paris*.

The translator tells us:

"No one else has offered Laforgue to America, and I am one of those American women who would leave Eldorado to come home and tell my acquaintances about the wonders I had seen in Eldorado. When an American woman enjoys the advantage of a week in Florence, she always comes home with a gold-tooled portfolio filled with carefully coloured prints of the gold and aquamarine painters of the earliest Renaissance. And no American woman who enjoyed the advantage of

spending a week in Paris last May can have come home without a collection of papers illustrated with the hats and the parasols and the little green iron tables and the *retroussé* girls which were the sudden blossoming of Dunoyer de Segonzac's genius . . ." (p. 25).

And she assures us that Laforgue is *dernier cri*, that she takes pride in her precedence of "presenting Jules Laforgue." (Alas! Poor Yorick! After forty-two years! . . .)

One cannot suspect her of having sounded the depth or felt the impact of Laforgue's cosmic jests,—of his insoluble conflict between an irrepressible Will-to-Live and an acute awareness of the nothingness of personal existence, of the aimlessness of all thought, art and action, of ultimate annihilation. She has, I am sure, not understood how, in another layer of his being, this nihilist was a "Knight of the Absolute," or again in another layer, the "Grand-Chancellor of Analysis," forever bent over his fluctuating feelings, to destroy them by corrosive self-criticism. He could adore—mockingly—the life-instincts or the intellect, and he could mock—adoringly—at the life-instincts or the intellect. From all these conflicts,—this constant struggle with the *Daimons* in his brain,—was born his tragic irony which, for being clownish enough on the surface, is nevertheless tragedy too poignant for pathos.

Now, the translator finds his stories "charming":

"His *Hamlet* was profound and tender and charming . . . his *Pan* is the most charming story any man has written about the Pastoral Age, that his *Perseus* is the most charming story any man has ever written about the Heroic Age, that his *Miracle of the Roses* is the most charming story any man has ever written about elegant invalids, and that his *Lohengrin* is the most charming story even a Frenchman has ever written about a bridal night" (p. 21).—*Charming*??

The very uncritical Introduction also attempts, of course, a Freudian explanation of Laforgue,—who escapes that to-day?—forgetting that (except for the *Miracle of the Roses* which is very Aubrey Beardsley), Laforgue's over-conscious, over-intellectualized tales, are by no means spontaneous flowering from a submerged subconscious mind.

"He knew the Unconscious about which we have just begun to learn, and his Hamlet's play contained a quatrain which might have been written by a Freudian of the second generation."

But the *Unconscious* in Laforgue is derived from Von Hartmann's *Philosophie des Unbewussten* and refers, not to the Freudian *subconscious*, but to the unconscious life-force that moves the planets as well as man and created, by accident one day, Intelligence. It is a philosophic conception,—not a pseudo-pathological explanation of human acts, as is Freud's *subconscious*. The Freudian misinterpretations of literature,—especially by popular critics who have reduced Freud to a few lewd banalities,—are confusing enough. If, in addition to all the "Freudian twaddle," critics are going to jumble up the Unconscious, the Subconscious, the Hyperconscious, the Conscious, etc., I modestly confess that I do not understand. But, perhaps, one is not expected to understand?

One of the strangest suggestions made in this Introduction is the identification of Laforgue's Hamlet with—of all men and of all potentates—with William II, the former Emperor of Germany! Imagine William II, afflicted, like Hamlet, with "that sixth sense," the sense of the Infinite!! Was Hamlet mad? No, but he would have turned mad by now, had he read all that critics wrote about him. Another

strange suggestion is that Laforgue's *Lohengrin* is "as complex as any hero conceived in the complex brain of a Freudian of the second generation" and that it is possible "to read about the bridal night Lohengrin spent with his Elsa, and to become convinced that he was one of those young gentlemen who used to be given two years in Reading Gaol, but who are now given literary prizes." This opinion betrays, I am afraid, an absolute misunderstanding of the intellectual nature of Laforgue's art, of his self-mockery, his self-caricature. His *Lohengrin* is auto-biographical, but it depicts, in a larger sense, the "eternally masculine" in conflict with the "eternally feminine." Woman is an incarnation of the unconscious life-force, and therefore biologically wiser than Man, who clumsily tries to *understand* intellectually what Woman knows instinctively. The translator should have been put on her guard about the intellectual origin and significance of this story by its concluding paragraph:

"Et c'est depuis lors, qu'à de pareilles nuits, des poètes célèbrent *froidement et inviolablement dans leur front* certaine petite fête de l'Assomption."

All of this precedes a "translation" which destroys the esthetic value of Laforgue's work and which denotes an insufficient knowledge of the French language. Not to seem partial, I select my examples only from the first three pages of *Hamlet:* "La mer est le Sund, aux flots sur qui on ne peut faire fonds . . ." becomes "The sea is the Sund, *with waves which belong among the other waves on which foundations cannot be built.*" Or, "L'assise de la tour . . . croupit au bord d'une anse stagnante" is rendered as "The seat of the tower . . . *is a certain geological stratum that stagnates on the bank of a stream which is as currentless as its banks.*"! What prevented the translator from writing simply: "The foundation of the tower . . . rotted away at the edge of a stagnant creek" (pp. 139–140)? *Crapauds* is translated twice as *frogs*, instead of *toads* (pp. 140–141), a mistake which has a sad effect upon the imagery.

When a sentence is somewhat long or complex, the translator simply cuts it up into several sentences and adds some explanatory (?) fillings of her own (e.g., pp. 140–141), without any consideration for the harmonic construction of Laforgue's style. Laforgue describes, thus, the stagnant water:

"Cataplasmée ça et là de groupes de feuilles plates en forme de cœur autour de rudimentaires tulipes jaunes, hérissée ça et là de maigres bouquets de jonc fleuris de frêles ombrelles semblables, entre parenthèses, à la fleur de la carotte dans nos climats." The translator says: "*And its complexion* (of the water) *has not been improved* by the poulticing of flat heart-shaped leaves grouped around rudimentary yellow tulips, or *hidden under the shadows cast by* the sparse bouquets of flowering rushes *which grow* here and there like sunshades of *white lace*—and which, *in the polite privacy of parentheses, look very elegant in that latitude, but which are nothing more than* the blossoms of *perfectly ordinary* carrots *when we see them* in our own latitude" (p. 141).

This "translation," filled with weak verbiage of which there is no trace in Laforgue's text, is more than twice as long as the original. It is strange to see that the words "entre parenthèses," which mean "by the way," have been applied by the translator to the rushes which, "*in the polite privacy of parentheses, look very elegant*"!

Describing the same slimy and stagnant water, Jules Laforgue uses a striking image: "la maladie de peau de ce coin d'eau mure," which the translator renders lamely and unesthetically as "the unfortunate complexion of water" (p. 140). Some of these "translations" are memorable enough to go down to posterity. Laforgue speaks of "les petites gens . . . vivant de cancans de clochers," which

means, of course,—"living on small-town gossip." This is here translated as "*living lives that were cancans dangling in a belfry*" (p. 176). Or, again, Laforgue's Hamlet complains that Ophelia would end by committing suicide: "Elle devait finir par là, ayant puisé sans méthode dans ma bibliothèque," which evidently means "having borrowed without method (books) from my library." Hamlet wanted to stress the evil effects of haphazard culture upon the feminine mind. This is translated by Miss Newman as "She had to end like that, *after she soaked herself so aimlessly in my library*" (p. 179).

I refrain from quoting more. The whole "translation" is done with the same skill. Every one of the 292 pp. contains half a dozen serious errors: "Une tirade de résistance" (p. 149) is rendered as a "tirade about heroic resistance," whereas any dictionary would have given the equivalent as "principal" or "main" speech. "Si les temps étaient plus propres!" is translated as "If the times were only tidier" (p. 156), instead of "more suitable" or "more favorable," etc., etc. Sometimes passages from Laforgue are omitted without apparent reason, as, for instance, "Moi, si j'étais jeune fille . . ." etc. (p. 5 of éd. Vanier, 1894). Did the translator find them too difficult?

It was indeed an act of daring to attempt to translate Jules Laforgue's very idiomatic and very artistic prose without linguistic preparation,—and an act of daring of the publishers to bring out such a "translation" without competent supervision. And as to Laforgue's fame in America . . . "Alas! Poor Yorick!" . . .

Jacques de Lacretelle, *Histoire de Paola Ferrani*, Paris, Flammarion, 1929, 226 pp.

This volume is chiefly remarkable as another sign of the strange spell Stendhal still exerts upon the recent generation of self-analytical novelists. From his "clandestine celebrity,"—to which M. Bussière referred, not long after his death, in the already respectable *Revue des Deux Mondes*,—and through the revelations of his talent by Taine and P. Bourget, his influence increased to a cult, *Beylisme*, that went to swell for a while the current of Nietzscheist *Culture du Moi* of pre-war intellectuals. But to the recent generation he appears again in another light: He is to them less a philosophic leader than a bitter and precise, a cool and yet vibrating analyst of Consciousness and all its infinite fluctuations.

And, indeed, it is possible to view Stendhal from several sides. He is multiple and complex to the point of escaping classification and pigeon-holing. Bourget saw in him one of the sponsors of "nineteenth century pessimism,"—and yet he exalted the vigorous and unscrupulous Italians of the Renaissance. Jules Lemaître represented him as "paralysed by progressive analysis" (à la Amiel!),—and yet who fought a braver battle to the very end against life and its inherent injustice than Stendhal? I have read articles stressing his Classicism; he has been called "a psychologist of the school of Racine,"—and yet he praised Shakespeare above Racine, and Baudelaire derived his conception of Romanticism directly from him. No wonder, then, that others consider him as a *Romantique pur sang*, afflicted with Romantic amoralism and irony,—and yet he held that to be a perspicacious philosopher and an analytic novelist one should be as "dry" as Immanuel Kant or as a practising prohibitionist, and without consoling illusions. Without illusions? But who ever harbored as many illusions about himself as that fat "notary," Beyle-Stendhal,—defeated in life and love, but in his dreams a triumphator who rode magnificently through a festive existence and was secretly one with the heroes he admired?

From 1880 on each generation seems to find itself mirrored in his complex work,

and to discover some part of its tendencies in his contradictory personality. Zola claimed him as an ancestor of his Naturalism and Bourget as a precursor of the psychological novel. Dostoiewsky drew a Russian Julien Sorel in the character of Raskolnilikow, in *Crime and Punishment;* and the cosmopolitan *dilettanti*, like Anatole France, found in him justification for their insatiable and wandering curiosity. One can argue that Proust is but a combination of Stendhalian analysis with the estheticism of a Montesquiou-Fézensac. . . . And in each generation there are those who have seen Italy "with the eyes of Stendhal."

Jacques de Lacretelle is one of them. In his *Histoire de Paola Ferrani* one rediscovers the attitudes of that ecstatic promenader among souls and cities: "Les paysages étaient comme un archet qui jouait sur mon âme" . . . J. de Lacretelle has also collected some rare and passionate souls; and he is practising that "lucidity," which some of the younger novelists oppose to the instinctive, spontaneous, "subconscious" writing of the *Surréalistes*. One of his stories, *En Marge d'"Armance,"* is intentionally a pastiche of Stendhal, an explanatory chapter to be added to this novel. The author of *Silbermann* and of *La Vie inquiète de Jean Hermelin* has brought with this volume new evidence of his Stendhalian qualities,—analysis, amoralism, restraint of style,—which were already evident in his earlier studies of adolescent and Jewish psychology.

G. L. van Roosbroeck

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## Italian Book Notes

Massimo Bontempelli, *Il Neosofista e altri scritti*, Milan, Mondadori, 1929, pp. 272 (L. 12).

It appears that Bontempelli had a banner year in 1929, for, aside from producing a play (*La guardia alla luna*), publishing another (*Minnie la candida*), winning the Publishers' Prize for the best novel of the season (*Il figlio di due madri*), he found time, among other things, to put out in book form his journalistic contributions of 1920–1922. In the present volume the first part, *Il Neosofista*, is devoted to the discussion of problems that intellectuals had to face in post-war Italy,—problems which in a very indirect way predicted the advent of a strong government such as is exemplified by Fascism. In the second part of the book he offers philosophical travelogues in and about the Mediterranean (*Lettere da due mari*) and a trip to Austria Hungary (*Visita ai vinti*). In the preface the author states that at last he has succeeded in writing a "boring book," and were it not for his bizarre style and suppleness of thought (via sophistication and paradox) we should agree with him that it is certainly, in part, "un libro noioso," his auto-accusation.

Nicola Evreinov, *Il teatro nella vita*, with preface by Silvio D'Amico and translation under care of Teatrangolo, Milan, "Alpes," 1929, pp. 296 (L. 12).

Mr. Evreinov, the Russian playwright, offers here a light dissertation on the theatre interpreted in terms of life: everywhere about us, even in the animal kingdom, where there is organic life there is drama,—the mouse plays dead and the cat plays the indifferent, the cock-of-the-rock bird dances for his feathered audience, dogs at play give each other chase as after wild beasts, etc. Mr. Evreinov goes on to say that the theatre did not exactly have its origin in the days of the Greek *coryphaei*s but that it has existed always. In three hundred odd pages the author give, numerous observations to prove his premises. We venture to say, however, that in

the end it is Mr. Evreinov who is chiefly convinced and the reader merely grateful for the many interesting observations. We note with relief that the Italian edition of this work has excluded the lengthy chapter "In the Commission of Experts" (*Theatre in Life*, New York, 1927) contained in the English edition. It is a chapter with far-fetched discussions and strained repartee in which Mr. Evreinov plays the principal rôle among the experts, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Schopenhauer, Wilde, to mention a few. The Italian edition is to be commended for excluding such and other poorly chosen material found in the English text.

Alessandro Varaldo, *Il cavaliere errante*, Milan, Mondadori, 1930, pp. 402 (L. 12).

Italy of the tenth century is the background to this tale of chivalry. The author has been successful in imparting to this story a melancholy tone of a distant epoch when a cavalier's profession was war and wandering. Reproduced before us is that haunting horizon of dark towers and churches, of violent warriors and saintly men. The novel has an undertone of historicity depicting the Italy of that period when, in addition to internal discord, she struggled against foreign dominion.

Arnaldo Fraccaroli, *Peccato biondo*, Milan, Treves, 1929, pp. 213 (L. 11).

Fraccaroli's literary star is on the wane of late not in quantity of production but in quality. His recent books such as *America*, *A Girl's Paradise*, and *Hollywood* are impossible from the point of view of his observations on America, which, if not distorted, are either superficial or ill-chosen. To his last half dozen books of slight literary value he has added recently this play, *Peccato biondo*, which would be no departure from the rest were it not for its chatty dialogue and cursory plot. The play, among other things, contains a thin slice of sentimentality. This "blond sin" turns out to be a sentimental wife who leaves her husband to teach him a moral lesson, in consequence of which he falls in love with her all over again. The play, with its urban intrigue, because of its caricature and burlesque character, falls somewhat under the series of "grotesques" of which Chiarelli is the chief exponent.

O. A. Bontempo

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## French Book Notes

Jean Dorsenne, *Les Filles de Volupté*, Paris, Lemerre, 1929, 225 pp.

In this book the romance of the South Sea islands is finally coming to its end. Since Melville and Loti and Gauguin's *Noa-Noa*, so many White Shadows have flitted along these golden beaches, encircled by deep blue seas, in quest of a perfumed paradise of primitive happiness! And they have brought us books, *Le Mariage de Loti*, and paintings like Gauguin's, in which Tahitian women dream with deep eyes of mystery, unfathomable in the shadow of their garlands of red roses with their poignant perfume. . . . But they saw these islands and these strangely beautiful women, only with the eyes of their desire; and—since they were artists,—they wove around them the legend of their unspoiled spontaneity, of their goddess-like abandon to the rythms of life. Jean Dorsenne has met Loti's queenly Rarahu, that rarest flower among Tahitian beauties,—now a withered hag puffing away at dried leaves. She has told him her remembrances, among which Loti occupies but a very inconspicuous place. The sad International Lover never saw reality, never understood Tahitian beauties—or any other. In fact, it is doubtful whether he ever perceived clearly anything, or cared for anybody, except for that singularly feminine and feline comedian of dreams

—Pierre Loti and his "beautiful soul." His touching love-stories were faked. Practical Rarahu had been warned that the white "popaa" wanted love spiced with mystery, romance, moonlight beaches, primitive dances and primitive fears, superstitions, inexpressible melancholy and passionate jealousy. And, against due payment, she concocted the brand he yearned for. While getting clothing, a house, presents for her other lovers, she dispensed—with unmistakable talent,—primitive illusions to sensitive whites. For, Jean Dorsenne assures us, the real Tahitian, if natural, is as callous, sensuous, empty, insincere, calculating, greedy, petty, vain and mendacious as any among the civilized ladies of this earth. How much literature, how much Chateaubriand, how much borrowed attitude and natural pose did not go into the transformation of the egoist Loti into the Wandering Jew of all romantic loves? But, who can really care whether this unconscious comedian was met by actresses as glibly familiar with their rôle as he himself? Who does care,—"pourvu que le geste soit beau"?

Edmond Rostand, *The last Night of Don Juan . . . translated by T. Lawrason Riggs. With an Introduction by William Lyon Phelps*, Kahoe and Co., Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1929, vi+124 pp.

With rather characteristic exaggeration, William Lyon Phelps acclaims here again Edmond Rostand as "the greatest dramatic poet since Goethe." He demonstrates that Rostand's "masterpieces" exhibit to a supreme degree the three qualities which Goethe prescribed for "a masterpiece that shall hold the stage,"—human interest, ideality and humour. Now, Rostand was "a theatrical craftsman, he was a poet, he was a humorist," and, therefore, he lived up to the Goethian pattern of genius. . . . The demonstration is neat, quick and conclusive as that of a theorem,—though eminently refutable. But all "refutations" are futile in the realm of esthetic preference: they mainly serve to bring out either the psychological differences between two critics, —or a different kind of *parti-pris*. . . . This translation of *The last Night of Don Juan* is meritorious, and should render great service to those to whom the original—with its somewhat turbulent and flashy style,—still offers difficulties. The play was acted in English at the Greenwich Village Theatre during the 1925–26 season.

H. G. Martin, *Fénelon en Hollande*, Amsterdam, H. G. Paris, 1928, viii+230 pp.

This study of Fénelon's influence in Holland is an addition to the history of the European diffusion of his work, which has not been exhaustively investigated. In 1910 G. Maugin published his *Documenti bibliografici per la storia della fortuna del Fénelon in Italia;* in 1917, A. Cherel investigated his influence upon the French XVIIIth century in *Fénelon au XVIII^e Siècle en France;* and in 1926, A. Eckhardt published a *Télémaque en Hongrie* (Rev. des Et. hongroises). It is evident, however, that in order to complete the picture of Fénelon's wide-spread and international fame, other precise studies of the same nature should be undertaken for other countries. His works were "European" books, and after decades of increasing popularity some of them became class-texts, in use until recent times. In Holland he was with Boileau and Lafontaine, the most widely read of the authors of the "Grand Siècle"; and the popularity of an author in eighteenth century Holland is always significant since this country was the clearing house of international literature,—a distribution point through which the Germanic "hinterland" was reached.

The *Télémaque*, a book forbidden in France and which dared to criticize the weaknesses of the domineering *Roi Soleil*, was naturally welcome in Holland, the asylum of persecuted authors and censured writings. The French text was issued

there in at least forty-two editions during the eighteenth century, and the several Dutch translations were reprinted at least nine times. It influenced deeply certain Dutch works, such as the *Friso* by Willem Van Haren, or *Het Huwelijk van Telemachus en Antiope in Ithaca*, a comedy by J. Le Francq van Berkhey. Fenelon's *Education des Filles* had a double bearing upon educational theory and upon Feminism. For this reason Dr. Martin has added to his book a brief sketch of the work of certain Dutch feminists, of which the best known is Anna-Maria van Schurman's *De ingenii muliebris ad doctrinam et meliores litteras aptitudine*, 1641. In this discussion, Dr. Martin refers to a Dutch pamphlet of 1779, *Bewijs dat Vrouwen geen Menschen zijn* (*Proof that Women are no human Beings*), which he believes to be a Dutch work of the eighteenth century. It is, however, merely a translation or a shortened popular version of Acidalius' *Disputatio perjucunda, qua anonymus probare nititur mulieres homines non esse; cui opposita est Simonis Gedicii defensio sexus muliebris, qua singula anonymi argumenta enervantur*, of which there appeared an edition at The Hague in 1644. It was revived in the eighteenth century: In 1744, de Querlon's French translation was printed in Amsterdam with the title, *Problème sur les Femmes;* a few years later, Charles Clapiés gave a new French version, *Paradoxes sur les Femmes où l'on tache de prouver qu'elles ne sont pas de l'espèce humaine*, 1767. The Dutch pamphlet of 1779 goes back, probably, upon one of the French versions of this well-known "jeu d'esprit."

After having surveyed early Dutch opinions on education, Dr. Martin comes to the conclusion that Fénelon's pedagogical work had little or no direct influence upon them, possibly because it entered into conflict with the Protestant spirit of the country. Much in the same way Fénelon's Quietism could have but a limited appeal in a country where a number of Protestant sects were preaching similar doctrines. Yet his *Démonstration de l'existence de Dieu* proved a very successful apologetic treatise: three French and three Dutch editions appeared in sixteen years. But, perhaps more than any of his works, it was the character of Fénelon that became a power for the propaganda of his ideas: he grew to be the symbol of the generous, tolerant and pure-minded priest,—a Man after the Savior's example,—persecuted by unchristian Catholics and a victim of the stern and dogmatic Bossuet. Dr. Martin's study is well poised and does not lay any claim for direct influences there where only parallel currents of thought entered into a momentary contact or combination. An American student has undertaken a study on *Fénelon in England*, which should help to complete the history of his role in the Philosophic century.

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Edmond Sée, *Le Théâtre français contemporain*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1928, 204 pp.

*Le Théâtre français contemporain* is conveniently divided into three "livres": "La vérité au théâtre; le théâtre français de 1894 à 1914; le théâtre de guerre et le théâtre d'après la guerre." E. Sée eulogizes Henry Becque and calls him "le chef de la Grande Ecole Humaine." This is a very far reaching and all embracing statement, for it seems that Becque is simply exact and honest in his realism as shown in *Les Corbeaux*. This title of "chef" might be claimed for many of the great French dramatists. Sée's analyses on the "Comédie Psychologique" include fine descriptions of Porto-Riche, Lavedan, Brieux, Bataille, Lemaître and many other lesser lights. François de Curel is splendidly portrayed in the "théâtre d'idées." Here we find *résumés* of the important plays which help in the comprehension of his psychological development. Among the symbolists, Claudel, Maeterlinck, Dujardin are well described. H. R. Lenormand, a master psychologist and symbolist, analyzes

"les réactions sentimentales, morales, physiologiques de ses personnages, contraints de lutter contre eux-mêmes et contre des puissances plus fortes que leur volonté. Et l'on pourrait qualifier *Le Simoun* de tragédie climatérique." Jules Romains, the chief of the Unanimist school, is handled too hastily and scantily. *Knock, ou le Triomphe de la médecine* and *Le Dictateur* certainly deserve much better treatment and exposition. Sée should have given *résumés* of both these plays because the former shows some splendid "Molièresque" qualities and the latter shows a deep study of the Will-to-Power permeated with Romains' philosophy of "Unanimisme." In the "*Dictateur*" he accomplished the creation of a masterful character.

G. L. van Roosbroeck, *Alzirette:* An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's *Alzire*, 75 pp.; and *L'Empirique*, An Unpublished Parody of Voltaire's *Mahomet*, Institute of French Studies, New York, 1929, 77 pp.

When, in 1924, Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck published his study on *Chapelain Décoiffé: A Battle of Parodies*, he opened up to scholarly investigation a field that had been long neglected, that of theatrical parody in France. His work has expanded into a bibliography that will contain over seven hundred titles for the eighteenth century alone.

The critical studies on *Alzirette* and *L'Empirique* he has now published, are but two of some fifty odd parodies on Voltaire, few of which have been printed. Professor van Roosbroeck's introductions, developed in his usual erudite and inimitable fashion, are replete with valuable information. Names and works strike an unfamiliar note, and reveal an unknown field of letters: Carolet, Panard, Fuselier, Pontau, Parmentier, Montigny, and many others far too numerous to set forth. They illustrate the history of the "Théâtre de la Foire,"—a light, humorous, fantastic, though ironical milieu.

The vast amount of new material to which Professor van Roosbroeck has drawn attention is perhaps too much for one man to develop. Therefore, he has placed within the reach of a research group of which he is the leader, the opportunity to study these unpublished plays. As a result monographs on the Parody as a genre, or on Carolet, Favart, Fuselier, or studies on the evolution of the opera-libretto, as well as on such librettists as P. C. Roy, have been announced for publication. These investigations of a large amount of manuscript material, this reconstruction of the history of a genre that has a bearing upon all the great figures of the eighteenth century, will prove to be of major interest for literary history.

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Carlton J. H. Hayes, *France, a Nation of Patriots*, N. Y., Columbia University Press, 1930, x + 488 pp.

To the layman France is Paris with its gayety and song; to the student, France is the nation which inspired the world with the ideas emanating from the French Revolution. It is the nation which produced a military genius who dreamed of a world empire; it is the nation which has experimented with almost every conceivable form of government; finally, it is one of the nations which bore the greatest brunt of the late war and which, surprisingly enough, has almost completed its period of convalescence.

Today, the eyes of the world are turned on France. Since the war, it has gained more prestige, more influence, and power than ever before. Everywhere men are searching for a new panacea for a perpetual peace, and by some students France is regarded as holding a very powerful, strategic position in this movement. Perhaps the lessons of the war may not be taught in vain.

Professor Hayes, a scholar excellently versed in the problems of nationalism and a guide to many who seek a way for international harmony, has delved especially into the national psychology of the French people. He has examined closely the practical operations of those institutions which shape public opinion. To him, all Frenchmen, no matter what their political inclinations may be, are above all patriotic. But their patriotism is not the sort that plays the raucous tunes of imperialism, jingoism and nationalism "par excellence." He attributes their love for France to two main influences,—traditionalism and Jacobinism. In a measure, the lively air of de Lisles' *Marseillaise* sums up excellently the very essence of Jacobinism. Yet, in the eyes of every Frenchman—nationalist or internationalist—both these influences have their emotional values.

It may be said that this book is a very valuable and practical supplement to the tenets expressed by the author in his *Essays of Nationalism*, a work published a few years ago. The first chapter contains a brief, brilliant analysis of the French nationality. It may best be summed up in the words of the author: "French nationalism is the product of historical human cultural forces; it rests on tradition of politics, religion, languages, war, invasion, conquest, economics, and society." In this sweeping sentence, Professor Hayes really strikes the very core of nationalism as existent in every nation throughout the world.

In the following chapters particular stress is laid on the various agencies of social control in France: the Church, the Press, the School and other related educational institutions are each given a special chapter. There is much valuable material of importance to layman, student, and specialist. The study of the press reveals facts little known both to the French and the American public. It is of service to those who seek an understanding of French editorial opinion on international affairs.

In the last chapter Professor Hayes very emphatically stresses the tendency of the French people to regard their nationalism as an inheritance from the Jacobinistic ideals of 1789 and as a rightful step towards, and not away from, internationalism, for to the French, France is the "mother of internationalism." That is why the French government does not fear to put "patriotic" textbooks in use in public schools. The appendices contain an excellent digest of the texts in history for the rising generation.

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## Rumanian Book Notes

N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești, Introducere sintetică după note stenografice ale unui curs*, București, Editura Librăriei Pavel Suru, 1929, 206 pp.

Professor Nicolae Iorga publishes the stenographic notes of his Synthetic Introduction to the History of Rumanian Literature, a course of lectures delivered at the University of Bucharest. The result is not only a fascinating panorama of Rumanian history, language and letters, but also a very keen criticism of some extraneous influences. For, above all, it is the soul of the nation which must be revealed in its literature. Thus, he concedes the fact:

"I have not the intention to state what is very often said, that the nation's soul can be expressed only in the national language; this would be absolutely erroneous; you can write in Rumanian with an altogether foreign orientation and you can write in a foreign language with the greatest, the truest, and the most complex Rumanian soul."

This Rumanian soul is what Professor Iorga seeks in the epochs which he revives with such mastery, and in the works of the authors whom he knows so intimately.

"One wrote sometimes in our country in Latin and Greek, and later in French; but nothing was changed by this in the soul of those who wrote."

On the other hand, Vasile Alecsandri (1819–1890), who is considered as the first to introduce, and knowingly, the popular in his verse, has not Professor Iorga's endorsement:

"Because there is something in Alecsandri from a distant Levantine wind, of the Bosphorus shores, there is something of an Athanasios Christopoulos;[1] it is not sufficiently observed, but it exists."

The full expression of the Rumanian soul is to be found only in Mihail Eminescu (1850–1889):

"This is why the possibilities of Eminescu are infinite. What we admire and what will be admired as long as Rumanian will be spoken, as long as the accents of this sacred language will be on the lips of a live man, is the penetration of all these elements in the most vast synthesis made by the soul of a Rumanian. Yet all we have from Eminescu are the fragments of a genius hindered from giving the full measure of his immense possibilities."

These are but a few instances illustrating the master's attitude and method. The course in itself is a monument of erudition. Beginning with the creation of the literary language and continuing through its manifold aspects, from the first foreign background and the quest for native subjects, giving attention to the religious literature, analyzing the individualistic literature of the second half of the seventeenth century, taking up the scholars, chroniclers and writers of memoirs, the decadence of the ancient character and translations from the Greek church books, reaching the philosophic principles and Western poetic fashions, approaching autochthonous currents to borrowed romanticism, applying the French to Rumanian subjects, studying the return of the old Rumanian foundation, of the local spirit, and, finally, the new orientation of the young since 1900,—Professor Iorga distills the quintessence of Rumaniandom in his course which is but of an introductory nature.

It is interesting to note the attitude of the editor of *Sămănătorul* (The Sower) and leader of that movement which for a whole period ruled the realm of letters in Rumania. Speaking of his own literary school, Professor Iorga says that it was: "a general Rumanian current." And it advised:

"Receive your inspiration from Western literatures, from classic literatures, but do not become the slaves of the literatures of the passing moment."

Mihail Sadoveanu, *Zodia Cancerului, sau Vremea Ducăi-Vodă, Roman*, Bucureşti, Editura "Naţionala" S. Ciornei, 1929, 2 vols., 240 and 242 pp.

This is an historical novel. The action takes place around the year 1679. Prince Alecu Ruset is the hero. He is the unfortunate son of the deposed Antonie-Vodă of Moldavia. He falls in love with Princess Catrina, daughter of Duca-Vodă, the shrewd and cruel ruler who hates the scion of his predecessor. Prince Alecu Ruset follows Princess Catrina from Moldavia to distant Constantinople and returns to meet death at the hands of her father.

The meager outline of the plot cannot convey the world of living characters in these powerful pages, the gorgeous descriptions of ancient Moldavia and Stamboul. Father Paul de Marenne, a French traveler and guest of both Moldavian and Turkish courts, adds an unusual charm to the society of the epoch. This subtle Westerner and the multitude of natives give, each in turn, color and movement to the narrative.

[1] Neo-Greek poet (1772–1847).

One cannot resist quoting at least once. Here is a portrait of that legendary and feared Sultan Mohammed:

"The great ruler received him with a smile on his face, tired and of a dull whiteness. Sultan Mohammed was then forty years old and had a kind look. Nothing of the cruelty of his ancestors burned in his gaze. He had his mother's blue eyes,—she had been a slave kidnapped in her childhood from Russia and brought to the seraglio by Crimean Tartars."

Mihail Sadoveanu's new historical novel reminds one of the best that has been written in the *genre*. It is to be regretted that no translation will ever render the packed beauty of his language which transforms the chapters into as many cantos of a winged epopee.

Perpessicius, *Menţiuni Critice, Seria I-a*, Bucureşti, Editura Literară a Casei Şcoalelor, 1928, 376 pp.

Perpessicius (Professor Dimitrie Panaitescu's *nom de plume*) is a poet and critic of note. In this volume he gathers his articles which appeared during the last few years in various publications.

Perpessicius has an honest and often kindly attitude towards all forms of literary expression. His modesty prompts him to state:

"Because he is above all of a subjective temperament the author of this book wishes to see in this collection of literary chronicles, first a series of testimonies by a reader more or less up-to-date with the contemporary literary production of Rumania. He persistently keeps from considering himself a critic, because he does not find any didactic qualities within himself, nor a certain dogmatism, without which, it seems, there can be no critic."

Granted their timeliness and immediate scope, many of the items contain, nevertheless, a permanent element: it is the sincerity with which he interprets the traditional as well as the new and the experimental. It is with real delight that one reads these very attractive and instructive criticisms of this well-versed authority in the field of contemporary Rumanian literature.

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## Romance Language Class-Texts

M. Romera-Navarro, *Historia de la Literatura Española*, Boston, Heath & Co., 1928, 701 pp.

Histories of Spanish literature have frequently tended to become catalogues—interesting and valuable, no doubt,—but wrestling in vain with multitudinous fact and forever accumulating detail. Such books readily become expanded into voluminous "tablas cronológicas" as it were, all bristling with dates. Others again have discarded such scientific paraphernalia, and have attempted to replace literary history by some "páginas escogidas"—usually selected with all the taste that their predecessors had decreed for them.

Between the arid cliffs of the specialist on the one hand and the flowery marshland of the dilettante on the other Romera-Navarro here attempts to steer a middle course. No doubt, warnings will be sounded from both the sides he avoided. To the professional, this history may well seem too "peptonized" for easy digestion. The outlines of plots and select passages culled from outstanding authors may well seem a sacrilegious diversion to the seriousness of literary history, and a hindrance to

the reading of the originals. On the other hand, the amiable dilettanti may well feel their enthusiasm cooled by a few dozen scholarly references at the end of the chapters and a lack of superlatives in the text.

Yet the plan of Romera-Navarro should not be rejected *a priori*. Our mental habits run along the lines on which the book was planned. When one keeps in mind the needs of the student, and particularly of the American student, he will find the survey eminently suited for his special requirements. It combines quite exacting scholarship, attempts to incorporate the accepted results of more recent investigation, and presents opinions quite unbiased.

From a scholarly point of view, and according to one's personal preferences, one could require the author to stress one or another aspect. I personally should have preferred a greater precision in, and a more personal interpretation of, some of the accepted generalities that he guardedly repeats. For example, he could have discussed the *Mocedades del Cid* of Guillén de Castro from the point of view of the evolution of the character through history, legend and literature. In suggesting (p. 363) that the leper episode is introduced, in spite of its irrelevance in the plot, in order to "realzar bellamente el carácter del protagonista," he could have added that Guillén de Castro was following the well-established tradition of the *romances*, and was not guided only by aesthetic or psychological considerations. Similarly, the numerous recent articles on the *Abencerraje* story, especially those by Mérimée in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, disprove the statement that the "única versión conocida es la *Historia del Abencerraje* . . . que se halla en el *Inventario* (1565) de Antonio de Villegas" and the insertion in the *Diana* of Montemayor. Other and earlier versions are known in novel form as well as in ballads. One might also regret the unsympathetic attitude towards the more complex and inaccessible masterpieces of Góngora, as well as the repetition of the error that the work of the *Cisne* is neatly divided into two parts, the simple and the obscure; that the first part is the height of excellence of all Spanish lyrics; and the second the curse of mad poetasters. It is all the more astonishing to find this theory still upheld since one of the very critics who most emphatically refuted it—Miguel Artigas—is included in the bibliography of the chapter. However, on the whole, Romera-Navarro's guardedness of too personal views is to be commended.

Yet, there is one question of principle on which one may disagree without running the risk of stressing one's own prejudices, interests or specialties over much. It is the too coldly reserved attitude towards modern literature, which he shares with other literary historians. Romera-Navarro here evinces a great hesitancy, and speaks far more vaguely of the recent authors, justifying his attitude by declaring that the ultimate judgment on modern works has not yet been passed, and that we have not yet the perspective necessary to appraise these works at their value. One is inclined to suspect that this timidity is caused either by lack of example from which to glean opinions, or else through an unsympathetic attitude toward newer forms and innovations. Yet it is less easy to understand Romera-Navarro's hesitant attitude since he wrote his doctoral dissertation on Unamuno, and has shown a wide understanding of modern Spanish literature. Perhaps he allowed himself to be guided too closely by precedent, and feared to enter a field in which his personal views would of necessity have to play a more aggressive role. It is to be hoped that in the second edition of this work he will embody more affirmatively his views on the recent literature of Spain, and will not wait too patiently for the "Spirit of the Ages" to make a judicial decision as to the future hall of fame.

This volume is a valuable asset for survey classes. There exists no other literary history so practical, and in the main so accurate, and none which is so constructed as

to bear always in mind the needs of the beginning student and the uninitiated. It guides them to the more accessible sources for further study; it presents a picture of Spanish literature that is, at the same time, full and animated, documented and readable. And that alone is an achievement.

T. B. Rudmose-Brown, *A Book of French Verse. From Hugo to Larbaud.* Oxford University Press, 1928, xxiv + 128 pp.

Besides an excellent selection from modern verse this booklet furnishes an introduction about *The Structure of French Verse*, which will go far in elucidating French so-called "free verse" to the student. Professor Rudmose-Brown studies briefly the metrical tendencies of recent poetry,—but objectively, and without being drawn into the numerous battles which the progressive "renewal of form" of the last half century still stirs up. Paul Claudel, Paul Valéry, Lautréamont, Paul Morand and Jules Supervielle are not represented in this Anthology, because their work is "too difficult or otherwise unsuitable for school use"—but Rimbaud, Mallarmé, de Gourmont, Verhaeren, G. Apollinaire, Valéry Larbaud are quite adequately represented. In general, a stimulating booklet which will render service in the teaching of the modern poetry of France—a knowledge of which is so fundamental for the understanding of modern poetry in general.

Joseph W. Barlow, *Fundamentals of Spanish*, N. Y., Knopf, 1929, xiii + 272 pp.

This book will undoubtedly have the success it deserves. It offers several novel features which make it a valuable asset in the teaching of grammar and composition. The Spanish, natural and idiomatic from the start, never becomes too difficult to bridge the gap between the native tongue of the student and the language he wants to acquire. In this respect it improves considerably upon the artificial and hypothetical sentences so frequently piled up only to exemplify grammar rules and exceptions. Each lesson centers around some story or anecdote; some present a lively sketch of intimate domestic life—the *patio*, the servants, etc.; others again depict the popular customs—the bullfight, the sale of lottery tickets, the café, etc.; whereas the more advanced lessons retell episodes from the masterpieces: the flogging of Andrés by his master, Juan Haldudo el Rico, in *Don Quijote*, the snake episode in *Lazarillo*, a summary of the *Abencerraje*, of *El Trovador*, etc. This wide variety of subjects—customs, history and literature—offers, within its small compass, a vista of Spanish culture and civilization. At last an elementary grammar has dared to deviate from the dogma that its material should be simplistic, not to say infantile. This book presents reading matter stimulating enough in subject to cater to the intellectual interests of high school and college students, without discouraging them with insuperable linguistic difficulties.

But the fact that a good deal of stress is laid on the subject matter does not prevent the principles of grammar from being expounded with rare thoroughness. The rules are simplified and the student is repeatedly drilled in them—so repeatedly in fact, that under the guidance of a good teacher, the essentials of the language will unavoidably be mastered even by the most recalcitrant. The review lessons do not merely afford a mechanical repetition of these points of grammar—they are built around a new story in which the student reapplies the same principles from a different angle. The suggestive illustrations also form an integral part of the work. With them before his eyes, the student can develop his aptitude for free composition and thus gauge his own accomplishments in the language. The value of this grammar is further enhanced by the introductory lessons on pronunciation which, from the start,

bring the student in contact with the sound of the living language and prepares him early for classes where Spanish only is used.

This volume will especially interest teachers as a grammar which embodies the more recent contributions of pedagogy, and which nevertheless does not abandon the solid foundations laid by the teaching experience of many years. Its merit consists in the fact that it is novel without breaking away from tradition and without sacrificing to "fads"; that it combines the best features of direct method teaching, with that of literary reading, as well as with solid drill in fundamentals.

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E. Estaunié. *Tels qu'ils furent*. Edited by F. Ernst and H. Harvitt, D. C. Heath & Co., 289 pp.

It is not easy to find a contemporary French novel suitable for use as a text in High School and the first years of College. Either the subject is improper for any but the advanced class-room, as in the novels of Mauriac and Martin du Gard, or the involved manner of writing makes translation too difficult, as with Giraudoux and Proust. If the book is not ruled out for one of these reasons it is apt to be as completely undistinguished as the fiction of Henri Bordeaux.

The editors have shown good judgment in their choice of *Tels qu'ils furent*. There is nothing in the text that could shock the most sensitive. The style is on the whole sober and straightforward, with enough variety of structure and breadth of vocabulary to be profitable: and when difficulties do occur, whether they concern grammatical construction or historical allusion, they are thoroughly explained in the notes. Finally, the novel itself is not trivial. While there are a number of French novelists today more original and perhaps more interesting in form, more acute in analysis of character, there is none who writes with greater integrity than Estaunié. *Tels qu'ils furent*, moreover, as the editors point out in their preface, should be interesting to the student not only as a piece of fiction but as a mirror of French life in the 1860's and 70's.

Prof. Ernst and Miss Harvitt have shown the same tact in their editing as in their choice of a text. Their introduction contains none of the absurdly extravagant statements, more suggestive of publishers "blurbs" than of serious criticism, with which editors sometimes feel compelled to introduce their offerings. Its review of Estaunié's literary career is a piece of genuine constructive interpretation; the abridgment of the text is unobtrusive: the notes and exercises have been competently managed. The only thing one could wish improved is the quality of the illustrations which are even worse than those of the average text-book, but for which, I am sure, the editors are not to blame.

S. ROGERS

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

## INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS

ON November 23d, 1929, under the auspices of the Instituto, the Intercollegiate Alliance of Spanish Clubs of New York City gave an entertainment and dance at the Casa Italiana as a contribution to the scholarship to be awarded by the Instituto for the Summer of 1930 to the best student of Spanish in the colleges of New York City. The recipient of the scholarship will be a member of the Instituto's tour, conducted by Professor William M. Barlow, and will be able to attend, as in

the past, the Summer Session of the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid.—Professor E. Allison Peers of the University of Liverpool, Visiting Professor of Comparative Literature at Columbia University and official lecturer of the Instituto for the current academic year, gave, during November, 1929, a most interesting series of five lectures on "The Catalan Renaissance." The originality and learning of the distinguished English scholar aroused keen interest.—On Friday, December 13th, 1929, an evening of Spanish music was presented by the Instituto de las Españas' Chorus. On this occasion the chorus was ably assisted by Miss Mirrha Alhambra, musical director; Josefina Aguilar, soprano; Orpha Keen, soprano; Sra. de Barbazan and Sta. de Pereda, comédiennes; Soledad Rodriguez, dancer; Fernando Varela, tenor; Francisco Agea, pianist; Alberto de Lima, dancer; Nilo Menendez, pianist; Sres. Blanc and Buenaga, comedians; Leandro Fernandez, dancer; and the Rondalla Usandizaga.—On December 16th, 1929, an event of exceptional interest was the reception in honor of "La Argentina," the world famous dancer. The speakers of the evening were Dr. Ángel del Río, the painter and writer Gabriel García Maroto, the poet Federico García Lorca, and Professor Federico de Onís. The well known Rondalla Usandizaga contributed to the evening's enjoyment with selections from Falla, Granados and Albéñiz.—The annual luncheon of the General Executive Council of the Instituto took place in January, 1930, at the Faculty Club of Columbia University and was presided over by the Chairman, Professor de Onís, who announced the building of the Casa Hispánica.—The distinguished Chilean poetess and educator Gabriela Mistral has been appointed official lecturer of the Instituto for the year 1930–1931. Gabriela Mistral has been invited by Barnard College as Visiting Professor of Latin-American Literature for the academic year 1930–1931. Upon request she will also give, under the auspices of the Instituto, lectures in Universities and cultural centers. For the studies of Hispanic-American literature and culture, the visit of the Hispanic-American poetess will be of great value.—On Monday, February 10th, a reception was given in honor of Federico García Lorca, Spain's distinguished poet and dramatist, who delivered a lecture on "Tres modos de poesía."—On Friday, February 20th, Sr. Ignacio Sanchez Mejías, distinguished espada, novelist and playwright, delivered a lecture on "El Pase de la Muerte" (Entendimiento del Toreo).—Professor Catherine L. Haymaker of Adelphi College, as General Director of the Spanish Clubs, is affiliating with the Instituto all Spanish Clubs throughout the United States.—On Thursday, March 6th, at Town Hall, Andrés Segovia, the world famous Guitarist, gave the second recital for the endowment fund of the Instituto. The concert was held under the auspices of the Spanish Ambassador, Alejandro Padilla y Bell. During the intermission Hon. Ogden H. Hammond, former United States Ambassador to Spain, made a short address outlining the plans of the Instituto as a centre for the study of Spanish culture and to foster cultural relations between the United States and the Hispanic countries. Following the concert Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Sachs gave a reception at their home, 42 East 69th Street, for Andrés Segovia. The Marchesa Belmonte de la Vega Real was Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements. Among the patrons were: Mrs. Henry Martyn Alexander; Mrs. Barett Andrews; Mrs. Vincent Astor; Mrs. Samuel S. Auchincloss; Mrs. Hugh D. Auchincloss; Mrs. Stephen Birch; Mr. Lawrence Smith-Butler; Mrs. Nicholas Murray Butler; Mrs. Gordon Knox Bell; Mrs. Alexander Biddle; Mrs. James A. Burden; Miss Lucrezia Bori; Mrs. Juan M. Ceballos; Mrs. Elbridge Gerry Chadwick; Mrs. Harris R. Childs; Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram; Mrs. Richard M. Colgate; Mrs. George Eustis Corcoran; Mr. James B. Cushman; Mrs. Walter Damrosch; Mrs. Marius de Brabant; Lady

Duveen; Mrs. William B. Franklin; Mr. John A. Gade; Mrs. John A. Gade; Mr. James W. Gerard; Mrs. Charles E. Greenough; Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer; Mr. Ogden H. Hammond; Mrs. Ogden H. Hammond; Miss Malvina Hoffman; Mrs. Christian R. Holmes; Mrs. Henry R. Hoyt; Mrs. Herman Irion; Mrs. Otto H. Kahn; Mrs. Joseph J. Kerrigan; Mrs. Paul Kochanski; Mrs. Adolf Ladenburg; Mrs. Robert Malcom Littlejohn; Mr. Clarence H. Mackay; Mrs. Edward Purcell Mellon; Countess Mercati; Mrs. Clarence G. Michalis; Mrs. Charles E. Mitchell; Mrs. Victor Morawetz; Mrs. James B. Murphy; Mrs. Henry Fairfield Osborn; Mr. Percy Pyne, 2d; Mrs. Moses Taylor Pyne; Mrs. Gordon S. Rentschler; Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt; Mrs. Charles Cary Rumsey; Miss Marie Russell; Mrs. Arthur Ryle; Mrs. Arthur Sachs; Mrs. George B. Salisbury; Miss Louise Sands; Miss Antoinette E. Schulte; Mrs. Arthur H. Scribner; Mrs. Charles H. Sherrill; Mrs. Joyce Shonnard; Mrs. Frederick W. Steinway; Mrs. Theodore Steinway; Mrs. Bernard L. Tim; Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt; Mrs. Malcom Whitman; Miss Mary Hoyt Wiborg; Mrs. R. Thornton Wilson; Mr. Louis Wiley; Mrs. Willis D. Wood; Mr. Arthur Williams; Mrs. J. Enrique Zanetti.

R. A. Becerra

Columbia University

## IN MEMORIAM: ADOLPHE COHN

ADOLPHE COHN, noted Franco-American educator, died in Paris on Tuesday, February 11, after a brief illness.

Professor Cohn was born in Paris on May 29, 1851, the eldest son of Albert and Mathilde (Lowengard) Cohn. After studying with private tutors he entered the University of Paris, from which he received the degree of Bachelier ès Lettres in 1868. During the Franco-Prussian War he served as volunteer in the French army from July, 1870, to February, 1871, after the close of which he returned to his studies in the University, where he received in 1873 the degree of Bachelier en Droit, and the following year that of Archiviste Paléographe from the Ecole Nationale de Chartes.

Professor Cohn came to the United States in 1875. After having engaged in the private teaching of French for seven years he was appointed Tutor in French at Columbia College in 1882, which title was changed the following year to Instructor. For the next seven years (1884–91) he was Instructor and Assistant Professor of French at Harvard University, where his talents as a teacher were highly appreciated by Professor Ferdinand Bôcher, a distinguished pioneer in the instruction of French in the United States. On April 6, 1887, Professor Cohn married Marian Loys Wright, a well-known artist of Cambridge, Mass.. who died the following year (Feb. 19, 1888).

He returned to Columbia University in 1891 as Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, in which capacity he continued until his retirement in 1916. With the devoted cooperation of Henry Alfred Todd, Professor of Romance Philology, and of Carlo Leonardo Speranza, Professor of Italian, he developed instruction in the Romance languages at Columbia and counted among his pupils some of the leading scholars and writers of America, at the present time.

Professor Cohn was one of the founders of the Alliance Française in the United States, becoming its first President, and was later given the title of Honorary President, which he held until his death. He was also one of the founders, as well as a member throughout his life, of the Modern Language Association of America, while the French and Italian governments conferred on him the honors of Officier de la

Légion d'Honneur and Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia. On June 4, 1904, he married Madeleine Merlin of New York, who with two sons (one by his first marriage) and a daughter survive him.

Though Professor Cohn was not a productive scholar his profound knowledge of his specialties—French classical drama of the seventeenth century and Voltaire—enabled him to direct many interesting researches as well as to render valuable services to his colleagues. An enthusiastic and inspiring lecturer and teacher, he devoted his efforts mainly to the improvement of class-texts, so important forty years ago. Among his publications we may note an edition of Le Sage's *Gil Blas*, issued in 1889 in cooperation with the late Professor R. Sanderson of Yale University; in 1897, Voltaire's *Prose*, with Professor B. D. Woodward, now retired, of Columbia University; and the edition of Montaigne in *French Classics for English Readers*, in 1907. He also inaugurated, as first editor, the *Silver Series of Modern Language Text Books*, and created, in cooperation with his pupil, Professor C. H. Page, then of Columbia University and more recently President of the Poetry Society of America, the well-known series of *French Classics for English Readers*. Finally, during the World War, he was a fearless and ardent champion of the French cause, and translated into French James M. Beck's *War and Humanity*.

With the cooperation of his colleagues, Professor Cohn was instrumental in bringing to Columbia University the first foreign lecturers in the Romance, field,—among whom may be mentioned Ferdinand Brunetière, Joseph Bédier, Gustave Lanson, James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Guglielmo Ferrero. Out of this movement he and his colleagues later developed the first Visiting Professorships in French Literature at Columbia University, as well as the Maison Française, the first cultural centre to be established in the United States. Indeed, all Romance scholars in the United States owe a debt of gratitude to such worthy pioneers as Professor Cohn, through whose indefatigable efforts instruction in the Romance tongues is now definitely established in the curricula of our educational institutions. This profound tribute we pay to his memory.

J. L. G.

## Varia

Educational and Bibliographic.—Director R. Roland-Marcel, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, announced on March 5 that many priceless manuscripts of the great library are in danger of destruction from deterioration for lack of funds for their proper care. He points out that as the fund available for binding and repairs to books and manuscripts amounts to $5,000 annually, only 8,000 volumes could be repaired in 1928, whereas in 1913 more than 25,000 volumes were rebound at the same cost. Consequently, it has been necessary to withdraw from circulation a large number of the Collections of sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts and books because of their worn condition. It is therefore apparent that the plan recently formulated by Professor C. D. Zdanowicz, of creating an American Section of the Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Nationale, is very à propos. Among those who have expressed approval of the idea are J. D. M. Ford (Harvard), Dean Christian Gauss (Princeton), J. L. Gerig and G. L. van Roosbroeck (Columbia), H. C. Lancaster (Johns Hopkins), Wm. A. Nitze (Chicago), Albert Schinz (Pennsylvania), Horatio Smith (Brown), Bert Young (Indiana), Dean Geoffrey Atkinson (Amherst), Dean Geo. N. Henning (George Washington University), R. P. Jameson (Oberlin), Barry

Cerf (Reed College), Dr. Paul Van Dyke (Director of the American University Union at Paris in 1928–29), and many others. Annual membership in the American Section is fixed at $2.00; life membership at $30.00; and there is still another grade of membership known as *Membre donateur*. All those who have profited in the past from the valuable services rendered by this great institution or who feel an interest in this most worthy cause are urged therefore to send contributions to Professor Casimir D. Zdanowicz, University of Wisconsin, Madison.—The Linguistic Institute, whose coming Summer Session will be held at the College of the City of New York from July 7 to August 15, requests that the following courses be announced as of particular interest to the readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW: Prof. H. B. Richardson, of Yale University, "The Classical Element in English: An introduction to the phonology of Vulgar Latin and Old French in so far as is necessary to trace the passage of Latin vocabulary into English through French"; Prof. H. F. Muller, of Columbia, "Vulgar Latin: A search in the texts for the advent of the linguistic phenomena which were to bring about the transformation of Latin into Romance"; Dr. Winifred Sturdevant, of Columbia, "Old French: An introductory course with especial attention to questions of phonology and word history"; Prof. H. B. Richardson, "Old Spanish: A study of Spanish historical grammar, with readings from the *Cid* and Juan Ruiz"; and Prof. J. L. Gerig, of Columbia, "Old and Middle Irish: Grammar and reading of texts." A feature of the session will be the presence of Prof. J. Marouzeau of the Sorbonne, who will lecture on topics connected with Latin grammar. Announcements of the session may be obtained upon request from Prof. E. H. Sturtevant, Director, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn. It is interesting to note that of the 37 registrants in the courses of the 1929 session, "eighteen already held the Ph.D. degree." The Institute has also secured the establishment of four lectureships: The Germanistic Society Lectureship in Old High German; the Lafrentz Lectureship in Old Frisian and Old Saxon; the Blum Lectureship which is to be held by a distinguished French scholar; and the Vogelstein Lectureship in Semitic Languages.—Professor Paul Van Tieghem, General Secretary of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Littéraire Moderne, which has its headquarters at 47, Boulevard Garibaldi, Paris, announces that the Commission is preparing a *Répertoire littéraire chronologique international* and requests the cooperation of American scholars in this important undertaking.—The Facsimile Text Society has recently been organized with Professor Frank A. Patterson, of the English Department of Columbia University, as Executive Officer. Among the works announced for reproduction which, it may be added, must be of a character as to interest English scholars, are the French translation (1578) of Machiavelli's *Prince;* philosophical works of Geulincz, Georgius Trapezuntius, Jacob Zabarella, Nicholas of Cusa; and the *Speculum Naturale* (1485), by Vincent of Beauvais. Works in Spanish and French will be selected by Program Committees to be formed by Professors J. P. W. Crawford and J. L. Gerig. Suggestions from readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW will be welcomed.—Princeton University announced recently that André Maurois, author of *Ariel, Byron,* etc., will be the first incumbent of the M. H. Pyne Lectureship in French Literature, and that he will be succeeded in Feb., 1931, by Prof. Paul Laumonier of the University of Bordeaux. Foreign professors at present in America include Dr. Walter Starkie, Professor of Romance Languages at Trinity College, Dublin, and Visiting Professor at the University of Madrid, who delivered a series of lectures at the University of Chicago during the spring; Professor Corrado Gini, President of the Central Bureau of Statistics at Rome, who lectured on sociological subjects at the University of Minnesota; and Miss Eileen Power, Lecturer in the University of

London, who lectured on Medieval History at Barnard College. Rector A. Lupatelli, of the University of Perugia, and Dean P. E. Pavalini, of the University of Florence, attended in February the 200th anniversary celebration of the founding of the University of Havana.—The American House, erected in the Cité Universitaire of the University of Paris, was formally dedicated with fitting ceremonies on April 28. Press dispatches describe it as an imposing six-story brown-brick building with white marble trimmings. It is designed to house 260 college students and is also equipped with studio accommodations for students of art and music. As already announced in these pages (Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XX, 1929, p. 298), rooms have been donated by sixteen American universities and colleges. And now the Committee on the Columbia Room, formed last year, announces that sufficient funds have been obtained to endow two Columbia rooms. The inaugurators of the movement which resulted in the raising of nearly $500,000 for the construction of the American House were the late Ambassador Herrick, who laid the cornerstone of the building on April 30, 1928, and Dr. and Mrs. Homer Gage, of Worcester, Mass.—The Duke of Alba, Spain's new Minister of Education, is reported by the *New York Times* of Feb. 4, as saying that he would "endeavor to pattern the new city university after American universities, which I have seen and admire as I do all American educational institutions."—The *New York Times*, of February 22, contained a long article, with reproductions, recounting a purchase by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach of 20,000 documents and letters, "constituting virtually a day-by-day record of the British Army's struggle against the American colonists," from the Royal Institution of Great Britain. "Portraying the French side of the American Revolution," according to the *Times*, "are a series of documents of Comte d'Estaing, Marquis de Lafayette, Comte de Rochambeau (in one of which he says he supplied Cornwallis with money when he was a prisoner of George Washington), and many dealing with the naval battles in which the French took an active part."—The French Department of Hunter College, New York, held during the week of April 7 an exhibition of French manuscripts and books in the college library. The exhibition included also stamps, medals, baskets, colored plates of old costumes and paintings by Prof. Paul Cru, a member of the faculty.—An autograph manuscript of the French national anthem, the "Marseillaise," bearing the signature of the composer, Rouget de l'Isle, was sold at Sotheby's in London, on February 17, for $850. Messrs. Maggs, purchasers of the manuscript, stated that it was recently discovered among the family papers of a Toulouse merchant.—The *New York Times* of March 27 published an interesting article on the Société de Géographie of Paris, which was founded in 1821 and had as its first president the great astronomer Laplace. "Its library contains," according to the *Times*, "more than 300,000 volumes, 100,000 maps and 150,000 photographs, not to mention numerous atlases, periodicals, negatives and portraits."—In advocating the discontinuance of the modern foreign language requirement for the Ph.D. degree, G. H. Betts and R. A. Kent make the following extraordinary statement in *Northwestern University Contribution to Education* (Bloomington, Ill.): "Furthermore, according to testimony of leading scholars in many fields, foreign scholarship has nothing to contribute to one who seeks high specialization in certain lines of scholarly endeavor" (p. 1). On the other hand, A. E. Sproul maintains, in a long article in the *New York Times* of Jan. 24, that there is no reason why an educated man "should not have a speaking knowledge of at least two of the four chief modern European languages." He feels that the choice of the first language should "lie between English and French, with the probabilities in favor of the former," for, as he states, the

English language, "notably through the wide extension of the motion picture and the radio, is steadily gaining in currency all over the earth."—The contribution of F. Ciarlantini on "The Italian Language in the United States" to the March issue of *Atlantica* (New York) contains on p. 16 various quotations from A. Livingston's "La Merica Sanemagogna," which appeared in the ROMANIC REVIEW in 1918 (IX, pp. 206–226).—The *News Letter*, issued by the Italian Historical Society in Feb. 21, contains a résumé of the activities of the Society during the autumn and winter. Among the most interesting sections are the monthly dinners at which the speakers were S. S. McClure, Prof. G. Prezzolini, Dr. James J. Walsh, Miss Fredericka Blankner, Judge John J. Freschi, Mrs. Alexander M. Hadden, Edward Corsi and Justice Wm. Harmon Black; lecture tours arranged for former Congressman M. W. Howard, Miss Blankner, Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Irwin, and H. L. Varney; radio talks; new chapters; information service, etc. Since its establishment in 1927, the Society has issued the following publications: H. R. Marraro, *Nationalism in Italian Education;* Count G. Volpi and Prof. B. Stringher, *The Financial Reconstruction of Italy;* Dr. A. Pennachio, *The Corporative State* (translated into Italian, 1929); Willis J. Abbot, *Mussolini Tells Why He Prefers Fascism to Parliamentary Democracy for Italy;* H. W. Schneider, *Italy Incorporated* (*The Guild Organization of the Italian People*); Rev. Dr. Samuel W. Irwin, *Through the Italian Tyrol;* James P. Roe, *Fascism, Masonry and the Vatican in Italy;* H. L. Varney, *The Outlook for Democracy in Italy;* and, in cooperation with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Sen. A. Rocco, *The Political Doctrine of Fascism*, and Count G. Volpi, *Italy's Financial Policy*. For information regarding the Society, address Harold Lord Varney, Manager, 113 West 42d Street, New York City.—The *New York Times*, of Feb. 21 and March 16, contained accounts of the formation of a Committee for the purpose of erecting a Spanish Casita at Barnard College, which will serve to house those students who wish to live in a Spanish atmosphere. The Committee, headed by Hernand Behn, Chairman, and Clarence H. Mackay, Treasurer, is seeking a fund of $50,000 to found the house. Professor Carolina Marcial Dorado is the Faculty representative on the Committee.—The American Legion is conducting under the auspices of the Phare de France a school for children of the members of the Paris Post. According to press dispatches of March 5, the official language of the school is French, except the Thursday holiday, which is devoted to English.—The International School of Vedic and Allied Research elected recently the following members to the Executive Council of its American Section: Edward Capps, Professor of Classics, Princeton University, and Director of the Division of Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation; John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University; John H. Finley, formerly President of the College of the City of New York, Associate Editor of the *New York Times;* J. L. Gerig, Professor of Celtic, Columbia University; S. L. Joshi, Professor of Comparative Religion and Hindu Philosophy, Dartmouth College; K. F. Leidecker, Professor in the International School of Vedic and Allied Research; J. B. Pratt, Professor of Philosophy, Williams College; and E. R. A. Seligman, McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. At the same time twenty members were elected to the Advisory Board, among whom was Prof. D. Bigongiari of Columbia University. The officers of the American Section of the School are President Charles R. Lanman, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit of Harvard University; Vice-President, E. Washburn Hopkins, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology of Yale University; Dr. G. C. O. Haas, Secretary and Editor of Publications; and Director, Pandit J. C. Chatterji. The aims of the School include investigations into Indian influences in the Romance literatures. The

School has furthermore issued two numbers of a quarterly *Journal* published under the auspices of the All-India Committee and the Benares Centre, as well as of the American and British Sections. For further information regarding the School, address Dr. Geo. C. O. Haas, Secretary, Times Building, N. Y. City. Professors John Dewey and J. L. Gerig were guests of honor from the Faculty of Columbia University at the debate on India held before the Foreign Policy Association on February 15. The speakers were S. Ghose, formerly Professor of Physics in University College, Calcutta, and Edward Thompson, Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford.—The Guggenheim Memorial Foundation announced on March 23 the award of 85 fellowships, totaling more than $200,000. Among the successful candidates are two contributors to recent issues of the ROMANIC REVIEW, viz. Prof. H. C. Berkowitz, who is to study Galdós and the importance of his contribution to Spanish life and letters; and Prof. H. M. Peyre, whose subject is "Louis Menard, a Frenchman of letters of the nineteenth century." Prof. F. C. Tarr, of Princeton, is to study "the origin and development of the *artículo de costumbres*," a type of Spanish newspaper sketch, while Jacques LeClercq, instructor in Columbia University, well known writer and translator, will do creative writing. Mrs. Mary M. Colum, of New Canaan, Conn., will write a study of contemporary American and French ideas in criticism. Dr. J. T. Lanning, of Duke University, who is among the five fellows who go to Mexico, will prepare "a study of the universities of the Hispanic colonies, with special reference to their place in the development of the Hispanic mind and culture and in the preliminaries of the wars of independence." In the History of Fine Arts, Prof. C. Kennedy, of Smith College, is to prepare "a study in Italy of the Renaissance sculptor, Desiderio da Settignano," while Mrs. Ruth W. Kennedy will complete "a monograph on the Florentine painter, Alesso Baldovinetti." Prof. K. J. Conant of Harvard is to devote himself to "the making of restoration drawings of the Abbey Church of Cluny, France." As may be seen from the above, the awards for studies in Romance literature and philology are very limited in number. It is to be hoped that this is not due to any change of policy on the part of the Foundation.—The Social Science Research Council awarded, on March 8, twenty-two fellowships, with an aggregate value of $80,000, for the year 1930–31. Among the successful candidates are H. M. Ehrmann, of the University of Michigan, who is to study "Italian foreign policy from 1882 to 1915, with reference to the entrance of Italy into the World War," and A. P. Nasatir, of California State College, whose subject of research is "Spain in the Mississippi Valley."—According to press dispatches of February 11, the famous Mudie's Library in New Oxford Street, London, is soon to be transferred to Kingsway. "For seventy years," says the *New York Times*, "the stuccoed Regency building near the British Museum has been a bookreaders' Mecca. Starting from a collection of 5,000 books, the library now includes almost a million."

NECROLOGY.—Dr. Hans Froelicher, acting president of Goucher College, died suddenly in Baltimore on January 12, in his 63d year. He was born in Switzerland of a distinguished family of professors and painters and had been on the faculty of Goucher College since 1888 where he taught French, German and the history of art.—Frederick Ernest Libby, former Assistant Commissioner of Education of Porto Rico, died at Melrose, Mass., on January 24 at the age of 53. Having been for ten years director of elementary schools in the Republic of Panama, he was, at the time of his death, in charge of all Panamanian students in the United States.—Mme Anatole France died at Villa Said, Paris, on January 24 at the age of 58. Née Emma La Prévotte, she lived at St. Louis, Mo., from her tenth year to her twenty-second, and

never lost her interest in American affairs. Five brothers and a sister survive her in Los Angeles.—Dom André Mocquereau, the eminent Benedictine liturgical scholar, died at the Monastery of Solesmes, now on the Isle of Wight, on January 25 in his 80th year. He was author and editor of the *Paléographie musicale* (13 vols.), *L'Art Grégorien*, and other works. Some years ago there was founded in his honor in the United States the Dom Mocquereau Schola Cantorum Foundation, Inc.—Maurice Neumont, the painter, died in Paris on February 11 at the age of 64. He was associated with Willette and Forain in founding the Salon des Humoristes.—Charles Herbert Moore, emeritus Professor of Art at Harvard University, died in Hampshire, England, on February 17 in his 90th year. He was the author of several works on medieval architecture.—Frederick B. Kaye, Professor of English at Northwestern University, died at Boston on February 28 in the 38th year of his age. He was one of the four American members of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Littéraire Moderne.—Antonio Beltramelli, noted novelist and member of the Royal Academy of Italy, died at Rome on March 15, aged 55. Besides contributing reviews on political and literary subjects, he was author of a *Life of Premier Mussolini*.—Karl Pietsch, noted Spanish scholar and emeritus Professor of Romance Philology at the University of Chicago, died on April 1 in his 71st year. Born in Germany, Professor Pietsch came to Chicago in 1894, where, for a while, he was assistant librarian at the Newberry Library. Since 1896 he had been a member of the Faculty of the University of Chicago. A year ago he was awarded a special diploma by the University of Halle in recognition of his work. His numerous publications were marked by a sound philological scholarship, as is evidenced by his *Spanish Grail Fragments*, one of his best known recent books.

Drama.—On February 21 Princeton University formally inaugurated the new McCarter Theatre, costing more than $450,000. Among the speakers at the dedication ceremonies was Prof. D. C. Stuart, to whom President Hibben referred as "both the prophet and the apostle of this enterprise." In addition to his courses in dramatic and French literature Dr. Stuart has been director of the Triangle Club, the university dramatic organization, for the past ten years.—On March 12 Sacha Guitry, the actor and dramatist, presented, at the Franco-American Charity Fête in Paris, his sketch reconstituting the reception given at Mount Vernon in 1782 by General Washington to thank General Lafayette and the French army for their services rendered to the American colonies in the War of Independence. Among the 100 or more professionals and amateurs who took part in the sketch was Yvonne Printemps, actress wife of the dramatist, who sang old songs at the entertainment provided by Washington for his guests.—On February 2, Firmin Gémier, the famous actor, resigned, because of ill health, the directorship of the French State theatre Odéon. His successor is Paul Abram, who has been co-director. M. Gémier, who was 60 years old on February 13, first became famous as a character actor at the old Théâtre Antoine. Upon the invitation of Charles E. Hughes, then Secretary of State, M. Gémier visited the United States and Canada with his company in 1924.—When a distinguished philologist like M. Ferdinand Brunot of the Sorbonne wanders so far afield as to discuss American motion pictures, one may expect conclusions not only unusual but at the same time not as soundly built as those derived from philological data. Quoting from an interview published in the *Paris-Soir*, the *New York Times*, of March 23, finds the eminent scholar to be a dyed-in-the-wool pessimist. "It is a struggle between two forces, financial and intellectual," M. Brunot is quoted as saying, "the latter being conclusively dominated today by the former. Our great France is caught between

two opposite poles, America and Russia." Remarking further that France is "the slave of money power," he adds: "America imposes its films on us just as she takes from us our works of art and our historic châteaux." In answer to the question, "Does not France turn more and more toward America when it comes to defraying the expenses of our colleges? ", M. Brunot replies: "To be sure, the intellectual doesn't want to admit defeat, and strives to stem the flood which drives him toward oblivion; but, instantly, obscure forces and sinister interests surge forth—and these, at bottom, are 'their' forces and 'their' interests." The only escape from American scenarios appears to be, in M. Brunot's opinion, in a collaboration with "nations of forceful intellect and a sufficiently artistic background," the restrictive adjectives, according to the *Times*, evidently excluding the United States. Since the ROMANIC REVIEW has of late received several subscriptions from Russia, it is quite possible that this may be sufficient evidence for M. Brunot to conclude that American scholarship is being dominated by the "sinister forces" of the Soviet Government.—Recent plays that have been well received in Paris, according to Philip Carr, writing in the *New York Times*, include: Henri Jeanson's *Amis comme avant*, a play about the nagging wife heretofore treated by Molière, Courteline and Henri Becque; *Le Péché*, a sombre peasant tragedy of Rumania by the young Rumanian Jew Adolphe Orna, who died suddenly in 1925; *La fin du monde*, also by a Rumanian poet, which deals with the sudden sincerity that some persons "may be supposed to show when they think that their end is at hand"; *L'Homme que j'ai tué*, by Maurice Rostand, which is based on a short story written by the author in 1921, and which the critic finds to be lacking in artistic qualities, notwithstanding the author's passionate moral aversion for war; *Pardon, Madame*, by Romain Coolus and André Rivoire, a play about "a politician who spends all his official day in love-making"; *Juliette, ou la clé des songes*, a "pièce de début" by Georges Neveux, which is devoted to a dreamland whose inhabitants, with one exception, are entirely devoid of memory; and Pirandello's *La Vie que je t'ai donnée*, a "deeply moving excursion into the borderland between a real and an imagined world," which was very successful in spite of the fact that "the Pirandello fashion is no longer at its height in France."—The Comédie Française is now thinking of making a change in its statutes so that a play, not originally produced by it, may be added to its repertory seven (instead of fifteen) years after its original production. Philip Carr, writing in the *New York Times* of March 2, points out that the repertory of the Comédie is divided into three categories: First, the classics, "which have long since gone out of copyright and which anybody may produce"; secondly, those not yet out of copyright and which "may or may not have originally been produced by the Comédie"; and thirdly, new plays whose authors submit them for original production at the Comédie, regardless of tempting offers elsewhere. Because of the restrictions imposed upon them in the last two categories, the authorities of the Comédie are often unable to present even those plays representing the best of dramatic production of twenty or thirty years ago. It is felt, therefore, that "the National Theatre should have an unrestricted option upon any play that is a few years old."—Gaston Baty has retired from the management of the beautiful Pigalle Theatre, recently constructed in Paris by Henri de Rothschild. Consequently, the donor, thoroughly discouraged by this failure, is thinking of abandoning his original idea of devoting his magnificently equipped playhouse to dramatic art, and, according to Philip Carr in the *Times* of March 30, "is proposing to turn it over to spectacular comic opera or even to the cinematograph."—During the month of February, according to the *New York Times*, Paris witnessed a revival of interest in Shakespeare.

The events which brought this about included presentations of a translation of *The Tempest* by Guy de Pourtalès, of a highly vernacular French version of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and of the richly colored interpretation of *The Merchant of Venice*, given at the Odéon. At the same time the Comtesse de Chambrun issued a volume on *Hamlet*.—In a long article on the "Opera Crisis in Italy" in the *New York Times* of Jan. 19, Guido M. Gatti, writing from Milan, explains that the indifference of the Italian public to this artistic form is due not only to its ever growing appreciation of pure music, but also to the fact that in opera "there has arisen no genius capable of infusing new life into it." Likewise recent productions have been far from brilliant from the artistic point of view. Hence Pietro Mascagni, the new Academician, laments that he is unable "to find an impresario who would dare to revive one of the fourteen operas, with the exception of *Cavalleria*, written by him."

LITERATURE.—The centenary of the première of Hugo's *Hernani* was inaugurated in Paris by a gala presentation of the famous play at the Théâtre Français on February 25. This was followed a few days later by ceremonies before the tomb of the author in the Pantheon of Paris. Likewise the centenary of the birth of the great historian, Fustel de Coulanges, was commemorated at ceremonies held at the Sorbonne on March 20 in the presence of President Doumergue and Pierre Marriaud, Minister of Public Instruction. On April 13, a monument was dedicated to Edmond Rostand in his native city of Marseilles. The speakers included Maurice Donnay of the Académie Française and Gaston Rageot, President of the Society of Men of Letters. Speaking of monuments, it may be of interest to note that those of Jules Simon and Camille Saint-Saëns were removed during March from the places they occupied in the streets of Paris.—During the month of April, Italy began to celebrate the 2000th anniversary of the birth of Virgil. Ceremonies are to be held at Mantua, where the poet was born; at Naples, where he was buried; and at Rome, where he spent most of his life. However, a very interesting controversy has been started in Italian intellectual circles by Professor Pio Emanuelli, Director of the Vatican Astronomical Observatory, who holds that the anniversary is not due until 1931.—The brilliant French author, Paul Morand, whose recent work on New York has met with unusual success in France, again startled the intelligentsia by informing the American Club of Paris on February 27 that New York has become a centre of culture. But the *New York Times*, of March 2, observes editorially that "the audience at home remains unmoved, except in the direction of Paris."—A recent survey of popular fiction in the United States revealed, according to the *New York Times*, that Dumas père is still "most in demand at the public libraries."—Prof. H. P. Thieme, of the University of Michigan, has contributed a very interesting study on "Rhythm" to the *Mélanges F. Baldensperger* (Paris, 1930).—The tendency of the younger generation to over-emphasize the literary value of current works may be seen in the recent vote of the senior class of Düsseldorf, Germany, with regard to their preferred author. E. M. Remarque, author of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, received 248 votes against 220 cast for Goethe and 181 for Schiller.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE—In an address on Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, delivered before the L'Enfant Memorial Association in Fraunces Tavern, New York, on Jan. 18, Ambassador Claudel compared the American capital city to Versailles. The meeting was held to arouse interest in the erection of a monument to L'Enfant on the Washington mall.—The Duc de Richelieu, who spends most of his time in New York, donated recently his splendid château and grounds of 1000 acres, in the town of Richelieu in Touraine to the University of Paris, to be used as a home for

retired professors and scientists, as well as a place to receive and entertain foreign educators who visit France.—The third exhibition held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in February was entitled "Painting in Paris," since the collection consisted of the works of American artists, both young and old, who are living in the, French capital.—The exhibition of Italian art, called the greatest ever assembled, was closed in London on March 20 after being shown for almost three months. Among the 518,000 persons who visited the exhibition were 14,000 art teachers.—The French Government began to issue in March a new series of postage stamps containing engravings of the most famous monuments of the country. Thus, the twenty-franc stamp represents the Pont du Gard, near Avignon; the ten-franc stamp, the bridge at La Rochelle; and the five-franc stamp, Mont Saint-Michel.—Announcement was made from Philadelphia on February 13, that the collection of 191 pieces of fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian and French art assembled by the late Edmond Foulc of Paris, had been transferred to the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, and will become the Museum's permanent possession if the purchase price, exceeding 1,000,000, can be met by June 1. Among the most important items are bronzes by Bellano, Bertoldo, Adriano Fiorentino, and Sansovino, a "lit de justice" from the Château d'Argentelles, a triple-seated stall from the Abbey of Langeac, and an alabaster choir-screen from the Château de Pugny. Marcel Aubert, curator of the Louvre, said: "There is nothing like the Foulc collection still in private hands today. Since we could not keep it in France, there is no place where I would rather see it than in your museum."—The Fogg Museum of Art of Cambridge, Mass., purchased on Feb. 7 a "Christ" by Botticelli from Prince Massimo of Rome. American public museums owning works by this artist are the following: Fogg Museum, (2); Metropolitan Museum (2); and Detroit Museum (1).—The James Elverson collection of fifty paintings consisting mainly of works of the Barbison school, as well as of Harpignies, Bouguereau, Henner, etc., was sold at auction in New York on Jan. 30 for $132,635. The five Corots brought the highest prices, ranging from $8,000 to $41,000.—A collection of 119 paintings from the estate of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer was sold at auction in New York on April 10. The French canvases included works by David, Delacroix, Courbet, Décamps (8), Césanne and Manet, while Spain was represented by El Greco, Carreno de Miranda, Goya (2), and others. The highest prices paid for individual paintings were as follows: David ($26,000); Césanne ($24,000); Goya ($21,000); El Greco ($15,000). It will be remembered that the larger part of Mrs. Havemeyer's collection was bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.—The City of Paris inaugurated in February in the Petit Palais a permanent exhibition of the work of humorists and caricaturists. It will contain works of Daumier, the father of French cartoonists, Gavarni, Willette, Forain, Sem, Léandre, Naudin and many others. This official recognition, inspired by the great success of the annual Salon des Humoristes, is acclaimed as the first of its kind in the history of art.—Gabriel Wells, of New York, presented recently to the Musée Carnavalet of Paris many mementos of Honoré de Balzac which had been obtained from the Balzac family in France.—Among the recent exhibitions of paintings that received universal praise from New York art critics was that of the works of Jan Matulka, held in April at the Rehn Gallery. It was characterised by the *New York Times*, of April 13, as "fascinating" and as "a gallant demonstration of exuberancy." Mr. Matulka's talents are shared by his sisters, Misses Barbara and Caroline Matulka.—According to the *New York Times* of March 23, C. H. Mackay of New York purchased recently from Prince Jacques de Broglie, Châtelain of the Château de Chaumont, one of the finest

Italian tapestries contained in its museum. The sum paid was said to be nearly $1,000,000.—Gen. C. H. Sherrill announced on March 16 the plans of the sixth Summer Session of New York University's Art School in Paris. This school, which is directed by Prof. C. Chassé, awarded last year certificates of merit to 368 students out of an attendance of nearly 1,000.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The Institute of International Education announced recently thirty fellowship awards and nine appointments to "postes d'assistants," all for study in France during the academic year 1930–31. Among the nine fellowships of the American Field Service, carrying stipends of $1400, were those given to M. Halperin, of Boston, who is completing a thesis on "Historiosophie chez les premiers romantiques en France," and to P. C. Snodgress of Little Rock, Ark., who is to "continue critical studies in the later modern period of French literature."—The most important fête of this year, commemorating the fifth centenary of Joan of Arc, will be held at Compiègne on May 25–26 in honor of her entry into that town. Most of the old buildings are being transformed to assume a medieval appearance and more than 3,000 persons dressed in costumes of the period will take part in the procession.—Excavations made for the monument to be erected at Montfaucon, France, in memory of the American soldiers who fell in the battle of the Argonne Forest have revealed, according to the *New York Times* of April 7, vestiges of a fortress built in 1081 by Godefroy de Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, who was the French leader in the first Crusade and was afterward crowned King of Jerusalem.—The Museum of French Art of New York held from April 9 to May 2 a loan exhibition of 200 items, consisting of relics, curios, portraits, autograph letters, etc., relating to General Lafayette.—The proposal of Gov. Roosevelt of New York to convert the grave of Baron de Steuben into a State memorial has aroused much discussion as to whether the particle "von" should not be used instead of "de." Accordingly, the New York Historical Society announced, on Feb. 16, that an investigation of letters from Washington, Jefferson and others addressed to the Revolutionary General as well as his own signature to his will, all of which are contained in the treasures of the Society, revealed an almost exclusive use of "de."—The Italians of New York placed, on Feb. 22, a bronze marker on the recently discovered tomb of Capt. Jos. Lametti, a veteran of the War of 1812, who is buried in the cemetery surrounding old St. Patrick's Cathedral in Prince Street.—In an address delivered before the France-America Society on Feb. 6, Ambassador Claudel said, in regard to progress in the mutual relations between France and the United States: "The greatest progress in this respect is in France. Your movies and talkies have soaked the French mind in American life, methods and manners. I see in this nothing but a good and healthy symptom. . . . The place in French life and culture formerly held by Spain and Italy, and in the nineteenth century by England, now belongs to America."—The Belgian Parliament voted, on Feb. 27, the first article of the new language law which provides for the conversion of the University of Ghent into an entirely Flemish institution of learning. It is hoped that this concession will settle amicably the bitter discussion centering about the language problem in Belgium, to which attention was called in the last issue of this journal (p. 97). The other state university, Liège, will be French-speaking, as are also Brussels and Louvain, which, however, are not governmental institutions. In an article entitled "Languages are Still a Live Issue in Europe" in the *New York Times* of Jan. 26, Harold Callendar discusses this question at length. According to M. Tesnière of the University of Strasbourg, "who," says Mr. Callendar, "has studied the subject exhaustively, 120 languages (exclusive of dialects) are now spoken in Europe. Nineteen of these tongues are spoken each by 5,000,000 people or more, while

thirty-seven are spoken each by about 1,000,000 people." But as a consequence of economic and political pressure, minor languages are disappearing rapidly.—The *New York Times* of Jan. 24 contained a long editorial from the Jan. 14 issue of *The Caribbean Press* of Colon, Panama, in which it was predicted that the time is not so far distant "when the Western Hemisphere will see a race for supremacy between the English and Spanish languages, with the chance about 10 to 1 that Spanish will win out." This prediction was based not only on the rapid increase in population of South America, but also on the ever-growing interest in Spanish in the United States. In order to bring about better relations between the United States and Latin America, Waldo Frank urged, at a dinner given in his honor in New York on Feb. 17, that "we must have closer bonds of cultural understanding." Other speakers were Otto H. Kahn, Professor F. de Onís, Lewis Mumford and Dr. S. P. Duggan, who presided. In this connection it may be noted that the first Argentine student to win a scholarship in the United States under the auspices of the Argentine-American Cultural Institute was L. Justo, son of a former Minister of War, who sailed for New York on April 3. Furthermore this same Institute established on April 10 a scholarship for an Argentine girl to study at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—Governor Theodore Roosevelt of Porto Rico seems to have met a vigorous enemy in the form of the Spanish language. Recently, for example, he announced to an audience that he was "the mother of four children," and on another occasion introduced a certain army officer not as a bachelor, but as "a tapeworm."—Since both Italy and Spain are now claiming Christopher Columbus, it is not surprising to learn that Corsica also wishes to be considered a contender for that honor. In a lecture delivered at Marseilles on February 17, Canon Castaing affirmed that the discoverer of America was the son of a wool carder of Calvi, Corsica, and lived there until he was 10 years of age, attending school at a convent, and later going to Pavia. It is obvious that the question can never be settled until Andorra and San Marino are heard from.—The Committee of the Beaux Arts Ministry of France voted on March 5 to install the statues of Marshals Foch and Maunoury in two of the twenty-two vacant niches in the façade of the Louvre on the Rue de Rivoli. Those now occupied are devoted almost solely to Napoleon's generals, which were set in place under Napoleon III when the Façade was reconstructed.—An appeal for support of the Academy for Jewish Research was issued on April 11 by L. Ginsberg and D. S. Blondheim, Professor of Romance Philology at Johns Hopkins University. An edition of the works of Moses Maimonides is to be issued in 1935, the 800th anniversary of his birth.—Now that we have futurism in literature and the arts, why not also in cooking?, asks Jules Maincave, chef of a Parisian hotel, who wishes to break with the traditions of French cuisine. Instead of oil and vinegar, he proposes oil and champagne, or rum and juice of roast pork. Other dishes advocated by him are filet of mutton with crayfish sauce, oyster omelette, sardines with camembert, purée of herring with strawberry jelly, tomato whipped cream, etc. Instead of using parsley, bay leaves, etc., for seasoning, he advises rose perfume, lily of the valley, lilac or verbena. Georges Beaume, who says he has tested these futuristic dishes, warmly commends them in l'*Opinion*. The *New York Times*, of March 2, cites as materspieces of "medical cooking," Maincave's recipe of a purée of carrots dressed with cod liver oil, intended, of course, for children, and roast beef served with snail syrup for persons susceptible to lung trouble.—Two of the four famous old circuses of Paris have disappeared of late, the Nouveau Cirque and the Cirque de Paris. However, the Cirque Medrano and the Cirque d'Hiver still survive.

J. L. G.

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House situated at 7 Place Jules Ferry, Saint-Dié, France, bearing the following commemorative tablet affixed in July, 1911: "Ici le 25 avril 1507, sous le règne de René II, la Cosmographiae Introductio, dans laquelle le nouveau continent reçut le nom d'Amérique, fut imprimée et publiée par les Membres du Gymnase Vosgien: Gauthier Lud, Nicolas Lud, Jean Basin, Mathias Ringmann et Martin Waldseemuller." (Cf. also pp. 12–18 of Henry G. Bayer, *The Belgians First Settlers in New York and in the Middle States*, N. Y., Devin-Adair Co., 1925, xix + 373 pp.).

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XXI—JULY–SEPTEMBER, 1930—No. 3.

## FRENCH NAMES IN OUR GEOGRAPHY[1]

THE French have left their impress in all parts of our country in the names they conferred upon localities, rivers, lakes, and islands. Their geographical names stand as monuments of history, as guides to the study of our early civilization, as witnesses to the struggles of the pioneers whose indefatigable labors opened the paths of progress. The efforts of those courageous settlers have redounded, gradually and permanently, to our benefit, insuring a heritage which has produced such an extraordinary economic development that our nation, to-day, finds itself among the most powerful on earth.

French geographic names in the United States, if it were possible to gather them all (for many have been translated into English, some were anglicized, and others have suffered corruption beyond recognition), would reach an enormous figure. Some of these names, Lafayette for instance, by the natural logic of circumstances, have been reproduced in several States. In a few cases, a French name was chosen, not from direct historic influences, but because it seemed more appropriate, or because it "sounded better," as illustrated in the naming of Bellevue and Belleville.

Taking examples somewhat at random among the 5,000 French names whose origin I have traced during several years of research, I will present only a few descriptions under seven categories, and add to these, in each group, some names (omitting description), in order to comply with the limited space allowed here.

[1] Names selected from Part I of Henry G. Bayer's forthcoming work entitled *French Names in the Geography of the United States*, containing 5,000 names. Part II presents 600 French names in the ethnology of the American Indian. A complete bibliography of the subject may be found therein.

## I. Named for Explorers, Missionaries, Settlers

Beauregard, Miss. Town in Copiah Co. Named for Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, a general in the Confederate Army. Of French descent, he was born on a plantation near New Orleans, 1818. He graduated at West Point Military Academy in 1838.

Charlevoix, Mich. A northwestern county and a city. Named for Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, a Jesuit and author, born at Saint-Quentin, France, in 1682. He explored lakes Huron and Michigan, and descended the Mississippi to its mouth.

Choteau. Also spelled "Chouteau." The name of places in Illinois, Kansas, Montana, and Oklahoma, commemorating the French family Choteau. Two brothers of this family, Auguste and Pierre, founded the city of St. Louis, Mo., in co-operation with the fur merchant, Pierre Laclède (1764).

Duluth, Minn. City in St. Louis Co. Named for Daniel Graysolon Duluth, a French pioneer, born at St. Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, in 1649. The great city of Duluth is built on or near the site of his convocation of many Indian tribes in the early autumn of 1679. He died in Montreal in 1710.

Girardville, Pa. Borough in Schuylkill Co. Named for Étienne Girard, born near Bordeaux, France, 1750. In 1769 he settled in Philadelphia where he established the Second National Bank, and at one time was the wealthiest man in this country. He advanced several millions to the United States Treasury during the War of 1812.

Juneau. The capital of Alaska. Named for the Frenchman Joseph Juneau, a gold prospector of 1851.

Juneau. Wis. County, and city in Dodge Co. Named for Solomon Juneau, a French fur trader, the founder of Milwaukee where he came, in 1817, when the place was a Pottawottomi village. He was the father of Joseph mentioned above.

Lemoyne. Places in Nebraska, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, named for the Le Moyne family (Charles and his eleven sons). Charles Le Moyne was born in Normandy, 1626. His son Iberville, started the French colony of Louisiana in 1699, and another son, Bienville, founded New Orleans in 1717.

Vincennes, Ind. City in Knox Co. Named for Bissot de Vincennes, a French-Canadian, founder of this place (the first settlement in Indiana) about 1705.

Allouez, Boyer, Girardeau, Champlain, Chateaugay, Courtableau, Duchesne, Faribault, Fremont, Jogues, Laclede, La Salle, Lesueur, Marquette, Montour, Nicollet, Perrault, Petit Jean, Verendrye, etc.

## II. Named for Other Prominent Frenchmen

Cadillac, Mich. City in Wexford Co. Named for a French officer, Antoine de la Motte-Cadillac, noted as the founder of Detroit, Michigan, 1701. Born in Gascony, 1660, he was appointed Governor of Louisiana about 1711.

Duquesne, Pa. A borough in Allegheny County, named from the old Fort Duquesne which, in 1754, stood on the present site of the city of Pittsburgh. The fort was named by Captain Contrecœur in compliment to the French officer Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, Governor General of Canada in 1752.

Hugoton, Kan. City in Stevens Co. Named for the poet Victor Hugo, born at Besançon in 1802. The suffix "-ton" was added to avoid confusion with the town Hugo in the adjacent State of Colorado.

Louisville, Ky. City in Jefferson Co. In 1778, the first settlement was made here by thirteen families under Col. George Rogers Clarke. Two years later the place was incorporated by an act of the Virginia Legislature, and called Louisville in honor of Louis XVI of France, whose soldiers were then aiding the Americans in the Revolutionary War.

Luzerne, Pa. A northeastern county. It was named for the Chevalier Anne-César de la Luzerne, French minister to the United States from 1779 to 1788. Born in Paris, 1741; died at London, 1791.

Ribault, Fla. A river in Duval Co. Named for the navigator and explorer Jean Ribault (Ribaut), born at Dieppe, about 1520. To the country he had explored he gave the name *Caroline* (Carolina) in honor of his king, Charles IX, of France. He was killed in Florida, 1565, by Spanish troops.

St. Johnsbury, Vt. Town in Caledonia Co. Named for Hector Saint-Jean de Crèvecœur,[2] French Consul General at New York from 1783 to 1792; born at Caen in 1731. A benefactor of Vermont, and the author of interesting books on the United States. With some of his friends, he was instrumental in establishing the first Catholic church (St. Peter's) in New York, 1785.

Talleyrand, Ia. Village in Keokuk Co. Named for the French family de Talleyrand-Périgord. The famous diplomat Maurice de Talleyrand, after his troubles with Robespierre, sojourned in the United States (1794–1796). He stopped at the Kennedy House No. 1 Broadway, New York, and then at Fulton Street, Brooklyn; he lived also in Philadelphia.

[2] For the life and works of Crèvecœur, cf. Julia P. Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecœur*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1916, xvii + 362 pp. Editor's note.

Volney, Ia. Village in Allamakee Co. Named for the French scholar Constantin François Chasseboeuf, Comte de Volney, born at Craon in 1757. He came to America in 1795. Among his works is a *Description of the Climate and Soil of the United States*, published in 1803. Also the name of places in Michigan and New York.

Arago, Bernadotte, Bonaparte, Bourbon, Calvin, Clemenceau, Clermont, Colbert, Conde, Dauphin, Dumas, Lafayette, (more than 125 places bear the name of Lafayette and Fayette), Lamartine, Massac, Massillon, Montcalm, Napoleon, Richelieu, Vergennes, Voltaire, etc.

## III. Names Derived from French Geography

Brest, Mich. A fishing village in Frenchtown Township, Monroe County. Named after the port of the Dept. of Finistère where the American inventor, Robert Fulton, made experiments with his submarine, "The Nautilus," 1801.

Fontainbleau, Mo. Village in Andrew Co. Named from Fontainebleau in the Dept. of Seine-et-Marne. In its château, the residence of former French kings, Napoleon signed his first abdication, 1814. The etymology of the name is disputed; some believe that it derives from a spring (*fontaine belle eau*) in the nearby forest.

Havre de Grace, Md. Town in Hartford Co. Named from the French city whose foundation began in 1516, under Francis I, and was called Franciscopolis or Ville Françoise. But nearby stood a very old chapel Notre-Dame de Grâce (Our Lady of Mercy), and memories of the past induced the people to change the name of their city, and to call it Havre de Grâce, *i.e.*, Harbor or Port of Mercy, which finally became Havre or Le Havre. Havre is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *haefen* (M. H. G. *habene;* Dutch *haven*), from which comes also the English *haven.*

Montpelier, Vt. The capital of Vermont. Named for the city of Montpellier in the Dept. of Hérault. The French city is the birthplace of Doctor Pierre Magnol (1638–1715), for whom the "magnolia" tree was named.

New Rochelle, N. Y. City in Westchester Co. It was founded in 1688 by a group of Huguenots who had come to America soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. They called the place New Rochelle from the city La Rochelle, in France, a great Calvinist center as early as 1557.

Paris. More than 50 places in the United States bear the name of the French city whose original name was Lutetia

(*Lutèce*). The place was inhabited by the *Parisii*, a tribe from whom, later on, the capital of France derived its name.

St. Cloud, Minn. Town in Stearns Co. So named by the original proprietors of the land, from the beautiful city near Versailles, France. Cloud or Clodoald (grandson of Clovis, a king of the Franks), who became Saint Cloud, died at the French place in 560, hence the name of the city. (Also names of towns in Colorado, Florida, Wisconsin, etc.)

Varennes, S. C. Township in Anderson Co. The name of several localities in France. It was at Varennes-en-Argonne that Louis XVI was arrested, while he was preparing to leave his country, June 22, 1791.

Abbeville, Argonne, Artois, Beauvais, Bordeaux, Bourdonnais, Calais, Lille, Lorraine, Lourdes, Lyon, Marne, Marseilles, Medoc, Orleans, Roubaix, Sedan, Versailles, Vichy, etc.

## IV. Names Derived from Natural History

Aile de Corbeau, Minn. *Rivière Aile de Corbeau, i.e.*, "River of the Wing of the Raven," in Crow Wing Co.

Caribou, Col. Village in Boulder Co. Also the name of places in Idaho, Maine and Minnesota. The common name of the American reindeer. The word came into English from the French-Canadian dialect, in which it is old, Sagard using it in 1632. It derives from *xalibu* of the Algonquin (Micmac) dialect.

Labette, Kan. A southeastern county, also the name of a river which rises in Neosho Co. *La bette* = the white beet; *la betterave* = the red beet.

L'Anguille, Ark. A stream in St. Francis County where the common "eel" was found in abundance.

Papillon, Neb. Creek in Sarpy Co. So called by the early French, because there were so many "butterflies" on the banks of this stream.

Plaquemine. The name of places in Kentucky and Louisiana. *Plaquemine* = persimmon, the plum-like fruit of the *plaqueminier*, of the ebony family. The fruit of one of its species is supposed to be the famous "lotus" or "lotos" of the *Lotophagi* (legendary African people), which produced dreamy forgetfulness in the eater.

Pomme de Terre, Minn. A large lake in Grant Co. and a river in Grant and Stevens Counties. The name means "potato," but in this case it was applied to the Indian turnip called *tipsinah* by the Dakota or Sioux people. Also the name of a river in Greene County, Mo.

Roche Moutonnee, Col. A branch of the Eagle River. In this name the French *moutonné*, "undulatory," refers to certain formations found on the surface of glacial rocks.

Ronceverte, W. Va. Town in Greenbrier Co. A compound of *ronce*, "brier," "bramble," and *verte*, "green." The name of the county (Greenbrier) is a translation of the French name of the town.

Bois Blanc, Capron, Chamois, Chataignier, Coquille, Ecorse, Framboise, Frenes, Sangsue, Loutre, Maringouin, Queue Tortue, Racine, Roche Percee, Roseau, Serpent, Souris, Tulipe, Turbot, etc.

## V. Names Related to Indian Tribes

Cœur d'Alene. The name of a river, town, lake and mountains in Idaho. This French name by which the Salish tribe called "Skitswish" is popularly known, means "owl heart" or "heartless." It was, originally, a nickname used by some chief of the tribe to express the size of a trader's heart (his sharpness in trade).

Des Moines. The largest river in the State of Iowa, and the name of places in Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, etc. It derives from the Indian *mikonang*, "road," which the French changed into *moingona*, and shortened it to *moin* calling the river *Rivière des Moins*. It became "Rivière des Moines," after a group of monks had settled there.

Huron. The name of places in South Dakota, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, New York, Ohio, etc. From the Old French *hure*, "bristled," and the suffix *-on; hure* = rough hair on the head, head of the wild boar. The name was bestowed upon a tribe of Iroquois on account of their unkempt appearance. The word *huron* was in use in France as early as 1358, and expresses contempt for a rough or ill-bred person, a vagabond. The original name of the Huron Indian is *Wendat*, corrupted to Yendat, Guyandotte and Wyandot(te).

Nez Perce. County and town in Idaho, and a river in Yellowstone Park, Wyo. A name given by the French to certain tribes which practiced the custom of "piercing the nose" for the insertion of a piece of metal. But by other people they were known as Sahaptin, Tsutpeli, etc.

Osage. The name of many places in Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, etc. Wazhazhe (from the name of a chief) is the name of an important tribe of the Siouan family. It was corrupted by the French traders to "Osage" (perhaps *Aux Sages*).

Pend Oreille. The name of a large lake in Idaho, and of places in Idaho, Montana and Washington. The Kalispel, a Salish tribe in Idaho and N. E. Washington, were called by the French *Pend d'Oreilles*, "ear-drops," because they used to wear pendants or rings in their ears, (*pendants d'oreilles* or *boucles d'oreilles*).

Rogue, Oreg. A river named for the Tututni, an Athapascan tribe. They were known as "rogues" and "coquins." These French words mean "rascals," and were used because the widows of that tribe were buried alive in the graves of their deceased husbands.

Algonquin, Belle Riviere (translation of "Ohio"), Bois d'Arc, Chef Menteur, Guyandotte, Illinois, Iroquois, Lac Court Oreilles, Sanpoil (Sans Poil), Sioux, etc.

## VI. Names Derived from Ordinary Expressions

Bonnet Carre, La. The first capital of St. John Baptist Parish. It is said that the name was applied to a bend in the Mississippi, supposed to bear some resemblance to the shape of a bishop's hat (though the latter is called *mitre* by the French). *Bonnet carré*, literally "square cap," used to be a reference to the "cap of a doctor of divinity" or other doctorate, and the old expression *prendre le bonnet* meant "to take a doctor's degree." The place is now called Lucy (for Lucie Trudeau, fiancée of Charles Huget, the first postmaster of Bonnet Carre, 1876).

Ca Ira, Va. Town in Cumberland Co. The French colloquial expression *ça ira* means "it will go" or "it is sure to come out satisfactorily." It was the earliest of the famous songs sung by the partisans of the French revolution of 1789, said to have originated from an expression used by Franklin when referring to the American Revolution.

Culdesac, Ida. Village in Nez Perce Co. *Cul-de-sac* = blind-alley. *Naut.*, haven, cove: a small harbor.

Ecore Fabre, Ark. A stream entering the Ouachita just above the high bluffs at Camden. The French *écore* or *accore* means "shore-bank," "bluff," "cliff"; Fabre is a proper name which recalls in literature, arts and sciences, several distinguished Frenchmen. Among them, Fabre d'Églantine who provided the Republican calendar, 1793, with that nomenclature of new names of the months: vendémiaire, germinal, messidor, etc.

Portage d'Original, Minn. In Cook Co. Also called Moose Portage. *Portage* means the "act of transporting"; a carrying-place or a track about waterfalls or rapids, or from one navigable river to another. *Original*, *orignal*, *orignac*, and *élan du Canada* are French names for the moose.

Sault Sainte Marie, Mich. City in Chippewa County, located at the foot of the falls of St. Marys River, and therefore so called by the early French. It was the oldest European settlement in Michigan. The French *sault* or *saut* means "jump," "leap," "fall."

Tocsin, Ind. Post office in Wells Co. From the Provençal *toca-senh*, "bell ringing"; has become in French *tocsin*, "signal sounded on a bell." (Also used in English.)

Abattoir, Baton Rouge, Boise, Borgne, Calumet, Deschutes, Detroit, Flambeau, Fond du Lac, Gasconade, Lac qui Parle, Lachine, La Crosse, La Rigolle, L'Hommedieu, Mille Lacs, Terre Haute, Videpoche, etc.

## VII. Names Resulting from Corruptions

Cassatot, Ark. A river. The name is supposed to be a corruption of *casse-tête*, a near meaning of "tomahawk."

Devoe, Ark. A creek in Craighead Co. By the early French it was called *Rivière du Veau*, "calf's river."

Franceway, Ark. A creek in Grant Co. A corruption of the name *François*, "Francis."

Loose, Mo. Creek and village in Osage Co. A corruption of *L'Ours*, "the bear."

Low Freight, Ark. A stream in Clark Co. A curious corruption of *L'Eau Fraîche*, "fresh water," the original French name of the stream. Dunbar and Hunter called it "Bayou de l'Eau Froide."

Meredosia, Ill. Town in Morgan Co. The name stands for *marais d'osier*, "willow marsh."

Ozark, Ala. City in Dale Co. Also the name of places in Arkansas, Missouri, etc. A corruption of *aux arcs*, "at or to the arcs, bends, curves," The French *arcs* here refers to the numerous "bends" of the White River which rises, by several heads, in the Ozark Mountains, Arkansas. Featherstonhaugh says that the name is the French abbreviation of *Aux Arkansas*, and Schoolcraft believes it to be compounded from Osage and Arkansas.

Rickreal, Oreg. River and village in Polk Co. A contraction and corruption of *Rivière Créole*.

Sallisaw, Okla. A creek in Adair and Sequoyah Counties. In Long's *Expedition* reference is made to "Bayou Salaison," meaning "salt-meat, salting, salt-provision." But the name may derive from *sales eaux*, "dirty waters." Nuttall spells it: "salaiseau."

Shopiere, Wis. Town in Rock Co. The name stands for

*chaux*, "lime," and *pierre*, "stone"; it is descriptive of the geological formation about the place.

Siskiyou, Cal. A northern county. Some authorities say that it is a corruption of the original French name of this section, and that it stands for *six cailloux*, "six boulders or stones." Other etymologists believe that it is an Indian word meaning "bob-tailed horse." It is also the name of mountains in Oregon.

Smackover, Ark. A stream in Union Co. Dunbar and Hunter call it "Chemin Couvert." The original land map, surveyed between 1838 and 1845, labels it "Smack Overt"; this suggests *Chemin Ouvert*, "open road." However, the linking of the letters *k* and *o* would sound *ko*, suggesting *Chemin Couvert*, "covered road."

Bouff (Boeuf), Cannon (Canots), Darysaw (Des Ruisseaux), L'Agles (L'Aigle), Movestar (Mauvaise Terre), Ozan (Aux Anes), Sincarte (Chenal Écarté), Tchemanahaut (Chemin en Haut), Turnwall (Terre Noire), etc.

Names originally French, translated into English are numerous: James River, in N. and S. Dakota, used to be called "Rivière à Jacques"; Black Hills, Crown Point, Green Bay, Lake of the Woods, Pearl River, Rainy and Yellowstone, are in the long list of translated names.

Henry G. Bayer

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# AMERICAN NOTES IN THE ODES OF LABINDO

GIOVANNI FANTONI (1755–1807), better known as Labindo, the name given him on his reception into Arcadia, January 14, 1776, attempted with some success the adaptation of Classic meters to modern Italian verse. His Horation odes earned him the praise of his more distinguished contemporary Vittorio Alfieri, who saluted him in verse as "etrusco Orazio." Writing of Fantoni more than fifty years ago, the poet Carducci [1] declared that posterity had been harsh to him, although in the first half of the nineteenth century there were many editions of his poems. Most important was the complete edition in three volumes published by the poet's nephew Agostino Fantoni in 1823 with the imprint "Italia" (Florence) and reprinted at Lugano the same year. My references to the 1823 edition are based on the Lugano reprint.

Like Alfieri, Fantoni was (at least in his youth) English in sympathy, celebrating in his early verses the victories of Rodney, Elliott, and Howe, as well as devoting flattering verses to the Italianized Englishman Lord Clavering Cowper who lived in Florence and whose wife was in such favor at the Court there. In later poems such as *All'Italia* (1797) and the *Inno a Dio* ("parafrasi di quello di Giuseppe Maria Chenier"), the anti-English expressions are the result of Fantoni's personal feeling that England, like France, was intent on using the Italians simply for her own interests. However, even in the earlier poems, while celebrating English successes, he lauds the American revolutionists and the blessings of liberty. But Fantoni was no Alfieri. He was—in the first part of his life—a maker of pleasant-sounding verses, and his expressions of love of liberty seem to lack the passionate fervor of Alfieri's. Fantoni's Italian

[1] Carducci devoted some pages to Fantoni in the preface to his edition of *Lirici del secolo XVIII* published at Florence in 1871 (*Opere*, Bologna, Zanichelli, v. XIX, 1909, pp. 163–186). See also "Un giacobino in formazione" in *Nuova Antologia*, Jan. 1, 1889, and "Un poeta giacobino in formazione" in *Rev. d'Italia* of January, 1899, both reprinted in *Opere*, v. XIX, 189–246, under the general title *La gioventù poetica di Giovanni Fantoni.*

patriotism was proved later when he refused to follow so many of his compatriots in subordinating, as he believed, Italian interests to those of France. The sincerity of his convictions—however questionable they appeared to many—is hardly open to doubt.

Fantoni's first volume of poems, entitled *Odi di Labindo*, was published in 1782 at Massa [2] with the fictitious imprint "A bordo del Formidabile/MDCCLXXXII/Con Permesso dell'Ammiraglio Rodney." [3] The dedication, in language of rather fulsome flattery, is to the Empress Catherine II of Russia. It is interesting to note that among these first published poems is one, *Al Merito*,[4] celebrating both the English Rodney, who commanded a fleet in operations against the French who were assisting the revolting colonists, and the American Washington:

> "Washington copre dai materni sdegni
> l'americana libertà nascente:
> di Rodney al nome tace il mar fremente,
> temono i regni."

Like other Italian poets in those changeable times at the end of the eighteenth century, Fantoni did not hesitate to change his poems to fit a different subject or occasion. His ode entitled "Per il ritorno di Beniamino Franklin a Filadelfia dopo la pace del 1785" (pp. 22–23) was originally composed "Per il ritorno d'America a Londra dell'ammiraglio Rodney dopo la vittoria del dì 12 aprile 1782" and appeared in that form in editions of 1785, 1792, and 1800. In the edition published by the poet's nephew in 1823 the Franklin version appears, with the dates of composition given at the end as 1783–1803. The original six stanzas are increased to nine. The words "Sorgi, Tamigi" at the beginning of the first stanza are replaced by "Sorgi, Laware" and the stanza ends "Franklin ritorna." In the second stanza

[2] That the Formidabile edition of 1782 was really printed at Massa is admitted by Fantoni in a letter printed on pp. 74–76 of Vol. I of the Lugano edition of 1823. The Formidabile edition is now very rare. From a copy owned by Prof. C. C. Hyde of Columbia University, Mr. Francis R. Hart of Boston caused photostatic copies to be made which are now available in the Harvard Library, John Carter Brown Library, British Museum, Grolier Club of New York, and two or three other libraries.

[3] The Formidabile was Rodney's flagship.

[4] Giovanni Fantoni (Labindo), *Poesie*, a cura di Gerolamo Lazzeri, Bari, Laterza, 1913, pp. 12–14. Unless otherwise indicated, page references in this article are to the Lazzeri edition.

we find the two aspects of Franklin's career, the scientific and the patriotic, duly celebrated:

> "Franklin, tuo figlio, che di ferro armato
> rapì dal cielo i fulmini stridenti,
> cui diede l'arte di creare il fato
> libere genti."

In the ode *Ad Antonio Cerati* (pp. 46–47), written in 1786, Franklin appears as the "Prometeo filadelfiaco," and is mentioned with Tell and Cromwell in the ode *A Ranieri Calsabigi* (pp. 88–89) dating from 1792. The ode *A Giuseppe Bencivenni, già Pelli* (pp. 116–117), written in 1784, contains a reference to "la pensilvana libertà," while "il Pensilvano" receives honorable mention in the verses *Alla Fortuna* (pp. 141–142) and *A Palmiro Cidonio* (pp. 183–187). The first of these last two belongs to the year 1791, while the other was written in 1778 and appears in the Formidabile edition of 1782. Four lines are worth quoting here as the earliest reference in Fantoni's odes to Franklin and the American Revolution:[5]

> "Dei tiranni il giogo scuote
> lo sprezzato Americano,
> cui apprese il Pensilvano,
> nuovo Bruto, a trionfar."

"Washington, più giovin Fabio" and Franklin "chi a Giove il fulmine/tolse e ai tiranni lo scettro" share honors in the almost all-American ode *Il Vaticinio* (pp. 160–162) dated 1793. The poet pictures "lo scettrato genio britannico" rising from the waves as the French fleet speeds westward through the silent night and prophesying future troubles for France as a result of helping the American revolutionists. There are references in the poem to "la prole di Penn" and to Boston. As early as 1782 Boston is mentioned in the ode *All'Ammiraglio Rodney* (p. 15) celebrating the English victory over De Grasse on April 12, 1782.

In the 1823 edition published by Agostino Fantoni there is an ode "per il giorno natalizio di Giorgio Washington" made over from one originally composed for the birthday of the poet's

[5] I quote from the Lazzeri edition. In the edition of 1782 the words "ed apprende" appear instead of "cui apprese."

friend the Marquis Carlo di Fosdinovo. It is given (p. 107) in its original form by Lazzeri, who follows the edition of 1792 and preceding editions. The Lugano reprint of the 1823 edition contains (v. I, p. 199) Agostino Fantoni's note stating that the author made the change in 1794 but the change does not appear in the Pisa edition of 1800.

Labindo's sapphic ode *Per la pace del 1783* (p. 21) has a charm and grace in marked contrast with the tone of the fifth ode of Alfieri's *America libera* inspired by the same event. Alfieri's ode, however, seems more worthy of the subject. In the odes *Al marchese C. B. deluso nelle sue speranze da una corte* (pp. 8–10) and *A Carlo Emanuele Malaspina, marchese di Fosdinovo* (pp. 17–18), the first written in 1781 and the second in the following year, as well as in the long *Epistola* (pp. 365–375) addressed in 1803 to Napoleon Bonaparte, in which the poet warns against the seductions of ambition and appeals in behalf of Italy, we find references to America. In the ode *Ad Antonio Boccardi* (pp. 157–159), written ten years later (1792), we have an idyllic picture of the simple innocent life of the Brazilian native whom the poet praises as superior to the more civilized European.

Among the many poetical works Fantoni planned but had not completed when he died are two of interest to us. One of these was an ode entitled *La Famiglia universale* addressed *A Tommaso Jefferson Americano.*[6] The other, a long work in four books inspired by Virgil's *Georgics*, was begun in 1788. In the second book Fantoni planned to treat at length of Negro slavery in America. An outline of the entire poem and several fragments are to be found in the edition of Fantoni's works published by his nephew in 1823.[7]

In 1801 Fantoni published at Bologna an Italian version of one of Franklin's early writings.[8] In his preface "Al Popolo bolognese," the good citizens of Bologna are told how Franklin's

[6] Lugano ed. (1823), vol. I, p. 64. See also Vol. III, p. 189, for a reference to "il virtuoso Jefferson" and the Carrarese sculptors at Washington in Fantoni's discourse of May 8, 1807, to the Academy of Fine Arts of Carrara, of which he was secretary.

[7] Lugano ed., vol. III, pp. 84 ff.

[8] *La Strada di far fortuna o la scienza del buon uomo Riccardo*, Bologna, MDCCCI.

maxims were adopted in Philadelphia with the result that "industry increased there and frugality became the chosen virtue of the people." The Bolognese are assured that, although their customs "are not so pure as those of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania," they too can become industrious and frugal by reading and applying Franklin's precepts. Fantoni's work is a free paraphrase based on a French translation.[9]

Enough evidence has been given to indicate that Fantoni had more than a passing interest in the new nation across the Atlantic. Considering the comparatively small bulk of Fantoni's work, the prominence of America therein is striking.

[9] A. Neri, "Un Opuscolo sconosciuto di Giovanni Fantoni," in *Giornale storico della Lunigiana*, v. I, 1909, 62–65.

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# UNPUBLISHED FRENCH LETTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(*Continued*)

## XIII. Lavoisier [to Benjamin Franklin]

During his residence in Paris, Franklin became intimately acquainted with the chemist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier. On March 12, 1784, a commission composed of five physicians and five scientists, among the latter Franklin and Lavoisier, was appointed to investigate the theories and the pretensions of Mesmer.[88] On October 23, 1788, Franklin wrote from Philadelphia to Mme Lavoisier the following encomium of Paris and Parisians:

". . . yet all [my earthly blessings] do not make me forget Paris and the nine years' happiness I enjoyed there, in the sweet society of a people whose conversation is instructive, whose manners are highly pleasing, and who above all the nations of the world, have in the greatest perfection the art of making themselves beloved by strangers. And now, even in my sleep, I find that the scenes of all my pleasant dreams are laid in that city or in its neighbourhood." [89]

Lavoisier's letter to Franklin follows:

Monsieur

Le S. Fouquet qui aura l'honneur de vous remettre la présente lettre, est un sujet intelligent, attaché très anciennement au service des poudres de France,[90] qui a passé il y a quelques années en Amérique, pour y construire des fabriques de poudre.[91]

[88] John Bigelow, *The Complete Works of B. F.*, New York and London, 1887–1888, VIII, 461, note 1.

[89] *The Private Correspondence of B. F.*, London, 1817, I, 246.

[90] On March 30, 1775, Turgot established the *régie des poudres*. On June 30 Lavoisier was appointed one of the four *régisseurs*.

[91] Nicolas Fouquet and his son Marc arrived from France about October 4, 1777, "to tender their services to the United States." On January 15, 1778, Nicolas was appointed captain of artillery and Marc lieutenant of artillery in the United States army. On October 12, 1779, *The Journals of the Continental Congress* (*1774–1789*) (Washington, 1907, XV, 1164–65) speaks of the Fouquets as having been "employed

L'objet de son voyage se trouvant rempli à la satisfaction du Congrès des Etats-Unis, il vient de repasser en France. Le Congrès avoit pris l'engagement de faire les frais de son retour, et il avoit été embarqué à cet effet sur la frégate la *Considération*,[92] armée par le Congrès pour ramener M. Gérard en France. Le gros tems ayant obligé ce batiment de relacher à la Martinique,[93] le S. Fouquet y est resté cinq mois à ses frais, et pendant cet intervalle de tems, y a dépensé beaucoup d'argent, de sorte que l'objet du Congrès, qui étoit de le renvoyer en France sans qu'il lui en coutat rien, ne se trouve point rempli. Dans ces circonstances le S. Fouquet a recours à votre justice pour obtenir le remboursement des frais qu'il a fait pendant son séjour à la Martinique. Le S. Fouquet est un homme zelé et intelligent, qui paroit avoir fait en Amérique des établissemens utiles. Il est digne de vos bontés et de votre protection.

Je suis avec respect, Monsieur,
Votre très humble
et très obéissant serviteur
LAVOISIER.[94]

Paris 26 juillet 1780.

On August 9, 1780, less than a fortnight after receiving Lavoisier's letter, Franklin wrote from Passy to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress:

"M. Fouquet, who was employ'd by Congress to instruct People in making Gunpowder, is arrived here, after a long

in the service of the United States for two years, in superintending the business of manufacturing powder and saltpetre, and having conducted themselves with much reputation, and evidenced their utility to the United States. . . . They have written treatises on the subject of saltpetre and powder making, which the Board have procured to be published, and they have left models of a Powder Mill and a Machine to bore Mortars with the Board." For further information concerning the services of the Fouquets to the United States, see the many references in the Index of *The Journals of the Continental Congress;* also *Calendar of the Papers of B. F.*, I, 471 and 484, II, 199.

[92] The frigate was named *Confederacy.*

[93] The *Confederacy*, carrying Conrad-Alexandre Gérard, the first French minister to the United States, sailed from Philadelphia on October 20, 1779. On November 7 she was so badly damaged in a storm that it was deemed imprudent to continue to France. She arrived at Saint-Pierre, Martinique, on December 18. For details of the storm and its consequences, see Gardner W. Allen, *A Naval History of the American Revolution*, Boston and New York, 1913, II, 404–407, and Wladimir d'Ormesson, *La Première Mission officielle de la France aux États-Unis—Conrad-Alexandre Gérard (1778–1779)*, Paris, 1924, pp. 216–217.

[94] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last page blank. 4to.

Passage; he has requested me to transmit a Memorial to Congress, which I do, enclosed." [95]

I have been unable to discover what disposition was made by Congress of Fouquet's claim.

## XIV. D'Alembert to —?

Quoique je n'aye aucun accès, Monsieur, ni auprès de Mr. de Maurepas, ni auprès de Mr. de Vergennes,[96] je ferai mon possible pour leur faire recommander le pauvre chanoine persécuté; mais il faudroit pour cela m'envoyer son nom. Il seroit déja libre, si mon credit etoit égal à mon zèle.

Comme je n'ai jamais lu une feuille de Linguet,[97] je prends peu de part à son emprisonnement. Les sottises qui l'ont fait coffrer, et dont on parle diversement, ne seront pas les dernieres. Quoi qu'il en soit, j'ai bien peur que vos pronostications sur le sort des lettres en France ne soient que trop vraies—avilies, opprimées, denigrées, persecutées comme elles le sont, tout paroit leur promettre le triste sort dont vous les menacez. Heureusement je n'y serai plus. Mais tant que j'y serai, soyez sur de tous les sentimens d'estime et d'attachement que je vous ai voués pour ma vie.

d'Alembert.

Un devoiement que j'ai eu pendant plusieurs jours, et qui m'a fort affoibli, m'a empeché d'avoir l'honneur de vous repondre plutôt, et la foiblesse qui me reste encore m'oblige au laconisme.[98]

Paris ce 16 octobre 1780.

## XV. Marat [to Benjamin Franklin]

Before assuming a leading rôle in the French Revolution, Jean-Paul Marat eked out a meager living by teaching French in

[95] *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, edited by Francis Wharton, Washington, 1889, IV, 24.

[96] The comte de Maurepas was Prime Minister and the comte de Vergennes Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[97] Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet (b. 1736), lawyer and pamphleteer. A quarrel with d'Alembert in 1762 caused him to desert the ranks of the *philosophes* and go over to their opponents. For an abusive attack on the duc de Duras, a member of the French Academy and a Marshal of France, he was imprisoned in the Bastille (September 27, 1780–May 19, 1782). His *Mémoires sur la Bastille* (London, 1783) is his best work. He was guillotined in 1794.

[98] Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers*. 4 pp., last three pages blank. 4to.

England and by the practice of medicine, writing, and experimenting in physics in Paris. On December 18, 1778, Franklin jotted down the following note:

"Received a parcel from an unknown philosopher [Marat], who submits to my consideration a memoir on the subject of *elementary fire*, containing experiments in a dark chamber. It seems to be well written, and is in English, with a little tincture of French idiom. I wish to see the experiments, without which I cannot judge of it." [99]

Jacques-Pierre Brissot, a most hostile critic of Marat, wrote in his *Mémoires:*

"Il [Marat] était infatigable dans le travail, habile dans l'art de faire des expériences. J'entendis un jour Franklin lui rendre cet hommage. Ses expériences sur la lumière l'avaient enchanté. Je n'en dirai pas de même de celles du feu ou de l'électricité. Marat crut avoir fait des découvertes qui détruisaient le système de Franklin; mais ce dernier ne fut point dupe de son charlatanisme." [100]

A considerable number of letters passed between Franklin and Marat. In *L'Ami du Peuple* (No. CXLIV), Marat inserted the following notice:

"Avertissement. Dans la honteuse expédition du 22 janvier [1790], mon appartement ayant été fourragé par les satellites aux ordres de l'administrateur des finances, on en a enlevé . . . 57 lettres, parmi lesquelles 17 de Francklin. . . ."

On the other hand, the *Calendar of the Papers of B. Franklin* mentions letters written to Franklin by Marat on these dates: March 25, March 29 (two letters), March 30, April 12, and June 4, 1779; and August 1, 1783. All these letters except the last concern Marat's experiments.

Although opposed to some of Franklin's ideas on electricity, Marat did ample justice to the great American. In his *Recherches physiques sur l'électricité,*[101] he said:

"Comment ne pas se rappeler tout ce que l'électricité doit au célèbre Franklin? D'autres avant lui avaient porté le raison-

[99] James Parton, *op. cit.*, II, 366.
[100] *Mémoires de Brissot*, Paris, 1877, p. 183.
[101] Paris, 1782, p. 9.

nement dans certaines branches de cette science; le premier, il la considéra sous de grands points de vue, il multiplia les faits, généralisa les résultats, éclaircit les phénomènes, et lui donna quelques principes et quelques lois. . . ."

Shortly after Franklin's death in 1790, Marat spoke of him as "ce sage qui honora l'humanité, qui vengea les droits de l'homme." [102]

The following unpublished letter was penned by Marat some two years after the beginning of his relations with Franklin.

Monsieur,

Je connois vôtre gout pour les sciences et vôtre amour pour le vrai. D'après la haute opinion que j'ai de vôtre sagacité et de vôtre impartialité, je ne crains pas de soumettre à vôtre jugement des experiences nouvelles diametralement opposées aux idées reçues. Dans le nombre, il en est qui démontrent que le fluide electrique n'est pas doué d'une force répulsive essentielle à ses globules. Il en est aussi qui prouvent que tous les corps conduisent le fluide electrique. Enfin il en est qui établissent la méthode de charger la bouteille de Leyde, quoique isolée.

Parmi les instrumens que j'ai inventé on voit un nouvel electrometre qui forme une vraie répetition electrique; un dechargeur approprié aux liquides; une bouteille de Leyde qui se charge, quoique isolée; &c, &c.

Si ces nouveautés peuvent piquer vôtre curiosité, je vous prie, Monsieur, de choisir un jour (depuis le 21 jusqu'au 30 de ce mois) qui vous soit comode, et de prendre la peine de vous transporter dans mon cabinet Rue de Bourgogne,[103] où je me ferai un plaisir de mettre ces differens objets sous vos yeux.

Je me flatte, Monsieur, que vous voudrés bien regarder la démarche que je fais aujourd'hui à vôtre egard, come le temoignaige le plus flatteur que je puisse vous donner de tout le cas que je fais de vos lumières et de vôtre candeur.

Si vous desirés, Monsieur, m'amener quelques amateurs éclairés, ils seront bien reçus; vous trouverés chez moi quelques unes de vos conoissances, et plusieurs de vos admirateurs.[104]

[102] *L'Ami du Peuple*, No. CXXXIV.

[103] Near the Hôtel des Invalides.

[104] Franklin visited Marat several times. In a letter dated March 7, 1779, Jacques-Pierre Brissot says that he saw Franklin at Marat's experiments and admired him from afar (*Calendar of the Papers of B. F.*, II, 39).

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec les sentimens de l'estime la plus distinguée, Monsieur,

Vôtre très humble et très
obéissant serviteur
MARAT.

Paris ce 18 Novemb. 1780.

*P S* Vous voudrés bien, Monsieur, me marquer le jour dont vous aurés fait choix.[105]

We are fortunate in having Franklin's reply to Marat's letter:

PASSY, Nov. 24, 1780.

Sir,—I received your obliging invitation to attend your curious experiments, on some days between the 21 and 30th of this month; but as I am laid up with the gout, and see no prospect of being able to go to Paris within that time, I can only return you my thanks. If you have any description of those experiments written, I should be glad to see it, unless inconvenient to you. With great regard, I have the honor to be, Sir, &c., &c.[106]

## XVI. [BUFFON] TO MME NECKER

The friendship of Buffon and Mme Necker began in 1774, when he was sixty-seven years old and she was thirty-five. Buffon's passionate, respectful letters to Mme Necker[107] are couched in such grandiloquent, adulatory terms that certain critics have found them ridiculous. A saner attitude is to see in them the affection and the gratitude of a man whose gloomy old age was converted into a period of delight by the kindness and the companionship of a superior woman. Buffon worshipped Mme Necker and she regarded him as "la plus haute expression de l'humanité."[108] It would be difficult to find more touching devotion than Mme Necker's tender care of the great naturalist just before his death. She took up her abode at the *Jardin du roi* and for five days remained unflinchingly at his bedside during his frightful death-struggle.

The following unpublished note affords only a feeble idea of Buffon's admiration of Mme. Necker:

[105] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp. 4to.
[106] Edward Everett Hale and E. E. Hale, Jr., *Franklin in France*, I, 387.
[107] Some eighty have been published.
[108] D'Haussonville, *Le Salon de madame Necker*, I, 315.

Si je voulois representer l'honneur d'un sexe je peindrois Madame Necker, si je voulois presenter la vertu des deux je la peindrois encore et je joindrois a mon portrait les attributs de tous les talents; cette image charmante chasse les noirs fantomes dont je suis environné. Mais je suis inquiet de votre santé, ma tres digne et chere Dame, et j'ai mille regrets de ne pouvoir aller en savoir des nouvelles et vous remercier. Je vais en attendant m'occuper a lire l'ouvrage de Monsieur Necker,[109] c'est encore la distraction la plus agreable qu'il fut possible de me procurer.[110] Au Jardin du Roy [111] 22 avril.

## XVII. Buffon [to Mme Necker]

The main topic of this letter is Catherine II of Russia, who, it will be recalled, endeavored to win the favor of all the great minds of her time.

Buffon's relations with the Empress began in 1779.[112] Learning that she had read with enthusiasm his *Époques de la nature*, he sent her all his works. She in return presented him with her portrait, a gold snuffbox, superb furs, a solid gold chain, and a collection of medals and medallions. Buffon, not to be outdone, offered her his portrait (probably by Boucher) and his bust by Houdon. On account of his advanced age, Buffon felt unable to make the wearisome journey to Saint-Petersburg, and so he decided to send his bust and his portrait by his son Georges-Louis-Marie, a young officer in the guards, who was then not quite eighteen years old.[113] His choice of a messenger was unfortunate. In spite of a warm welcome by the Empress, Buffon *fils* failed to live up to his father's great name. On December 7, 1782, Catherine wrote to Grimm:

"Ici l'on prétend que ce jeune homme se grise très souvent et qu'on le voyait venir gris dans les sociétés; j'espère que cela

[109] Probably either *Le Compte rendu présenté au roi* (January, 1781) or *De l'administration des finances de la France* (1784).

[110] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last three pages blank. Small 4to.

[111] Buffon was intendant of the *Jardin du roi* from 1739 until his death in 1788.

[112] See Charles de Larivière, *La France et la Russie au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1909, I, 135–158: "Catherine II et Buffon."

[113] *Correspondance inédite de Buffon*, published by Henri Nadault de Buffon, II, 112 and 119.

n'est pas vrai. Jusqu'ici on ne lui voit pas la tête du papa; il est vrai que ce n'est qu'un enfant!" [114]

As the French Revolution approached, Catherine's enthusiasm for the elder Buffon turned to cold veneration (a bitter opponent of all the ideas that the Revolution stood for, she could not forgive him for being French). When Buffon died, she wrote to Grimm:

"Je suis bien fâchée de la mort de M. de Buffon, et de la faiblesse de vos yeux." [115]

Buffon's letter to Mme Necker runs as follows:

Mon fils vient d'arriver,[116] et je suis faché, ma noble amie, de vous avoir inquiété de mes propres inquiétudes qui depuis plusieurs jours m'avoient ôté le sommeil et l'apétit; enfin je suis content et tranquile et j'espère que dans quinze jours ou trois semaines j'aurai le bonheur de vous voir. Je dois en attendant vous faire part de la lettre que je reçois de l'Impératrice. Vous pouvés vous souvenir, ma très respectable amie, que dans la lettre dont j'avois chargé mon fils je marquois à cette grande Princesse l'estime que M. Necker a pour elle et que nous aurions bien désiré d'aller tous deux lui faire notre cour.[117] Voici ce qu'elle me répond sur cela par sa lettre dattée du 6 9$^{bre}$. *Si vous étiés venu ici accompagné de Monsieur Necker, non seulement vous m'auriés causé une très agréable surprise, mais aussi j'aurois jouis de la satisfaction rare de voir deux personnes dont le génie et les talens se sont acquis l'estime et la considération la plus généralle ainsi que la mieux méritée.*[118] Joignés mes petits respects à ces

[114] Quoted by Larivière, *op. cit.*, I, 150. Buffon *fils* also made a poor impression on Grimm, who in 1793 wrote to Catherine: "Ce nigaud de Buffon, qui a hérité de son père un nom illustre, le plus lourd des fardeaux pour un imbécile . . ." (Larivière, *op. cit.*, I, 151). Buffon *fils* was guillotined at Paris on July 10, 1794. On the scaffold he said to the assembled throng: "Citoyens, je me nomme Buffon!"

[115] Quoted by Larivière, *op. cit.*, I, 158.

[116] Buffon's son left Paris for Saint-Petersburg on April 25, 1782, and returned in February, 1783.

[117] In a letter dated at Paris, April 23, 1782, Buffon wrote to Catherine:

"Voilà le buste avec mon fils, et peu s'en est fallu que je ne sois parti avec M. Necker, qui a comme moi la plus haute admiration et le plus profond respect pour la personne de Votre Majesté Impériale. Mais mes soixante-quatorze ans et ses travaux, même dans son loisir, ne le permettent pas, et ne nous laissent que des regrets. Mon fils n'est encore qu'un enfant de dix-huit ans . . ." (*Correspondance inédite de Buffon*, II, 119).

[118] The letter from which this extract is taken was brought to Buffon by his son. For further information concerning it, see Larivière, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

grands hommages à votre cher Epoux; je n'ai que cet instant pour vous écrire, mon adorable amie, et vous renouveller tous les sentimens que je vous ai voué et qui font le bonheur de ma vie.

BUFFON.[119]

Montbard ce 24 février 1783.

## XVIII. GRIMM TO FRANKLIN

Le B^on^ de Grimm a l'honeur de présenter ses hommages à Monsieur Franklin, et de le remercier très humblement du beau présent qu'il a bien voulu lui faire.[120]

Ce vendredi 25 Juillet.

[119] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last two pages blank. 4to.

[120] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last three pages blank. 4to. For mention of another letter from Grimm to Franklin, see *Calendar of the Papers of B. F.*, III, 246. In this letter, dated at Paris, February 28, 1785, Grimm recommends a German and a Swiss to Franklin.

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*(To be continued)*

# MISCELLANEOUS

## APUNTACIONES SOBRE VIEJAS FÓRMULAS CASTELLANAS DE SALUDO

MUY escasas son las fórmulas de saludo y de despedida en los textos castellanos medievales. Por lo común, se empieza y se termina el diálogo sin expresiones de cortesía, limitándose a consignar el autor que los personajes 'se saludaron' o 'se despidieron.' Y cuando hay saludo, no escuchamos casi nunca la respuesta, sino al autor que dice: 'e él le tornó las saludes.' En *Kalila et Digna*, v. gr., a pesar de sus diálogos abundantes, registramos sólo cuatro casos; dos en el *Poema de Fernán González*, y otros dos en el llamado *Libro de los gatos;* uno solamente en las ocho obras de D. Juan Manuel impresas por Gayangos; nada más que uno asimismo en el extenso libro de los *Castigos e documentos* y en el *Tablante de Ricamonte.* Ni uno siquiera en otras obras en prosa o en verso con abundantes diálogos, tales como el *Libro de los Reyes de Oriente, Libro de Alexandre, Poema de José, Vida de San Idelfonso, Rimado de Palacio, Danza de la Muerte, Libro de Josep Abarimatia, Estoria de Merlín, Penitencia de Amor*, etc. Singularmente rico es, sin embargo, en tales fórmulas el *Cantar de Mio Cid;* el poeta, en su arte realista, no omite las expresiones corrientes al encontrarse dos personas o al separarse: 'Dios vos curie de mal' (v. 1396, etc.), que se ha mantenido sin interrupción hasta nuestros propios días en su variante de 'Dios os guarde,' empleada aún por aldeanos y labriegos españoles; 'A Dios vos acomiendo' (v. 372, 2628), primera forma que reviste el 'Adiós' moderno; 'Bivades muchos dias' (v. 934); 'Omillome' (v. 1396, etc.) o 'A vos me omillo' (v. 1748); 'Tan buen dia convusco' (v. 1520), que bien se ve corresponde a los 'Buenos días' de hoy; 'Merced' (v. 1432, etc.), en pasajes donde nada se pide, sino meramente se saluda. Ofrece también dos expresiones interrogativas con valor de saludo: '¿Venides?' (v. 204, etc.), correspondiente al estilo moderno de '¿Usted por aquí?,' como nota Menéndez Pidal, y acompañado a veces de la forma completa de saludo, '¿Venides, mis fijas? Dios vos curie de mal' (v. 2890); '¿Ides vos?' (v. 829), al modo de nuestro '¿Se va usted?,' también acompañado de forma completa de despedida en algún caso, '¿Hya vos ides, Minaya? Id a la graçia del Criador' (v. 1379).

DIOS OS GUARDE. Su forma primera, el 'Dios vos curie de mal' del *Cantar*, sólo en otro texto la hallamos repetida, en el *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (v. 74). Reaparece ligeramente alterada dos siglos más tarde en el *Tristán de Leonís* (ed. 1928, págs. 138, 209): 'Dios vos guarde de mal.' La forma abreviada de 'Dios os guarde' se encuentra ya en *Kalila et Digna* (ed. *B.A.E.*, LI, 51b), y también en *Caballero Cifar* (ed. 1872, págs. 25, 66), *Batalla campal de los perros y lobos* de Alfonso de Palencia (ed. 1876, p. 51), *Romances* (ed. Wolf y Hofmann, I, 290), *Teatro* de Encina (ed. 1893, p. 292), *Propaladia* de Torres Naharro (ed. 1880–1900: I, 267, 357: II, 16, 45, 200), y la veremos prevalecer en el siglo de oro de las letras españolas.

SALUD OS DÉ DIOS. El saludo de 'Bivades muchos dias' del *Cantar* reviste la forma de 'Dios vos de vida' en *Kalila et Digna* (p. 26a), mas 'Deuos Dios salut,' 'Salud ayades,' o simplemente 'Salut,' en la *Primera Crónica General* (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, V, 380b, 381a, 435a), siendo esta última la forma epistolar en *Libro de buen amor*

(ed. 1914, c. 1193d) y *Libro de los exemplos* (ed. *B.A.E.*, LI, 477b). 'Dios vos de salud' en *Amadís de Gaula* (ed. *B.A.E.*, XL, 103b) y Torres Naharro, con la respuesta de 'Asi haga a vos' (II, 354).

Omíllome. Esta fórmula del *Cantar* se halla igualmente en el *Poema de Fernán González* (ed. 1904, c. 48a, 286b); empléala el Arcipreste de Hita tanto para saludar a un caballero ('Omillome, señor,' c. 1089c, 1331c) como a una serrana ('Omillome, serrana falaguera,' c. 975c, 1025b); se encuentra en el *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (ed. *B.A.E.*, LVII, 494b, 535b, 543b, 549a), y su última y solitaria muestra la presenta *El Cantar de Rodrigo* (ed. 1911, v. 365).

Buenos Dias. En el *Cantar de Mio Cid*, el moro Avengalvon saluda a Minaya con la frase 'Tan buen dia convusco,' la cual no hallo en ningún otro texto medieval consultado, hasta llegar al teatro de Encina, que trae 'Dios os dé buen dia' (p. 92) y 'Buenas noches os dé Dios' (p. 286). En su forma plural aparece en *Tristán de Leonís*, 'Dios vos dé buenos dias' (págs. 90, 123, 151, 206), esto es, 'larga vida,' a lo cual responde el interlocutor: 'Dios vos dé buena vida' (p. 90) o 'Asi faga a vos' (p. 123). En Torres Naharro tenemos ya la forma abreviada moderna, 'Buenos dias' (I, 182, 351, 377: II, 137).

Adiós. Léese 'A Dios vos acomiendo' en dos pasajes del *Cantar*, y así también en el *Cifar* (p. 66), *Demanda del Santo Grial* (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, VI, 276b), Alvarez de Villasandino (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, XXII, 333a), Encina (p. 212), *La Celestina* (ed. 1913: II, 184) y *Tristán de Leonís* (p. 187). Fórmula más corriente era la de 'Id a Dios,' que aparece en el *Cifar* (p. 83), donde alterna con 'Id en el nombre de Dios' (p. 148), y se repite en el *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (p. 511a), *Cuento del Emperador Carlos Maynes* (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, VI, 521b), *Baladro del sabio Merlín* (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, VI, 114a), y en su forma de 'A Dios vayais' es frecuentísima en el *Amadís* (págs. 15a, 52b, 70b, etc.). Dícese en el *Baladro* 'A Dios seays encomendado' (p. 15a), y allí también su forma abreviada, 'A Dios seays' (p. 73b), prevaleciendo ésta en los textos que consideramos posteriores en redacción, juntamente con la respuesta del que parte, 'A Dios quedeis,' v. gr., en Alfonso de Palencia (p. 32), *Romances* (I, 20), Encina (págs. 109, 395), *La Celestina* (I, 64, 260: II, 8), *Amadís* (p. 71a), Lucas Fernández (ed. 1867, p. 69). La fórmula queda aun más abreviada, a la moderna, 'Adiós,' en los *Romances* (I, 177: II, 186), Encina (p. 292) y Torres Naharro (II, 70, 164).

Dios Os Salve. Aparece en el *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, 'Dios uos salue' (v. 52), con la variante de 'Saluete el Criador' (v. 74). Es saludo más frecuente que 'Dios os guarde' en la Edad Media, como se ve en el *Libro de Apolonio* (ed. 1917, c. 122c, 489b), *Kalila et Digna* (p. 24a), *Primera Crónica General* (p. 563a), *Cifar* (p. 83), *Libro de buen amor* (c. 531d, 997c, 1494b), *Libro de los gatos* (ed. *B.A.E.*, LI, 552a), *Libro de los exemplos* (p. 483a), *Carlos Maynes* (págs. 503a, 508a, 522a), *Baladro* (págs. 92a, 112a), *Demanda del Santo Grial* (p. 285b), *Tratado de la perfección del triunfo militar* (p. 107) de Palencia; *Romances* (I, 78, 90, 344: II, 68, 227, 236), donde se encuentra la respuesta 'Asi haga a ti' (I, 90); Santillana (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, XIX, 571b), Encina (págs. 3, 52, 92, 108, 259), *La Celestina* (I, 257), *Tristán de Leonís* (págs. 183, 215), *Amadís* (págs. 70b, 81a) y Torres Naharro (II, 160, 233). Que cuando menos en el siglo XIV era el saludo habitual, confírmalo los pasajes siguientes, del *Cifar* el primero, del *Libro de buen amor* el segundo: "E fuese luego para el cavallero Cifar, e en logar de le deçir *Dios vos salve*, dixole estas palabras: Cavallero desaventurado . . ." (p. 83). Y el de Hita:

> "Vino mi leal vieja alegre e plasentera,
> ante del *Dios vos salve* dixo la mensajera . . ." (c. 1494ab)

Id en Paz: Paz Sea con Vosotros. La primera de estas fórmulas, 'Id uos en paz,' no la hallo en texto anterior a la *Vida de Santa María Egipciaca* (ed. *B.A.E.*, LVII, 318b), se repite en el *Libro de Apolonio*, 'Ue en patz' (c. 478b), *Libro de los exemplos*, 'Vete en paz' (p. 447a), y con esta última forma en Torres Naharro (II, 221), que trae la respuesta de 'Dios te la dé.' La segunda fórmula, empleada como saludo, rara vez como despedida, la presenta el *Libro de buen amor*, 'Dios vos dé paz' (c. 775b); *Demanda del Santo Grial*, 'Paz sea con vos' (p. 168a), alternando aquí con 'Deos Dios paz' (p. 240a); y *La Celestina*, con la variante de 'Paz sea en esta casa' (I, 158), que tiene por respuesta un 'Seas bienvenida.'

Bienvenido. Es esta expresión de saludo tan corriente y habitual como la de 'Dios os salve' en toda la Edad Media. Principia en las obras de Berceo, 'Bien seas tu venido' (*Milagros*, ed. 1922, p. 49) y 'Bien seades venido' (*Santo Domingo*, ed. 1904, c. 183a). Se encuentra en la *Primera Crónica General* (p. 593b), *Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres* (ed. 1904, p. 22); *Cifar* (págs. 102, 108, 144) con la variante de 'Seades mucho bien venido' (págs. 126, 351); *Libro de buen amor* (c. 701b, 769d); *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, con la forma nueva de 'Bien vengades' (p. 510a); *Libro de los gatos* (págs. 549a, 552a), *Libro de los exemplos* (p. 530a), *Carlos Maynes* (p. 522b), *Baladro* (págs. 91b, 97b, 116a), *Demanda del Santo Grial* (p. 168b, etc., hasta doce casos); *Romances*, donde alternan 'Bien vengades,' 'Bien seas venido' y 'Buena sea tu venida' (I, 62, etc.: II, 3, etc., hasta veinte y dos casos); Santillana (págs. 572b, 573b), *Corónica del Cid* (ed. 1909, p. 333), *La Celestina* (I, 159), *Tristán de Leonís* (p. 83, etc., hasta once casos), *Amadís* (p. 19b, etc., apenas hay página sin un 'Bien venido'), hallándose aquí la respuesta moderna, 'Seais bien hallado' (p. 30a), y Torres Naharro (I, 178, 299).

¿Cómo Os Va? El solitario '¿Commo vos a ydo?' del *Poema de Fernán González* (c. 49c) puede interpretarse como saludo o como mera pregunta, mas en la *Primera Crónica General* es ciertamente por vía de saludo la expresión '¿Como te ua?,' ya que su interlocutor responde: 'Assi como la uuestra mercet tiene por bien' (p. 441b). Asimismo en el *Cifar*, 'Amigo, e como vos va?' (p. 330), sin que lleguemos a conocer la forma de respuesta habitual entonces, pues el autor sólo agrega: "E él non le pudo responder ninguna cosa." '¿Como os va?' en el *Libro de buen amor* (c. 1344c), *Carlos Maynes* (p. 533b), *Romances* (I, 24), Encina (p. 10), *Amadís* (p. 79a); y, con omisión del pronombre, '¿Como va?,' en Torres Naharro (I, 373). De la forma ¿Como estades?,' sólo un caso hallo, en el *Libro de buen amor* (c. 868b).

Id en Buena Ventura: Dios Os Dé Buena Ventura. La primera, con preposición *a*, 'It a buena ventura,' en la *Primera Crónica General* (p. 613b), *Cantar de Rodrigo* (v. 939), *Tablante de Ricamonte* (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, VI, 464b) y *Amadís* (p. 48a); con la preposición *en* aparece en el *Cifar*, 'Vayase en buena ventura' (p. 286); con preposición *con* o *a*, en *Tristán de Leonís*, 'Tornadvos con la buena ventura' (p. 85), 'Quedad a buena ventura' (p. 92) y 'Andat a buena ventura' (p. 255). La segunda fórmula, 'Devos Dios mucha buena ventura,' en el *Cifar* (p. 290), *Carlos Maynes* (p. 509a) y *Tristán de Leonís* (págs. 127, 171).

En Buena Hora. 'Id (o entrad, venid, quedad) en hora buena' aparece en el *Libro de los engaños e los asayamientos* (p. 65), *Cifar* (p. 103), *Libro de buen amor* (c. 876d), *Castigos e documentos* (ed. *B.A.E.*, LI, 108a), *Libro de los exemplos* (p. 485b), Santillana (p. 573a), Carvajales (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, XXII, 603b), Encina (págs. 50, 88, 286), *Amadís* (p. 28a) y Torres Naharro (I, 208, 256, 321: II, 28, 160, 175). La expresión 'En buena hora esteis,' en los *Romances* (I, 86) y Encina (págs. 139, 382), teniendo en este último por respuesta 'En tal vosotros vengais.'

Diós Os Guíe. Fórmula es de las menos usadas en los textos: la hallo primero en el *Cifar*, 'Guievos Dios' (p. 66), registro un solo caso en *La Celestina* (II, 184) y dos en el *Amadís* (págs. 15a, 212b) y Torres Naharro (I, 176, 357).

Besoos las Manos. Esta frase de saludo y de despedida que tanto ha de emplearse, y a todo propósito, en los siglos XVI y XVII, es tan rara en la Edad Media que sólo dos casos tengo registrados, ambos en el *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (págs. 512b, 549a). Como saludo epistolar, se halla en el *Amadís* (p. 194b), donde también aparece el 'Besoos los pies e manos' (p. 289a) con que una princesa saluda a su madre la reina. Como saludo verbal, 'Besoos las manos' en Torres Naharro (II, 48) y aquí también para dar las gracias unos sirvientes a su señora, 'Besamos sus pies y manos' (II, 69).

Con Dios. 'Id con Dios' se presenta en *La demanda del Santo Grial* (p. 276b), en Quirós (ed. *N.B.A.E.*, XXII, 293b), en los *Romances* (I, 229: II, 117, 415), *La Celestina* (I, 192: II, 8, 101), que también trae 'Acompañeos Dios' (I, 260) y 'Dios vaya contigo' (I, 59, 229, 260: II, 68, 78, 154), *Amadís* (p. 301a) y Torres Naharro (I, 280, etc., hasta trece casos), cuyos personajes dicen igualmente 'Andad con Dios' (I, 256, 321). La frase correspondiente, 'Quedaos con Dios' se halla en Alfonso de Palencia (p. 19), *La Celestina* (II, 23), con las variante de 'Quede Dios contigo' (I, 59, 229: II, 68, 154), y Torres Naharro (II, 35). La forma abreviada a la moderna, 'Con Dios,' aparece en la *Batalla campal* de Palencia (p. 61), pero no la registro de ningún otro texto consultado del siglo XV.

Mantengaos Dios. Bien antigua es esta fórmula que en los romances del siglo XV se dirige a los reyes mismos, y ya en el siglo XVI es tan plebeya y baja que el hambriento escudero del *Lazarillo* se indigna cuando así le saludan. Encuéntrase en *Kalila et Digna*, 'Mantengate Dios' (p. 71a), reaparece en el *Conde Lucanor* (ed. 1900, p. 292), y también en el *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* como saludo (p. 513b) y para dar las gracias (págs. 484a, 497a, 513a); es muy repetida en los *Romances* (I, 38, etc., hasta catorce casos), con la respuesta de 'Seais bien llegado'; tráenla asimismo Santillana (p. 571a), el *Amadís* (p. 87a); y, sin pronombre, 'Dios mantenga,' Encina (págs. 15, 89), con la respuesta de 'Norabuena vengais'; Lucas Fernández (ed. 1867, p. 5) y Torres Naharro (I, 223, 288: II, 7, 175).

Fórmulas Varias. 'Me encomiendo en la uuestra gracia,' como saludo, es frase que sólo tengo registrada en la *Primera Crónica General* (p. 612a). Despedida habitual a principios del siglo XIV debía de ser la de 'Con vuestra gracia' (equivalente a la frase moderna 'Con su permiso'), como se infiere de los dos pasajes siguientes del *Cifar*: "E tan ayna como fue entrado, tan ayna fue aredrado del batel e metido en alta mar, de guissa que non pudo deçir al enperador *Señor, con vuestra gracia*" (p. 313). "E luego se fue como sy fuera viento; de guissa que el enperador non pudo deçir *Señora, con vuestra gracia*" (p. 329). Un solo caso puedo apuntar de cada una de las siguientes fórmulas: 'Id con bien,' *Libro de los exemplos* (p. 476a); 'Dios vos bendiga,' *Baladro* (p. 92a); 'La gracia de Dios sea contigo' y 'Dios bendiga tanta gente e tan honrada,' *La Celestina* (I, 161: II, 45); 'Dios vos de plazer,' 'Dios vos de la su graçia' y 'Dios acreçiente vuestro honor,' *Tristán de Leonís* (págs. 127, 166, 171).

De semejantes fórmulas antiguas, las que mejor se conservan y tienen más frecuente uso en el siglo de oro son las tres siguientes: 'Besoos las manos,' 'Dios os guarde'[1] y 'Seais bienvenido': basta para comprobarlo ojear cualquier libro de

[1] Ambrosio de Salazar hace la siguiente aclaración en su *Espejo general* (1615):

aquellos tiempos. En las dos primeras décadas del siglo XVI, el 'Mantenga Dios a vuestra merced' era expresión tan respetuosa y cortés como un 'Beso las manos de vuestra merced,' y ambas se empleaban indistintamente al dirigirse a un caballero. Valga un testimonio solo, para no ser prolijos en tan seca materia; Gutierre González, en su *Libro de doctrina moral*, anterior a 1526, aconseja así:

"Cuando encontrares en la calle algunas personas conocidas, harasles cortesia, y hablarles has segun el merecimiento de cada uno, quitandole el bonete y haciendole reverencia, si tal fuese la persona, y dirasle: *Beso las manos de vuestra merced* o *Mantenga Dios a vuestra merced*, o *Mantengaos Dios*, si tanto no fuere." [2]

Pero muy pronto el 'Manténgaos Dios' queda como fórmula plebeya, y el 'Besoos las manos' es la única cortés y bien sonante entre caballeros. Para el año de 1533, de tal modo predomina sobre todas demás frases de cortesía, que fray Antonio de Guevara afirma:

"Aca en esta nuestra Castilla es cosa de espantar, y aun para reir, las maneras y diversidades que tienen en se saludar, ansi cuando se toman como cuando se despiden y aun cuando se llaman. Unos dicen, *Dios mantenga;* otros dicen, *Mantengaos Dios;* otros, *En buena esteis;* otros, *En hora buena vais;* otros, *Dios os guarde;* otros, *Dios sea con vos;* otros, *Quedaos a Dios;* otros, *Vais con Dios;* otros, *Dios os guie;* otros, *El angel os acompañe;* otros, *A buenas noches;* otros, *Con vuestra merced;* otros, *Guardeos Dios;* otros, *Adios, señores;* otros, *A Dios paredes;* y aun otros dicen, *Hao ¡quien esta aca!* Todas estas maneras de saludar se usan solamente entre aldeanos y plebeyos, y no entre los cortesanos y hombres polidos. Porque si por males de sus pecados dijese uno a otro en la corte, *Dios mantenga* o *Dios os guarde*, le lastimarian en la honra y le darian una grita. El estilo de la corte es decirse unos a otros, *Beso las manos de vuestra merced;* otros dicen, *Beso los pies a vuestra señoria*. . . . Yo, vergüenza he de oir decir *Besoos las manos*, y muy grande asco he de oir decir *Besoos los pies*. . . . Para decir verdad, ni se quien, ni se cuando, ni se adonde, ni se por que, ni se para que, se invento este besamanos y besopies en España." [3]

Hacia la misma fecha, cierto autor desconocido de una *Carta de las setenta y dos necedades* se burla satíricamente del 'Besoos las manos,' que andaba en boca de todos:

"donde quiera que vais, y donde quiera que llegais, y donde quiera que entrais, y con cualquiera que hableis, juzgareis del *Beso las manos* ser mas pegajoso que mosca en miel, mas ordinario en boca de todos que picaza en soto o tordo en tejado o cigüeña en campanario." [4]

Como entonces solía el criado besar la mano a su señor, y se besaba también la de personas eclesiásticas, dice nuestro autor refiriéndose a tiempos más antiguos: "Esta diferencia hallareis de aquellos tiempos a estos: que entonces se usaba y hacia, y no se decia, y agora dicese mucho y usase poco." [5] Empleábase no sólo en el saludo y la despedida, sino a todo propósito: "A vuestro padre hablé en Medina del Campo.—*Beso las manos.*—Buenas noches os dé Dios.—*Beso las manos.* Si estornudais, *Beso las manos;* y aun si paris, *Beso las manos.*" [6] Años más tarde, en "*Dios guarde a vuesa merced*, a gente de calidad. . . . *Dios le guarde*, a amigos familiares. . . . *Dios os guarde*, a gente de menor estado. . . . *Dios te guarde*, como del padre al hijo, o de amo a criado."

[2] *V.* Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, col. 83.

[3] *Letra para D. Francisco de Mendoza*, a 22 de nov. de 1533: ed. *B.A.E.*, XIII, 190.

[4] *V.* Paz y Melia, *Sales españolas*, II, 71–72.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

1553, vuelve a resonar la misma queja en los *Coloquios satíricos* de Antonio de Torquemada. Declara que el dar los 'Buenos días' y responder 'Bienvenido' lo tendrían por manera baja de saludar, y aun por afrenta, aquellos que "quieren ser honrados." Recuerda que en otros tiempos solía saludarse la gente con bendiciones y rogando a Dios:

"y agora, en lugar desto y de holgarnos de que asi nos saluden, sentimonos afrentados de semejantes salutaciones, y teniendolas por baxeza nos despreciamos dellas . . . ; en lugar dello nos deleitamos con un *Besa las manos a vuestra merced* . . . ; y es tan ordinaria esta necedad de decir que besamos las manos, que a todos comprende generalmente, y dexando las manos venimos a los pies, de manera que no paramos en ellos ni aun pararemos en la tierra que pisan. . . . Por menosprecio decimos a uno: *En hora buena vais, Vengais en buena hora, Guardeos Dios*, y si no es a nuestros criados o a personas tan baxas y humildes que no tienen cuenta con ello, no osariamos decirlo." [7]

Medio siglo más tarde había recobrado autoridad el 'Dios guarde a vuesa merced,' como fórmula cortesana, y continuaba con soberanía el 'Besamanos.' Y tampoco falta quien haga el elogio de éste, v. gr., el Conde de Lemos, quien teniendo semejante saludo por muy reciente novedad, equivocadamente, escribía desde Nápoles a su hermano el 22 de agosto de 1613: "la cortesia de besar la mano, en abstraccion de ceremonia, me agrada . . . porque enriquece la lengua dandonos un grado de cortesia que le faltava, y no le hallo ni dureza ni malsonancia." [8] A mediados del siglo XVII, aquella expresión de cortesía regenteaba sobre todas para saludar, despedirse y dar las gracias. En cierta *Relación* anónima, anterior a 1666 y escrita en francés, se dice de los españoles: "Ils n'ont point de mot pour signifier remerciment ou rendre graces, tout leur gratitude consistant en un *Besoos las manos*." [9]

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## CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF OLD SPANISH *Y* AND *EN* TO SURVIVE

ALL teachers of the Romance languages who have given the matter any thought would doubtless concur in the opinion of the late South American scholar, Andrés Bello, that "es de sentir que hayan desaparecido de la lengua estos demostrativos *y* y *en* equivalentes al *y* y al *en* de los franceses; por su falta nos vemos obligados a emplear con tanta frecuencia las expresiones *a él, a ello, en él, en ello, de él, de ello*, o a omitir la demostración con detrimento de la claridad." [1] The necessity of having to render French *il n'y en a pas*, with *en* referring to a plural antecedent, by *no los* (or *las*) *hay* is often cited as a further instance of the deficiency in Spanish occasioned by the loss of the pronominal adverbs in question.

In view of the fact that the developments in French and Italian of Latin *ibi* and *hic* (French *y*<*ibi*; Italian *ci*<*ecce-hic*,[2] and *vi*<*ibi*), and of Latin *inde* (French *en*, Italian *ne*) have successfully maintained themselves, it is pertinent and perhaps profitable to study the causes of the disappearance of their Spanish counterparts at the close of the mediaeval period.

In the first place, let us compare the functions and meanings of twelfth-century

[7] Ed. *N.B.A.E.*, VII, 538–539.

[8] *V.* Paz y Melia, *op. cit.*, II, x.

[9] *V.* Sommerdyck, *Voyage d'Espagne* (1655), ed. 1666, s.l., Apéndice.

[1] *Gramática castellana*, Paris, 1916, p. 103, note.

[2] *Hic* alone without prefix yielded *i*, which did not survive in Italian.

Spanish *y* and *en* with their Old French equivalents in order to determine their relative development at that early period. For this purpose the two well known epics, *El Cantar de mío Cid* in the edition of R. Menéndez Pidal [3] and *La Chanson de Roland* as edited by T. A. Jenkins,[4] provide easily accessible material together with a wealth of *apparatus criticus*.

In the *Cantar de mío Cid* 59 examples of *y* (*i*, *hi*) are to be found. Of these, all but one mean essentially 'there' or 'in it.' [5] In the remaining example, *que por i serie vencido que saliesse del mijón* (v. 3607), *por i* seems to be best translated as 'on account of this.' Of the 58 cases remaining eight exhibit *y* used with verbs of motion. Two others (vv. 120 and 1331) may be satisfactorily rendered in free translation by 'of it,' and a third (v. 3413) by 'from it'; but the fundamental meaning of all three is 'there' or 'in it.' In 43 of these cases the *y* precedes the verb (although not necessarily directly) and in 16 cases it follows. But one cannot arrive at general deductions as to the causes of such variation in position with the same ease as in the case of the Old Spanish personal pronouns, which have been shown by Menéndez Pidal and others to be fairly consistent in their behavior. As Menéndez says in discussing the position of *y* in the sentence: ". . . *y*, que muchas veces suele mirarse como átono, tiene gran libertad." [6]

It is even difficult to determine always whether *y* is tonic or atonic in the *Cid*. Many cases are doubtful.[7] At all events, of the 43 cases of *y* as pronominal adverb fourteen represent violations [8] of the rules for the position of Old Spanish personal pronouns as set forth by Menéndez Pidal.[9] On the other hand, in the *Roland* as elsewhere in Old French, *y* (*i*) obeys in general the same laws of position with respect to the verb as do the O.F. atonic personal pronouns, and it may be considered a weak form.[10] Jenkins has noted only two exceptions in the *Roland*.[11] In the *Roland* *y* means 'here,' 'there,' or 'in it.' In some passages (viz., vv.177, 1318, 1593, etc.) it seems in conjunction with *il a* to approximate the meaning of modern *il y a* (*aura*, etc.), although the translation of it by 'there' is always possible in such passages.

Whence it may be seen that *y* has essentially the same meanings in the *Roland* as in the *Cid*, but that in the matter of stress it is normally atonic in the former and obeys the laws for position governing unstressed personal pronouns, while in the latter it is frequently found in tonic position and does not obey the laws for Old Spanish conjunctive pronouns.

In the *Cid*, *en* (*ende*) occurs only twice (2100, 3547), both times following the verb of a relative clause introduced by *que*, and with the meaning, 'de allí.' There

[3] *El Cantar de mío Cid, texto, gramática y vocabulario* by R. Menéndez Pidal, 3 vols., Madrid, 1908–1911.

[4] *La Chanson de Roland, Oxford Version. Edition, Notes and Glossary*, by T. Atkinson Jenkins, New York, 1924.

[5] But *cf.* Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 134, and Vol. II, p. 714.

[6] See Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 208. Of course were it not for morphological considerations, the atonic form would have been *e*.

[7] See Menéndez, *loc. cit.*, and W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, Paris, 1900, Vol. III, No. 720.

[8] Vv. 220, 404, 674, 1010, 1011, 1313, 1411, 1779, 1929, 2329, 2534, 2844, 3413, 3455.

[9] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, No. 205.

[10] See L. Foulet, *Petite Syntaxe de l'ancien français*, Paris, 1923, No. 361.

[11] *Ed. cit.*, p. cxxviii.

are 14 cases of *den* (*dent, dend*), i.e., compounds of *de* + *en*. In one of these cases (v. 2884) the pronominal adverb is entirely disassociated from the verb:

"Dent para Valencia adelinechos van."

In six cases (vv. 950, 1063, 2134, 2773, 2782, 2808) *dent* precedes the verb, although not always directly; and in the remaining seven cases (585b, 1038, 1788, 2126, 2855, 3029, 3416) it follows. The meanings of *dent* as used in the *Cid* are as follows: 'de ella' (585b); 'de allí' (950, 1788, 2808, 2884), and 'de ello' (1038, 1063, 2126, 2134, 2782, 2773, 2855, 3029, 3416).

On the other hand French *en* exhibits already in the *Roland* as great a diversity of meanings as are to be found in modern French. According to Jenkin's classification [12] *en* in the *Roland* denotes: source, separation, the partitive, instrumentality, cause, possession, preposition + noun (including *de* + prons. *nos, vos, lui*, etc.), reference to a preceding clause or matter, and—what is most important for our present purposes—locality, whereby it comes to be so intimately and repeatedly associated with a large number of verbs of motion and action such as *aler, venir, fuir, passer, porter*, etc., that one can readily see why the construction of (*s'*)*en* + verb, or even *en* + verb spelled as one word (i.e., *enporter*), have persisted down to the present time.

Whence it is not surprising that the statements already made concerning the obedience of O. F. *y* to the rules governing the position of unstressed personal pronouns also obtain for O.F. *en*.[13] But O.S. *en* does not obey the rules (to which allusion has already been made in discussing *y*) as formulated by Menéndez Pidal [14] with some reference to the previous study of E. Staaff.[15] These rules, which relate to the position of the conjunctive pronouns in the *Cid*, may be summarized as follows:

(1) If the verb, either alone or preceded by *e* or *mas*, stands at the beginning of the sentence, the pronouns follow it.

(2) With the imperative the pronoun follows the verb.

(3) If other parts of speech precede the verb, the pronoun is placed before it, often enclitic to a preceding word.

For the first rule one violation is to be noted on the part of dent:

"dent corre mío Cid a Huesa e a Mont Albán" (950).

No violations of the second rule on the part of *en* or of *dent* are to be noted, but of rule three they are frequent:

"non nos darán dent nada" (585b).
"que vos dé dent buen galardón" (2855).
"non avría dend sabor" (3029), (2126).[16]
"Dent pora Valencia adelinechos van" (2884).

Moreover, these rules themselves represent conditions of word-order in Old Spanish which to a considerable degree precluded, in the case of both *y* and *en* (and *dent*), the intimate association with the verb which we have seen to be so characteristic of their Old French counterparts.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 316 *ff.*

[13] See Foulet, *loc. cit.*

[14] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, No. 205.

[15] "Contribution à la syntaxe du pronom personnel dans le *Poème du Cid*" (*Roman. Forschungen*, XXIII, 634).

[16] But this illustrates a type of violation frequent also for the pronouns.

This being the situation, Spanish *y* and *en* were early thrown into active competition with certain adverbs such as *allí* and *allá* in the case of *y*, and with certain phrases such as *de ello, de él, de ella, de allá*, etc. in the case of *en* and *dent*. This competition is well illustrated by comparing and contrasting the following examples arranged in pairs:

"Entre Minaya e los buenos que i ha" (3058).
"Todos eran ricos quantos que allí ha" (1215).

"Allí yogo mio Cid . . . ." (573).
"con quantos que ellos traen i yazen essa noch" (2702).

"I venció esta batalla" (1011).[17]
"Allí les respondió el comde" (3112).

"va i Ansuor Gonçálvez" (2172).
"s'yo bibo so, allí iré. . . . " (1923).

"Ifantes de Carrion, sabet, is acertaron" (1835).
"e Per Ansuórez, sabet, allis acertó" (3009).

"Allá levó el almofar. . . . " (3653).
"I se echava mío Cid. . . . " (404).

"miedo han que i verná mío Cid el Campeador" (2987).
"Que allá me vayan cuemdes e infançones" (2964).

"Dios vos dé den buen galardón" (3416).
"bien sepa el abbat que buen galardón dello prendrá" (386).

"Ayades ende sabor" (2100).
"Si me los dades, o dedes dello razón" (3216b).

There are eleven cases of *allí* in the *Cid* and five cases of *allá*, not to mention various examples of *acá* and *aquí*. The above-cited passages will perhaps suffice to show that, although the number of cases of *y* in the *Cid* far exceeds the total number of examples of *allí* and *allá*, the adverbs in question were being used interchangeably as early as the twelfth century.

In the *Cid*, *dello* occurs four times (386, 1043, 1413, 3216b), and *delle* once (1420). In each of these cases, which exceeds the number of instances of *en*, the latter or the more frequent *dent* might have been used as equivalents. It is interesting to note that by virtue of phonological and morphological conditions obtaining in the development of Vulgar Latin into Old Spanish the neuter *ello* came into being differentiated in spelling and function from masculine *elle* (modern *él*). Though in the various Romance languages, notably in Old French and Old Italian, neuter subject personal pronouns are to be found, yet a distinct neuter disjunctive form used with prepositions as well as subjectively is peculiar to Spanish, for it does not even exist in the sister language Portuguese.

In order to show something of the use of *y* and *en* in the thirteenth century the present writer has also examined the *Primera Crónica General*, but has limited his tabulations to one small, but representative, portion abounding in examples and

[17] This example of *i* (*y*) is doubtful according to Menéndez Pidal, because the ms. is somewhat illegible at this point.

comprising pages 307–320 inclusive in the edition of R. Menéndez Pidal.[18] Twenty-nine examples of *y* were found,[19] of which fourteen [20] appeared to conform to the rules for word order as set forth above. The meanings were: 'there' or 'in it.' Seven cases of *allí* and one of *allá* were noted.[21] *En ella* occurred once.[22] Aside from *por ende*, of which there were seven examples,[23] nine examples of *en* (*ent*, *ende*) were found,[24] of which two-thirds conformed to the rules for word-order.[25] The meanings were: 'de allí,' 'de ella,' 'de ello.' *Por ende* had regularly the meaning of 'por esto' or 'por eso.' Two cases of *dent*, meaning 'de allí,' were listed.[26] *Dallí* (*de* + *allí*) occurred three times.[27] Aside from the development of *por ende* with a meaning which shows rather clearly that *ende* was losing ground as a separate entity with a clearcut meaning, the above data reflect approximately the same conditions as do those taken from the *Cid*. Probably the number of cases of *en* (*ent*, *ende*) may be in part accounted for by the fact that the *Crónica* at this point contains so much traditional material harking back in form and content to older accounts.

Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor* [28] was examined as a representative document of the fourteenth century. Five cases of *y*,[29] three cases of *ende* [30] and one case of *dende* [31] were found, showing Cejador's count, as given in his "Indice de voces," to be correct for *y* although not for *ende*. No examples of *por ende* have been included by the present writer in the *ende* count, for *por ende* is used frequently throughout the work. The small number of cases of *y* and *en* are highly significant. Examples of the substitutes for them as already specified in this paper are so abundant as to render counting unnecessary.

The fifteenth century saw the complete disappearance of Spanish *y* and *en*,[32] with the exception of *y* enclitic to *ha*, a combination which by virtue of its monosyllabic and easily pronounceable nature and of its importance as a present indicative, lived on welded permanently into one word. It is perhaps pertinent to remark *en passant* that modern *ahí*, rare in Old Spanish, may possibly be derived directly from *a* + O.S. *hi*(*i*, *y*) rather than from *ad-hic*, although it would require a special study to prove it.

Before concluding this paper the facts concerning the survival of Italian *ci*, *vi*

[18] *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. V (Madrid ,1906).

[19] V. 307, l. 1b; 307, 3b; 308, 10a; 309, 7b; 309, 21b; 313, 18a; 313, 37b; 315, 5a; 315, 23a; 315, 41b; 316, 36a; 317, 9b; 317, 22b; 319, 16a and examples cited in following note.

[20] 307, 9b; 308, 17a; 309, 41b; 315, 22b; 315, 32b; 315, 42a; 316, 22a; 316, 33a; 316, 10b; 316, 26a; 316, 31b; 317, 26b; 318, 25a; 319, 6a.

[21] *Allí*: 308, 30b; 310, 5b; 310, 37a; 310, 47a; 312, 32a; 318, 48a. *Allá*: 307, 45b.

[22] 307, 4b.

[23] 308, 25b; 310, 7b; 314, 8a; 314, 17a; 314, 30a; 317, 48a; 319, 50a.

[24] 313, 20a; 315, 37a; 316, 46a; and examples listed in following note.

[25] 307, 12b; 308, 8b; 308, 16b; 308, 35b; 318, 25b; 319, 24b.

[26] 316, 8a; 316, 38a.

[27] 316, 40a; 316, 2b; 317, 31a.

[28] The edition of Ducamin not being at hand I have utilized that of Cejador y Frauca (Madrid, 1913), *Clásicos Castellanos*, Vols. 14 and 17.

[29] Vv. 31, 482, 559, 861, 1246.

[30] 75, 81, 151.

[31] 90.

[32] See E. Gessner, "Das spanische Personalpronomen" in *Zeitschrift f. roman. Philologie*, Vol. 17, 1893, p. 13.

and *ne* should be recalled. The first two of these forms survived because through the operation of analogy they displaced *no(i)* and *vo(i)* as conjunctive personal pronouns besides retaining their original pronominal adverbial functions. An analogical *ne* for *no* (*noi*) arose in Arezzo and Siena. This *ne* reinforced by *ne<inde* came to supplant the native Florentine *ni* and is still sometimes used in poetic diction.[33] Thus *ne<inde* survived for the same reasons as did *ci* and *vi*.

We have seen that Old French *en* and *y* were firmly entrenched as atonic conjunctive forms as early as the twelfth century; but Old Spanish *en* and *y* (and presumably Old Portuguese *hi* and *ende* for the same reasons) inevitably disappeared

(1) because they were not uniformly atonic;

(2) being often tonic and used apart from the verb, they came into active competition in the case of *y* with *allí* and *allá*; and in the case of *en*, for which there was early generated the compound *den* (*dent, dend, dende*), notably with *de ello*, also *de allí, de elle, de ella*, etc; *ello* being a specially differentiated neuter form the like of which is found in no other Romance language. As time went on the competition became so keen that by the fifteenth century *en* and *y* were no more, except in the one instance of atonic *y* enclitic to *ha*. It should be added that, as Bello has pointed out,[34] *dende*, which acquired little by little a temporal meaning, came early to be confused with *desde* and to its own great detriment.

Old Spanish *y* and *en* were doomed from the outset, although their extinction was gradual.

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## SOME IMITATIONS OF QUEVEDO AND SOME POEMS WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO HIM

IN 1897, Menéndez y Pelayo undertook to publish through the *Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces* a critical edition of the works of Quevedo, the basis of which was to be the materials left by a life-long student of the Spanish Lucian—Aureliano Guerra y Orbe. During that year a bio-bibliographical volume was printed bearing the title of the projected work—*Obras Completas*. In the prologue of the second volume (1903), the first one dealing with the poetry of Quevedo, it was announced that the author's verse would occupy three separate volumes, and that the poems would be arranged and published in three units: (1) compositions more or less definitely datable, (2) other compositions in the *Musas* in the order in which they appear in the 1648 and 1670 editions, (3) inedited and authentic compositions other than those contained in the foregoing editions. But for reasons unknown to us, only the second of these three volumes appeared (1907), with the result that while the first division is complete, the second is barely begun, and the third is left entirely untouched.

Until the complete critical edition of the works of Quevedo is at his disposal, the student of his poetry must make a sharp distinction between the earlier *musas*, edited in 1648 by D. Jusepe Antonio González de Salas under the name of *El Parnaso Español*, thought by Guerra y Orbe to consist for the most part of genuine Quevedian compositions, and the later *musas*, *Las Tres Musas Ultimas Castellanas*, published in 1670 by Quevedo's heir and nephew, Pedro Aldrete, which contains many poems be-

[33] Thus C. H. Grandgent explains the situation. See his *From Latin to Italian* Cambridge, 1927, p. 136.

[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 103, note.

longing to other writers. On this account it has seemed wise to deal with the two editions already cited as separate entities in this paper. Moreover, we are not, for the present, concerned with the imitations Quevedo may have made from Berni and Ariosto,[1] but wish to call attention to some other non-classical sources of his verse, as well as to some poems falsely attributed to him by the careless editor of the 1670 edition.

In *El Parnaso Español* only four of the models of Quevedo's poems have hitherto been pointed out by others as far as we know, viz:

"Alma del mundo es amor, amor es miente[2] . . ." (p. 58).
"Los que ciegos me ven de haber llorado . . ." (p. 73).
"El ciego lleva a cuestas al tullido . . . " (p. 137).
"Buscas en Roma á Roma ¡oh peregrino! . . . " (p. 4).

To these we should now add four (possibly five) imitations from Luigi Groto, a rather mediocre Italian writer who was quite popular at the turn of the sixteenth century.

In the following madrigal, Quevedo is a bit more personal than Groto. He condenses six lines of his model into four, and adds some new details:

[1] E. Mérimée, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Francisco de Quevedo*, Paris, 1886, p. 344, states: "Dans ses poésies, il traduit parfois et imite souvent Berni, Arioste, Pétrarque, le Tasse, Bembo." Although Quevedo is certainly indebted to Petrarch in *El Parnaso* as well as in the *Tres Ultimas Musas*, the Italian poet's influence in the former is general rather than specific. We have failed to find any Bembian influence in either of the two editions.

[2] All the Quevedian poems cited are from the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LXIX. The models are T. Tasso: *Amore alma è del mondo, Amor è mente* . . . noted by Mele in "Alcune imitazioni tassiane di poeti spagnuoli," *Fanfulla della Domenica*, XXVI (1904), No. 24; Sanazzaro, *Miraris liquidum cur con dissolvor in amnem* . . . cited by Janer in a note in *B. A. E. op. cit.* p. 73; G. Vitalis, *Qui Romam in media quaeris novus advena Roma* . . . pointed out by Mele in "Per la Fortuna d'un Epigramma," *Fanfulla, op. cit.*, No. 12; Alciato, *Emblem CLXI*, also pointed out by Mele in *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, LXXIX, 1922, p. 376, in an article entitled "Il Gracián e alcuni 'Emblemata' del Alciato."

R. J. Cuervo in "Dos poesías de Quevedo a Roma," *Revue Hispanique*, XVIII, 1908, pp. 432 ff, mistakenly thought that *Buscas a Roma* . . . was based on Du Bellay's *Nouveau venu, qui cherches Rome en Rome* . . .; the source of the French poem is also Vitalis. In *La Fronda delle Penne d'oca nei giardini d'Astrea*, Naples, 1921, pp. 42–68, Ramiro Ortiz makes a study of the theme, and without the knowledge of Mele's article, correctly indicates the Vitalis' poem as the source of Quevedo's in refuting Léger's claim that the Spaniard had imitated a Latin epigram by a Polish humanist. Consult also A. Giannini, "Viaggiatori Spagnuoli," *Revue Hispanique*, LXV, 1922, p. 62, on the subject.

While Quevedo's source of inspiration for the sonnet *El ciego lleva* . . . may actually be Alciato as Mele has stated, it is not unlikely that the Spaniard was acquainted with other versions of this classical theme, such as the compositions in Henri Étienne's *Epigrammata Graeca selecta ex Antologia*, 1570, pp. 7–9, or a sonnet by Groto (see *Delle Rime di* . . . , Venice, 1587, p. 155).

"Si alguna vez en lazos de oro bellos,
La red, Flori, encarcela tus cabellos;
Digo yo, cuando miro igual tesoro,
Que está la red en red, y el oro en oro.
Mas déjame admirado,
Que sea el ladron la cárcel del robado,
Y ya en dos redes presa l'alma mia,
No la espero cobrar en algun dia:
Y ella, porque tal cárcel la posea,
Ni espera libertad, ni la desea." (pp. 63–4).

Compare

"S'avien che reticella aurea circonde
Le treccie vostre bionde,
Reti d'amor gioconde
Ordite di fin oro,
Dove io legato moro;
Io dico a chi le mira, ecco, vedete
Oro in oro legato, e rete in rete;
E se più ricovrar potrassi un core,
Che'n due reti, e'n duo nastri avvoglie Amore" (*op. cit.* p. 25).

Another madrigal is closer to its source. Quevedo's ending is much less effective than Groto's.

"Un famoso escultor, Lisis esquiva,
En una piedra te ha imitado viva,
Y ha puesto más cuidado en retratarte
Que la naturaleza en figurarte:
Pues si te dió blancura y pecho helado,
El lo mismo te ha dado.
Bellísima en el mundo te hizo ella;
Y él no te ha repetido menos bella.
Mas ella, que te quiso hacer piadosa,
De materia tan larga y tan suave
Te labró, que no sabe
Del jazmin distinguirte y de la rosa.
Y él, que vuelta te advierte en piedra ingrata,
De lo que tú te hiciste te retrata" (pp. 82–3).

Compare

"Un nobile scoltore ha di te fatto
In viva pietra un natural ritratto;
Anzi ha posto in ritrarti
Più senno che natura in generarti.
Ella ti diede il bianco,
Tel die' lo scoltor anco.
Bellissima nel mondo ti fec' ella,
Non men ti fece (lui) si bella.
Ma perchè ti stimò pietosa e molle,
Ella ti fe' di carne e di midolle.
Ma lo scoltor vie più saggio di lei,
Ti fe' di sasso a punto come sei" (*op. cit.* p. 70).

In the next poem Quevedo turns one of Groto's madrigals into a sonnet, adding contrasts of his own.

"Lo que me quita en fuego, me da en nieve
La mano, que tus ojos me recata;
Y no es ménos rigor con el que mata,
Ni ménos llamas su blancura mueve.
La vista frescos los incendios bebe,
Y volcan por las venas los dilata;
Con miedo atento á la blancura trata
El pecho amante, que la siente aleve.
Si de tus ojos el ardor tirano
Le pasas por tu mano por templarle,
Es gran piedad del corazon humano:
Mas no de tí, que puede al ocultarle,
Pues es de nieve, derretir tu mano,
Si ya tu mano no pretende helarle" (p. 54).

Compare

"Sono i begli occhi tuoi
Di duo soli lucenti sfere calde;
Sono le tue man dapoi
D'una neve bianchissima due falde.
E però ti consiglio
Per far muro a tuoi occhi
Acciò, che io non t'adocchi,
Nè oppor più la man dinanzi al ciglio;
Levale e credi a me se non le levi,
Quei soli struggeran coteste nevi" (*op. cit.* p. 82).

And in a similar manner the Spaniard adapts another madrigal, the ultimate source of which is a popularly imitated sonnet by Cariteo.[3] For the closing tercet Quevedo uses Marino's version of the theme.

"Alimenté tu saña con la vida
Que en eterno dolor calificaste,
¡Oh Lisi! tanto amé como olvidaste,
Yo tu idólatra fuí, tu mi homicida.
¿Como guarecerá fe tan perdida
Y el corazon que ardiente despreciaste?
Siendo su gloria tú, le condenaste,
Y ni de tí blasfema, ni se olvida.

[3] A. d'Ancona, "Del secentismo nella poesia cortigiana del secolo XV" in *Studi sulla Letterat. ital. de' primi secoli*, Ancona, 1884, cites imitations by Di Costanzo, Francesco de Lemene and Eustachio Manfredi, besides the one by Marino. See Morandi: *Antologia*, Città di Castello, 1905, pp. 380–1. Cariteo's poem is attributed to Antonio Broccardo in *Il secondo volume delle rime scelte* . . . Venice, 1587. Two versions of the theme were not noticed by d'Ancona, one by Sanazzaro, *Se per colpa* . . . (*Opere volgari*, Padua, 1783), and one by Pietro Gradenico, *Fera crudel* . . . (*Il sesto libro delle rime di diversi*, Venice, 1553). Gradenico is the source of Groto's composition.

Mas para tí fabricará un infierno,
Y pagarán tus ánsias mis enojos,
Pues negaste piedad al llanto tierno.
Arderán tu victoria y tus despojos;
Y ansí fuego el amor nos dará eterno,
A tí en mi corazon, a mí en tus ojos" (p. 77).

Compare

"S'io de l'inferno a la tomba acre, ed atra
Andrò come idolatra,
Perchè'n terra adorai cosa mortale,
Beltà caduca e frale:
Tu per la crudeltà che usato m'hai
Anchora vi verrai.
Ma dopo inferno a l'hor tu proverai
L'un sarà il vero inferno ove sarai,
L'altro la vista mia
Che par che novo inferno ognhor ti sia.
Ma io sedendo a specchio del tuo viso,
Vedrò in mezo a l'inferno il paradiso" (*op. cit.* p. 55).

And Marino

"Donna, siam rei di morte. Errasti, errai . . .
. . . . . .

Quivi, s'Amor fia giusto, ambeduo noi
A l'incendio dannati, avrem l'inferno,
Tu nel mio core, ed io negli occhi tuoi." [4]

Finally Quevedo may have borrowed Groto's technique in a sonnet the latter wrote to Deidamia Fanula, in which every word begins with the initial letter of her first name. In the Spanish poem, addressed to a poetess named Antonia, each word starts with an *A*.

"Antes alegre andaba, agora apenas
Alcanzo alivio, ardiendo aprisionado . . ." (p. 59).

Compare

"Donna da Dio discesa, don divino,
Deidamia, done duol dolce deriva . . ." (*op. cit.* p. 71).

Groto's work represents one of the most immediate expressions of Marinism before Marino. Here then, was a model from which Quevedo, the *conceptista*, must have learned a great deal long before his acquaintance with the pedantry and affectation of a Malvezzi.[5]

In the *Tres Musas Ultimas* there are several direct imitations from Petrarch. One of these, an imitation of the *canzone*: *Standomi un giorno solo a la fenestra*, has

[4] *Della Lira del Cav. Marino*, *Parte Terza*, Venice, 1638, p. 3.

[5] On Malvezzi, see Mérimée, *Essai*, p. 225 and 344. Probably no one has indicated hitherto that the satire: *Abomina de una vieja que quería ser tercera de una niña* (p. 220), is one of those compositions modelled in a general way on the eighth Elegy, Bk. I of Ovid's *Amores*: *Execratur lenam, quae puellam suam meretricis arte instruebat.*

been known for some time.[6] In addition, two sonnet-imitations are to be noted. The first of these is practically a literal translation up to the last tercet.

"Lloro miéntras el sol alumbra, y cuando
Descansan en silencio los mortales
Torno á llorar, renuévanse mis males,
Y así paso mi tiempo sollozando,
En triste humor los ojos voy gastando,
Y el corazon en penas desiguales:
Sólo á mí, entre los otros animales,
No me concede paz de amor el bando.
Desde el un sol al otro ¡hay fe perdida!
Y de una sombra á otra siempre lloro
En esta muerte que llamamos vida.
Perdí mi libertad y mi tesoro,
Perdióse mi esperanza de atrevida.
¡Triste de mí, que mi verdugo adoro!" (p. 253).

Compare

"Tutto 'l dì piango; e poi la notte, quando
Prendon riposo i miseri mortali,
Tròvomi in pianto e raddopiarsi i mali:
Così spendo 'l mio tempo lagrimando.
In tristo umor vo li occhi consumando,
E'l cor in doglia: e son fra li animali
L'ultimo, sì che li amorosi strali
Mi tengon ad ogni or di pace in bando.
Lasso!, che pur da l'un a l'altro Sole,
E da l'uña ombra a l'altra, ho già 'l più corso
Di questa morte che si chiama vita.
Più l'altrui fallo che 'l mi' mal mi dole;
Chè pietà viva e 'l mio fido soccorso
Vèdem arder nel foco e non m'aita." [7]

The second imitation is somewhat freer.

"Más solitario pájaro ¿en cual techo
Se vió jamás que yo, ni fiera en monte ó prado?
Desierto estoy de mí, que me ha dejado
Mi alma propia en lágrimas deshecho.
Lloraré siempre mi mayor provecho;
Penas serán, y hiel cualquier bocado,
La noche afan, y la quietud cuidado,
Y duro campo de batalla el lecho.
El sueño, que es imágen de la muerte
En mí, á la muerte vence en aspereza,
Pues que me estorba el sumo bien de verte,
Que es tanto tu donaire y tu belleza,
Que, pues, naturaleza pudo hacerte,
Milagro puede hacer naturaleza" (p. 249).

[6] Cited by Esterlich: *Antología de poetas líricos italianos traducidos en verso castellano*, Palma de Mallorca, 1889, pp. 62 ff. Also see Mele: "Sobre canciones y sonetos italianos y españoles," *Revista Castellana*, V, 1919, p. 218.

[7] *Il Canzoniere* (ed. Scherillo), Milan, 1918, p. 371.

Compare

"Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto
Non fu quant' io, nè fera in alcun bosco;
Ch' i' non veggio 'l bel viso, e non conosco
Altro Sol, nè quest'occhi hann'altro obietto.
Lagrimar sempre è 'l mio sommo diletto,
Il rider doglia, il cibo assenzio e tosco,
La notte affanno, e 'l ciel seren m' è fosco,
E duro campo di battaglia il letto.
Il sonno è veramente qual uom dice,
Parente de la morte, e 'l cor sottragge
A qual dolce penser che 'n vita il tene.
Solo al mondo paese almo felice,
Verdi rive fiorite, ombrose piagge,
Voi possedete et io piango il mio bene!" (*op. cit.* p. 379).[8]

At least four compositions in this section have already been pointed out as the work of other writers. Mérimée has indicated that two poems: *Llevó tras sí los pámpanos octubre*,[9] and *Passan mil cosas por mí*[10] belong to Lupercio de Argensola. He also thinks that the Camoenian sonnet: *Siete anos de pastor Jacob servía*, should be attributed to Esquilache.[11] It has been noted by Rodríguez Marín that the Horatian ode by Lupercio de Argensola, *Tu por la culpa agena*, has likewise wrongly been credited to Quevedo.[12]

With these, five more false attributions should be listed. One, a sonnet on the symbolism of colors, *Es lo blanco castísima pureza*, probably belongs to Cetina, and is included as his by Hazañas y La Rúa in his edition of Cetina's poems.[13] Four sonnets are the work of Pedro de Padilla, and are contained in his *Eglogas Pastoriles* first published in Seville in 1582. They are:

"Petrarca celebró su Laura bella . . ." (*E.P.* p. 229v, *B.A.E.*, pp. 249–50).[14]

[8] Also in this second part, the inspiration of the *silva* bearing the title: *Exhortación á una nave al entrar en el agua*, *B.A.E.*, *op. cit.*, p. 305, is obviously derived from the composition in the *Greek Anthology* on the subject, or one of its imitations. See pp. 106–8 in Étienne's edition already cited, and Groto, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Another *silva*: *Roma antigua y moderna*, p. 304, is closely related to a Du Bellian sonnet which may have been its model as Cuervo in *Dos Poesías* . . . was led to think. Alike in conception is Marino's: *Roma cadesti è ver* . . . in *Rime Morali, La Lira, Parte Prima*, Venice, 1638, p. 175.

[9] *Essai*, p. 372. In *B.A.E.*, *op. cit.*, p. 253 with note by Janer. The Canónigo Francisco Tárrega who read the composition as his at a meeting of the *Academia de los Nocturnos* (March 2, 1594) probably has the best claim to it; see *Flores de Poetas Ilustres* (ed. Quiros and Rodríguez Marín), Seville, 1896, p. 314n. Vol. I.

[10] *Essai*, p. 372. In *B.A.E.*, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[11] *Essai*, p. 372. *B.A.E.*, *op. cit.*, with note by Janer, p. 252.

[12] *Flores*, *op. cit.*, pp. 332–3n, Vol. I.

[13] *Las Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Seville, 1895, p. 91. This version varies in small details from the one in *B.A.E.*, *op. cit.*, p. 490, *Adiciones a las Musas*.

[14] Regarding the first sonnet, Mérimée, *Essai*, p. 394, under the impression that it was genuinely Quevedian, refers to it in order to show that: "Ce qui inspirerait des doutes, sur l'existence réelle de Lisis, c'est précisément cette prétension aussi peu dissimulée que mal justifiée, d'imiter Pétrarque."

"Divina muestra del poder divino . . ." (*E.P.* p. 239, *B.A.E.*, p. 250).
"Essa color de rosa y acuçena . . . " (*E.P.* p. 240, *B.A.E.*, p. 250).
"Espíritu gentil, rara belleza . . ." (*E.P.* p. 242, *B.A.E.*, p. 251).

There are doubtless other scattered references indicating more unauthentic poems in the *Tres Ultimas Musas* and elsewhere which have so far excaped our notice. It is hoped, however, that these and the few cited in this paper will soon be superseded by the publication of the remaining manuscript notes left by Guerra y Orbe.

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## GRACIÁN DANTISCO'S RULES FOR STORY-TELLING

GRACIÁN DANTISCO'S *Galateo Español* appeared in 1599.[1] Though the *Galateo Español* is a translation of *Il Galateo* of Giovanni della Casa,[2] it does not keep faithfully to the Italian original, showing additions or omissions in an effort to adapt it to a Spanish public. One of the salient additions is the chapter concerned with "el arte de novelar" and bears the title *De las Novelas y Cuentos*.[3]

The following quotation serves not only to show how common a pastime story-telling had become but it also illustrates the aversion of Spain's society to the over-frank *novella* of the Italian Renaissance and emphasizes its preference for the didactic tale:

"Allende de las cosas dichas, procure el Gentilhombre que se pone a contar algun cuento ò fabula, que sea tal, que no tenga palabras deshonestas, ni sucias, ni tan puercas, que puedan causar asco à quien le oye, pues se puede decir por rodeos, y terminos limpios y honestos, sin nombrar claramente cosas semejantes, especialmente si en el auditorio hubiese mugeres; porque alli se debe tener mas tiento, y ser la maraña del tal cuento clara, y con tal artificio, que vaya cebado el gusto, hasta que con el remate y paradero de la Novela, queden satisfechos y sin duda. Y tales pueden ser las Novelas y cuentos, que allende del entretenimiento y gusto, saquen de ellas buenos exemplos y moralidades, como hacien los antiguos Fabuladores, que tan artificiosamente hablaron, (como leemos en sus obras) y à su imitacion debe procurar el que cuenta las fabulas y consejos, ò otro qualquier razonamiento, ir hablando sin repetir muchas feces una misma palabra sin necesidad," etc.[4]

Gracián Dantisco then follows this chapter with a *novela* which illustrates the rules that he has just established. The story is that entitled *Novela del Gran Soldan con los Amores de la linda Ajas y el Principe de Napoles*. Menéndez y Pelayo in treating of this tale, which is not included in Della Casa's *Galateo*, writes: "Esta novela es seguramente de origen italiano . . . ." [5] In truth, the story is that found in Basile's *Pentamerone*, under the title of *Roselia*, and introduced by the following *argomento*:

[1] *El Galateo Español, destierro de ignorancia, quaternario de avisos.* Madrid, Ed. Luis Sánchez, 1599. Cf. Nicolas Antonio, *Bibliotheca Nova*, vol. II.

[2] Composed between 1551 and 1554. First published in 1558.

[3] *Galateo Español, su autor Lucas Gracián Dantisco, criado de su Magestad. Añadido el destierro de ignorancia, que es quaternario de avisos convenientes a nuestro Galateo. Y la vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, castigado.* En Madrid. Por Don Josef de Urrutia. Año de 1789.

[4] *Galateo Español*, 112–113.

[5] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, t. II, cxxxix.

"Il gran Turco, volendo fare un bagno nel sangue di un signore, manda a catturare in mare un principe; la figlia s'innamora del prigioniero e fugge con lui; la madre la raggiunge e dal principe le sono tagliate le mani. Il gran Turco muore di crepacuore; ma, bestemmiata la figlia dalla madre, il principe si dimentica di lei, e, solo dopo varie astuzie che ella adopera, torna alla memoria del marito, e remangono lietamente insieme." [6]

A comparison of contents clearly shows that the plot differs only in minor details. However, to establish concrete proof that Gracián Dantisco is reworking Basile's story, much as he did Della Casa's *Galateo*, is impossible. It would be just as plausible to maintain that the Neapolitan story-teller is making use of the Spaniard's tale. It is just as logical to conjecture that neither is dependent on the other and that the tale springs from the same distant background of folklore.

Giambattista Basile's *Cunto de li Cunti o Pentamerone* was published for the first time in 1636, four years after the author's death. Many of the stories which he had gathered in his wanderings had circulated in manuscript for many years before. And long before their circulation in written form, Basile had entertained learned gatherings with his tales.[7]

Francisco de Quevedo during his sojourn at Naples had undoubtedly heard Basile's stories in the Accademia degli Oziosi of which both were members, for he uses the title of *Cuento de los Cuentos* ten years before the publication of the Neapolitan collection.[8]

Gracián Dantisco, like his more distinguished compatriot, spent some time at Naples. Is it too much to believe that like Quevedo he had heard certain stories gathered by Basile? If he is indebted to Basile, Gracián Dantisco has made a very happy choice in singling this very tale from *Il Pentamerone* for it is the least offensive in vocabulary and most easily adapted to the illustration of the rules set down in the chapter, *De las Novelas y Cuentos*.

But the question of chronology is insistently bothersome in the settling of the argument. If Gracián Dantisco's source is Basile's *Pentamerone*, it means that he had heard or had read its stories before 1599, the date of the first edition of the *Galateo Español*. Basile was born in 1575. To maintain that the story of the *Pentamerone* is the source for the illustrative tale in the *Galateo Español* would lead one to affirm that at least the particular story was told and identified with Basile when he was 24 years of age. So the argument must rest.

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[6] Giambattista Basile, *Il Pentamerone*, ed. Benedetto Croce, Bari, 1925, t. II, *Trattenimento nono*, 90–99.

[7] Cf. Benedetto Croce, *op. cit.*, I, Introduzione, xvii.

[8] Benedetto Croce, speaking of Quevedo's work, states: "Pubblicato la prima volta nel 1629, dié origine alla *Venganza de la lengua española contra el autor del Cuento de los cuentos* del *Laureles* (Huesca, 1629). Il titolo scelto dal Quevedo sarebbe privo di senso, se non fosse riferito all'opera del Basile, nella quale ha chiaro senso e che il Quevedo dové riguardare solo nell'aspetto di una raccolta di parole e frasi volgari, come quella alla quale egli si accinse per la lingua spagnuola."
Cf. *op. cit.*, vol. I, xvii, note 1.

## THE TITLE *LIBRO DE LOS GATOS*

THE odd title *Libro de los gatos* has received the attention of a number of scholars who attempted to explain it variously.[1] The most recent of these explanations, which is also the one that has come to be generally accepted,[2] is that of Professor Northup, who concludes that "the word *gatos* is the result of a paleographic blunder" and that it is possibly a corruption of *quentos*.[3]

However, Professor Northup does not insist that the word that has come down as *gatos* was necessarily *quentos*. He merely suggests it as a word that might have belonged to the title and that could have become thus corrupted because of its resemblance to *gatos*. He does not insist upon the word probably because it hardly seems possible that a copyist or scribe would make such a blunder, especially in the title, when both *quentos* and *gatos* are short, common words with meanings so different that only the first could possibly suit the title. The original word must not only have resembled *gatos* but must also have been an uncommon word, as a result of which the error could have crept in. It seems to the writer that the Aramaic word *agadta* or the rabbinic *agada(h)* (plural *agadot*), meaning "narration, story, lesson, Agadah",[4]—terms[5] that were certainly current among Jews of the Iberian peninsula,—would perhaps satisfy this desideratum.

The change that *agadta* or *agada(h)* (plural *agadot*) had to undergo in order to become *gatos* is not very considerable. The compiler of the *Libro de los gatos* was probably not very careful in his transliteration, so that subsequently a copyist, to whom the term was unintelligible, had but little to emend in order to obtain *gatos*. The initial vowel, being merely a furtive *pattah*, was very likely elided in the original manuscript (a case of aphesis); and if *agadta* was the word intended, the *d* before *t* could have been lost as a result of assimilation and suppression. Thus, *agadta* > *gadta* > *gatta* > *gata*; or *agada(h)*, *agadot* > *gada*, *gadot*. The masculine gender that the word was given is in keeping with a tendency of foreign words to be made masculine.[6]

The assumption of an Aramaic or rabbinic word in the title would imply that the compiler or translator of the collection was a converted Jew, who would naturally have been thoroughly familiar with the terms *agadta* and *agada(h)*, though his use of either one of the words could have led a non-Jewish copyist, to whom the term was unin-

[1] G. T. Northup, "El libro de los gatos," in *Modern Philology*, vol. V, 1908, pp. 13–16.

[2] J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Littérature espagnole*, 2e éd., Paris, 1913, p. 83; J. Hurtado y A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1921, p. 236; G. T. Northup, *An Introduction to Spanish Literature*, Chicago, 1925, p. 85.

[3] G. T. Northup, *Modern Philology, loc. cit.*

[4] M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*, London and N. Y., 1903, p. 11.

[5] *Agadta* and *agada(h)* are used synonymously. *Agada(h)* is generally regarded as a by-form, due to Aramaic influence, of the Hebrew *haggadah*, which is derived from *ngd* in the *hiph'il*, meaning "to tell, narrate." Technically the word is used to designate the non-legal portions of the Talmud and Midrashim, including stories of various kinds, pithy sayings, homiletic material, etc. It is especially in the wider sense that these terms are used synonymously. See M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, 3d edition, edited by J. Bloch and L. Finkelstein, New York, 1925, pp. 56–57; cf. *agada* in *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Espasa), vol. III, p. 250.

[6] Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Morphologie Romane*, trad. A. et G. Doutrepont, Paris, 1895, p. 449.

telligible, to make the emendation. This supposition does not seem unreasonable in view of the fact that several of the stories are Oriental [7] (including one, not traceable to Odo's *Narrationes*, of which ancient Hebrew parallels exist),[8] and especially because similar compilations of moral allegories are known to have been made by Jews or Jewish converts in the Middle Ages, the outstanding examples being Pedro Alfonso,[9] Berechiah ben Natronai Krespia ha-Nakdan,[10] and John of Capua.[11]

It may also be of interest to observe that the word herewith suggested might indicate an attempt at translating *Narrationes*,[12] the title of Odo's work, of which the greater portion of the *Libro de los gatos* is a translation.

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## A FRENCH SOURCE OF ONE OF CARLOS GARCÍA'S TALES

DR. CARLOS GARCÍA does not occupy a very prominent place in the realm of Spanish letters. His two known works [1] do not show him as an author of great originality. The main interest connected with this writer has been the mystery surrounding his name and personality. Nicolás Antonio [2] thought it was some expatriated Spaniard writing under a ficticious name. Sbarbi [3] held the same view and even suggested that the works attributed to García had been written by Cervantes. The personality of Dr. García has now been definitely identified. López Barrera [4] describes him as an "aventurero acanallado y vicioso"; not a doctor, but a "curandero de matachines." The evidence brought out by this critic shows Dr. García as a sort of a seventeenth century Villarroel, struggling in France to make both ends meet.

The relation of Carlos García to the French literature and culture of the time

[7] J. Hurtado y A. González Palencia, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[8] The versions to which Professor Northup makes reference, are given by S. Schechter, in *Folklore*, vol. I, 1890, p. 277, and by M. Gaster, in vol. VII, 1896, p. 225.

[9] P. de Gayangos, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. LI, pp. 444–5; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de crítica literaria* (2ª edición), vol. II, Madrid, 1912, p. 395.

[10] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. III, p. 53.

[11] *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Espasa), vol. XXVIII, p. 3019; L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins: Jean de Capoue*, vol. V, Paris, 1899, p. 75.

[12] The phrase introducing Odo's work reads: "Narrationes magistri odonis de Ciringtonia." *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, vol. IX, 1868, p. 127.

[1] *La Desordenada Codicia de los bienes agenos*, with the subtitle *La Antigüedad y nobleza de los ladrones*, Paris, 1619; *La Oposición y Conjunción de los dos grandes luminares de la tierra*, Paris, 1617. Modern edition of both, Madrid, 1877 (Libros de Antaño, vol. VII).

[2] "Carolus Garcia, nescio quis, doctorem sese nuncupans, non sine utriusque gentis invicem sibe emulae observatione multa, gallice simul et hispanice conscripsit," *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, Madrid, 1783, vol. I, p. 232.

[3] *In illo tempore y otras frioleras*, Madrid, 1903, pp. 17, 149. ". . . sería fácil caer en la injusticia de atribuir al Dr. García más cuidado en seguir a Cervantes, que en copiar de la realidad las costumbres que se propuso dar a conocer." F. de Icaza, *Las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes*, Madrid, 1901, pp. 132–135.

[4] "Literatura francesa Hispanófoba de los siglos XVI y XVII," in *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, 1926, 137–149.

has already been pointed out.[5] Our purpose in the present note is to discuss one of the tales included by the author in his *Desordenada Codicia*. This work is a picaresque novel made up of the adventures of a rogue told to the author while visiting in jail. These accounts sprinkled with some moralizing comprise the narrative. The models most closely followed by the author are the Exemplary Novels of Cervantes, the *Lazarillo* and the French story tellers of the sixteenth century. The first story told by the rogue is the tale of "Maître Pierre Faifeu, qui eut des bottes qui ne lui coûtèrent rien" included by Bonaventure Despériers in his *Joyeux Devis*.[6]

The details are practically the same in both versions. In Despériers a rogue comes into a French village barefooted and dirty. He tells the innkeeper where he lodges that he did not have time to put on his shoes, as the police were fast on his trail. He sends for different shoemakers to take his measure and make him a pair of shoes for the following day. Next morning when the boys bring the shoes he tries them on and sends them back with one shoe to have it stretched. Thus, by selecting the proper shoe from each boy he gets one pair and runs away with it. The shoemakers laugh at the clever trick and gamble for the possession of the odd shoe to complete one pair. In the Spanish version the rogue poses as a servant and asks different shoemakers to send a pair of shoes to the inn, and using the same trick as above gets several pairs and runs away. He is overtaken and is punished with flogging and banishment.

This story is not original with Despériers, as it is found in Charles de Bourdigné's *Légende joyeuse de maistre Pierre Faifeu*, a picaresque poem in fourteen chapters, of which there are cited editions of Angers, 1526 and 1532.[7] Carlos García could have borrowed this tale from either Bourdigné or Despériers, as both authors were popular in France at the time Dr. García was writing. Whether he borrowed it from one or the other, the fact remains that Carlos García incorporated this French tale in his work with hardly any modification.

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## THE DUKE OF SAXONY AND THE DATE *AD QUEM* OF *CLIGÈS*

IN choosing a villain over whom Cligès rides roughshod in his first bid for fame, Chrétien de Troyes makes use of a certain "duc de Seissoingne."[1] When the Duke's nephew appears before the German Emperor to protest the marriage of Fenice and to threaten the one who is to marry her, Cligès makes him and his Saxon company the laughing stock of the assembled Greeks and Germans. In fact, Chrétien spares neither the Duke of Saxony nor his following. Routed in battle, outwitted in his attempt to kidnap Fenice, hard-pressed in single combat with the youthful Cligès,

[5] L. Pfandl, "Carlos García und sein Anteil an der Geschichte der kulturellen und literarischen Beziehungen Frankreichs zu Spanien," in *Münchener Museum*, 1913, II, 34–52.

[6] *Les Récréations et Joyeux Devis*, 1558 (tale 23). It is also included in E. Huguet, *Prosateurs du XVI^e Siècle*, Paris, 1897, pp. 166–171. See also Clément Jugé, *Jacques Peletier du Mans*, Paris, 1907, pp. 288–342, where the attribution of this work to Despériers is disputed.

[7] Vid. G. Lanson, *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, Paris, 1924, p. 230n; Jugé, *op. cit.*, 288.

[1] Cf. Wendelin Foerster's edition of *Cligès*, Halle, 1910, v. 2675.

the Duke is finally forced to save his own life in a most cowardly fashion. As Chrétien tells it:

"Li dus an Seissoingne repeire
Dolanz et maz et vergondeus;
Car de ses homes n'i a deus,
Qui nel taingnent por mescheant,
Por failli et por recreant." [2]

If Chrétien did have the *Tristan* in mind, then, compared to the Irish peer Morholt, the Duke of Saxony is indeed a thoroughly contemptible and debased character whose lack of honor and courage only serves to enhance the noble qualities of the hero, Cligès. The fact that Chrétien paints the duke and his Saxons in such an unfavorable light is not surprising. When Chrétien wrote the *Cligès*, in all probability the Duke of Saxony was merely the name of some unknown barbarian chief who was to be considered in the same light as any Saracen leader, merely as an infidel "outsider," at whose expense the youthful Cligès might delight the enraptured ladies of Chrétien's audience. At the same time, it is well known that medieval Europe in general, and especially medieval France, had already developed serious antipathies toward the Germans. Chronicles of the day are full of remarks on the barbarity of the Germans, their lack of chivalry and manners, their harsh, forbidding language and their general boorishness.[3] It is, then, not unusual that Chrétien should choose the Duke of Saxony as a fitting title for the cowardly abductor of Fenice.

However, it is interesting to note that the actual Duke of Saxony who was the contemporary of Chrétien de Troyes was Henry the Lion who, in 1168, married Mathilda, daughter of Henry II of England and of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and half-sister of Marie of Champagne at whose court it is commonly supposed that Chrétien composed a number of his romances. Assuming that Chrétien de Troyes is a native of Troyes and that he wrote a number of his romances, including *Cligès*, for the courtly society of Champagne,[4] the conclusion that Chrétien probably completed the *Cligès* before 1168, the date of the marriage of Mathilda and Henry the Lion, is not unreasonable for it is unlikely that Chrétien would have dared to offend the brother-in-law of his patroness.

An examination of the records of the marriage and the history of the turbulent years immediately preceding and following 1168 strengthens the probability that Chrétien had no particular individual in mind when he invented the character of the Duke of Saxony. In 1165, one year after Marie was installed as the Countess of Champagne, an embassy from Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, headed by Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, interviewed Henry II, who was then at Rouen, concerning a proposed double matrimonial alliance: (a) Mathilda, the elder daughter of Henry II, and Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria; [5] (b) Eleanor, the king's younger daughter, and the Emperor's infant son, Henry. The matter seems to have been discussed previously in England when Reginald visited Queen Eleanor to ask for her consent.[6] The match between Eleanor and the infant Henry failed of realization, but, in the year 1168, Mathilda, then twelve years old, was sent to Germany, and there

[2] *Cligès*, vv. 4194–4198.

[3] J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, Chicago, 1928, p. 360 ff.

[4] Gaston Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française*, Paris, 1912, pp. 248, 260 ff.

[5] Robert de Monte; cited by Sir J. H. Ramsey, *The Angevin Empire*, London, 1903, III, p. 71.

[6] Ralph of Diceto, I. 3, 8; cited by Ramsey, *ibid.*, III, p. 71.

married to the Duke of Saxony.[7] The fact that Henry the Liberal, Count of Champagne, was on friendly terms with both King Henry II and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa makes it very unlikely that Chrétien would have slandered the Duke of Saxony, Frederick's mightiest Duke, after the latter had become the husband of Mathilda in 1168. It may be remembered that in the struggle between Pope Alexander III, supported by Louis VII of France, and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's anti-pope, Victor IV, a relative of Henry of Champagne, the latter, frequently serving as a mediator between Louis VII and Barbarossa, was more favorably inclined toward the Emperor's policies than those of Louis VII.[8] Though finally, in 1165, Henry the Liberal did recognize Alexander III, yet he did not break with the German emperor. As late as 1171 and 1172 Henry was still on good terms with Barbarossa. Henry's support of the Emperor gained him the ill-will of his bishops and those of neighboring states. They even brought claim against Henry to the King of France in 1165, and though King Louis VII summoned his son-in-law to appear before him, the latter disobeyed. Again, in 1167, trouble arose between Henry the Liberal and the Archbishop of Reims, a brother of Louis VII, for the same reason.

While, as it seems, Henry of Champagne was frequently at odds with King Louis VII, there is no indication of the least friction during the period under consideration between Henry and either Marie of Champagne or King Henry II of England and his immediate family. Indeed, as a friend of Emperor Frederick, Henry the Liberal had no cause for enmity against the King of England, since the latter had supported Frederick's anti-pope. During the incessant wars between Louis VII of France and Henry II of England, Henry of Champagne did not actively support either. In the month of August of 1167, very close to the time of the marriage of Mathilda and the Duke of Saxony, a truce which was to last until the following Easter was concluded between the two belligerent kings, and during this truce Henry of Champagne made many efforts to reconcile his father-in-law with the English king.[9] In addition, it should be remembered that though Mathilda of Saxony and Marie of Champagne were half-sisters, yet their common mother was Eleanor of Aquitaine, and it is not to be denied that Marie, with her literary and artistic inclinations, resembled her mother much more than her father. Under these circumstances, it is natural to believe that Marie was well-disposed toward her English brothers and sisters. It is worth noting, in this connection, that, in 1186, after the death of Geoffroi, Count of Brittany, who was a son of Eleanor and Henry II of England, and therefore "frère utérin" of Marie, Marie and her young son were present at the burial in Paris, and that Marie showed evidence of sisterly affection for her deceased brother.[10]

The fact that Chrétien knew English geography well, as the *Cligès* shows,[11] may indicate residence in England and a certain familiarity with English affairs which would make it extremely unlikely that Chrétien wrote his *Cligès* after the Duke of Saxony had become the son-in-law of the King of England.

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[7] Robert de Monte gives the date as 1168, though the Pipe Roll 13H. II. informs us that Mathilda left England before Michaelmas, 1167; cited by Ramsey, *ibid.*, III, p. 71.

[8] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne*, Paris, 1861, III, p. 47 ff.

[9] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *ibid.*, III, p. 91.

[10] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *ibid.*, IV, part I, p. 6 f.

[11] Gaston Paris, *ibid.*, p. 260. It is to be noted that Chrétien displays a geographical knowledge of England that he could not have borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

# REVIEWS

Edgar Zilsel, *Die Enstehung des Geniebegriffs*, Tübingen, Mohr, 1926.

Le génie est-il le don d'un homme mort? En général, l'esprit à la mode n'est pas le génie de demain,—et le génie d'aujourd'hui n'a pas été l'esprit à la mode d'hier.

Ce que M. Zilsel montre, c'est que le génie du jour, l'esprit à la mode, ainsi qu'on disait jadis, est avant tout un terme social; que ce sont avant tout les amis, les croyants, les partisans, qui baptisent le soi-disant génie, qui le forment, aussi bien en politique que dans les beaux-arts: notre siècle, dit-il, a été assez fertile en ce genre de production.

M. Zilsel prouve ensuite que le terme *génie* et l'idée partent de la Grèce: le génie, en Grèce, est, à l'origine, une conception animiste et prélogique. Cette conception primitive fut épurée par Platon. Elle a été vulgarisée ensuite par les artistes et les poètes grecs, qui, de parti pris, tournent le dos aux gens de profession mécanique, aux "bourgeois." Enfin cette idée est codifiée, au commencement du déclin de l'empire, par l'essai *peri hypnous*, "du Sublime," attribué à Longin, écrit dont l'influence me paraît visible jusque dans les Lettres de saint Paul.

La Renaissance recommence là, où le déclin de l'empire avait laissé les idées. Elle cultive l'homme déclaré supérieur, ses qualités innées, son génie. Ce Génie peut être en partie une qualité indiscutable, en partie une convention sortie d'un groupe. C'est ainsi que naît le culte de la gloire et, avec ce culte, ce que M. Zilsel appelle "les fournisseurs de gloire professionnels" (*Ruhmverleiher*). Pietro Aretino par exemple.

Remarque curieuse: Ces professionnels de la gloire exaltent princes et poètes, sculpteurs et peintres, tandis que les grandes découvertes, les grands inventeurs restent privés de leurs éloges ou presque. C'est ici que le volume s'arrête.

Il n'approfondit que l'étude de la Grèce, de Rome, de l'Italie de la Renaissance. Dans ce cadre un peu restreint, on trouvera beaucoup d'idées nouvelles: un caractère comme celui de l'Arétin devient palpable et beaucoup plus compréhensible qu'il ne paraissait d'abord.

Mais la méthode sociologique ne saurait être aussi étroite: la sociologie embrasse le globe entier et les 6000 ans de l'histoire ou elle n'est pas. C'est comme en linguistique: le mot d'une langue quelconque, mot quelconque, tel qu'on le trouve dans les dictionnaires, n'a aucune réalité. La réalité primitive, c'est ce même mot articulé par un individu. L'abstraction juste, c'est ce mot employé dans un sens déterminé, par un groupe d'individus, pendant une époque limitée. Une grammaire historico-géographique, évitant toute fiction autant que possible, devrait donc étudier les sons, les formes, les règles de la syntaxe, dans tous les patois, depuis la formation de cette langue jusqu'à nos jours.

Mais pour écrire une sociologie générale du *langage*, il ne suffirait pas de se restreindre à étudier l'évolution des patois des langues romanes ou germaniques, voire indo-européennes, il serait plutôt de rigueur de confronter au moins l'évolution indo-européenne avec une langue de l'Extrême-Orient ne possédant pas de flexion, comme le chinois, ou pas de verbe proprement dit, comme le japonais. Voilà la seule méthode pour aller au delà de l'abstraction spéciale de la "langue," et atteindre l'abstraction générale du "langage."

De même, pour écrire la sociologie de l'idée de "génie," et l'origine de cette idée, il ne suffit pas d'étudier les Grecs et les Romains, et ensuite l'Italie de la Renaissance. Pour l'Europe, il est indispensable de suivre le développement de cette idée ainsi que du culte de gloire, en France. C'est Mme de Rambouillet qui a importé le premier salon à Paris. On verra, après cette importation, se développer ce salon, d'abord en France, former ce qu'on appellera la *Société*, le *Monde*, puis passer la frontière, entrer en Allemagne, en Russie, apporter un peu partout le culte des grands hommes, des personnalités. On n'oubliera pas de montrer le rôle prépondérant de la femme dans cette évolution. C'est sa façon de voir les choses qui devient de plus en plus prédominante.

Et on verra une fois de plus que, malgré les différences de culture, de langue, de forces physiques et morales, cette évolution est éminemment européenne. La puissance du salon devient presque partout illimitée: c'est lui qui forme les opinions. Il les forme à peu près comme le journal les forme aujourd'hui, sans trop choquer les idées reçues. L'opinion admise par le salon décidant toute question sans exception, il n'y a plus de vérité, il n'y a plus que des opinions.

"L'homme," dira Pascal dans ses *Pensées* (II, 8), "n'est donc que déguisement, que mensonge et hypocrisie, et en soi-même et à l'égard des autres. Il ne veut pas qu'on lui dise la vérité et il évite de la dire aux autres."

C'est dans ce milieu bientôt européen que se forme, ou plutôt que se transforme la conception des idées du "génie" et de la "gloire."

Mais avons-nous fini, si nous avons étudié l'évolution de ces idées en Europe? Non. Au contraire, c'est bien ici que l'induction définitive commence. L'induction qui compare l'évolution de l'Europe à celle de l'Amérique et à celle de l'Asie. Si, en *linguistique*, il faut comparer les "langues" radicalement différentes de continents différents pour atteindre l'abstraction générale qui est le "langage,"—en *sociologie* il faut aller au delà du continent pour faire de la sociologie proprement dite.

*Sociologie* est un terme universel ainsi que *droit*, *économie*, etc. Il n'y a ni sociologie régionale, ni sociologie européenne; il n'y a que des documents, des constatations sociologiques nationales ou continentales. Mais c'est là, où ces constatations finissent que la sociologie proprement dite commence. On se demande: Est-ce praticable? N'est-ce pas trop étendu? trop difficile? trop *abstrait*, comme on dit, sans se rendre, en général, compte du sens de ce terme *abstrait?*

Mais cette induction définitive a été ébauchée pour la plupart des questions sociologiques par un des meilleurs sociologues que nous ayons eus, par Max Weber. On trouvera, par exemple, une esquisse du développement de l'idée "génie" dans le *Grundriss der Sozialoekonomik*, III, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, I (Tübingen, 1921, p. 140). Mais Max Weber ne dit pas *génie:* il dit *charisma*. Et la définition de ce terme de *charisma*, c'est "la qualité d'une personne qui est, ou qui est crue au-dessus du commun." La formation de cette qualité est étudiée aussi bien en Europe, qu'en Asie, qu'en Amérique. Il est clair que, si on se restreint à n'étudier que l'Europe, on ne saurait extraire de cette étude de règles générales pour l'humanité entière, sans commettre l'erreur classique du positivisme: "l'homme partout pareil, donc étudier l'homme par l'humanité." Pour trouver des règles générales, impossible de généraliser ce que l'on a trouvé en Europe.

M. Zilsel va plus loin dans ses aspirations: il espère trouver par l'étude de la société les lois mêmes qui les gouvernent. Est-ce possible?

Un des phénomènes sociaux des plus réguliers, c'est la phonétique d'un patois d'une commune. Mais elle ne laisse pas d'être irrégulière, autrement dit d'avoir des

exceptions. Un mot, par exemple, se soustrait à la diphthongaison, parce que ce sont les vieux qui l'emploient de préférence, cette diphthongaison étant postérieure à leur jeunesse. Un autre mot se soustrait à cette même diphthongaison par l'influence de l'école ou du curé. Un troisième, parce que ce mot s'est mêlé par erreur ou par plaisanterie avec un autre mot qui n'a pas la diphthongue. Il n'y a pas de lois en phonétique: le lettré, l'autodidacte, l'espiègle s'y soustraient. C'est comme pour la mode: Qui veut, la porte; qui ne veut pas, la laisse. Les modes sont reçues, mais non pas par la totalité des individus d'une société; seulement par une majorité, le *Monde*, la *Société*. La phonétique, ainsi que tous les faits de langue, sont des modes. Elles sont à prendre ou à laisser. Car où il y a mode, il y a règle; où il y a règle, il y a exception. Il n'y a pas que les linguistes pour reconnaître aujourd'hui ce dualisme; et en sociologie la distinction entre "loi" et "règle" devient de rigueur.

On lira, dans le premier volume de *Hauptprobleme der Soziologie, Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber* (I, p. 21), un article de M. Franz Eulenburg posant la même question: "Sind historische Gesetze möglich?" Y a-t-il des lois dans l'histoire? La solution de cette question est assez pareille à celle que fournit la phonétique: il n'y a pas de lois, qui régissent les faits sociaux, il n'y a que des règles. Il est clair que ce dualisme "lois" et "règles" est d'une importance énorme pour la conception scientifique du monde.

Car celui qui n'étudie que la société, ne voit que des "règles." Il ne peut donc pas y avoir de *philosophie sociale*, ainsi que certains auteurs l'ont prétendu d'après leurs titres. Celui qui ne voit que des "règles" confondra sa façon moniste de voir les choses avec les "lois" de la physique et de la chimie, au lieu de les en distinguer. Et de même celui qui n'étudie que la nature, ne voit, en moniste, que des "lois" et, par une extension illogique, il essaiera de comprendre les faits sociaux, eux aussi, comme si c'étaient des faits dictés par des "lois." Enfin, celui qui n'étudie que l'estéthique ne voit que la "liberté" et, par une autre extension moniste, trouvera son à priori où on ne saurait le chercher: dans la langue, dans la nature.

Il n'y a donc ni *philosophie sociale*, ni *philosophie de la nature*, ni *philosophie de l'art*, il n'y a qu'une philosophie générale, sachant réunir par la pensée la causalité de la nature qui est "toujours la même," c'est-à-dire sans exception,—à celle de l'âme qui est "toujours changeante," c'est-à-dire libre, unique—enfin à celle de la société qui est "régulière," c'est-à-dire reconnaissable à ses exceptions.

Si M. Zilsel continue ses études sur l'idée de "génie," j'espère qu'il profitera de ces indications: Élargir son cadre autant que possible, ne pas chercher des "lois" où il ne peut y avoir que des "règles." Et peut-être encore une indication qui me paraît de saison: ne pas s'attacher trop étroitement au terme de *génie*. Autrement dit, ne pas partir du mot, mais de l'idée, ainsi que l'a fait Max Weber en évitant le terme européen de *génie* et en le remplaçant par le terme *charisma*.

Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas: je ne propose pas le terme de *charisma*, je ne combats pas le terme de *génie*. Ce que je veux dire, c'est ceci: *évitons à tout prix le nominalisme pouvant cacher la chose et falsifier l'idée*. Voilà pourquoi Max Weber a évité le mot reçu de *génie:* il a voulu atteindre l'au delà de la mode, l'au delà de la façon de voir européenne. Il a voulu saisir l'idée en Asie et autre-part, où la terminologie diffère de la nôtre. Et pour cela, il a choisi un terme indifférent: *charisma*. C'est-à-dire, il a quitté la mode, la façon de parler en Europe, pour vaincre la mode.

Voilà pourquoi un néologisme est parfois préférable à un terme reçu. Et je ne comprends pas du tout mon ami Robert Michels, qui dans sa petite *Sociologie* (Berlin, 1926) part des termes reçus par principe. Il en montre parfaitement bien l'ambiguïté,

et malgré cela, il polémise contre ceux qui, pour éviter cette ambiguïté, essaient d'introduire des néologismes.

Mais la forme peut-elle réellement être plus importante que la chose? Si la chose, l'idée est claire, tout est clair. Si la chose, l'idée de la chose est ambiguë, tout est ambigu. Le plus beau terme reçu depuis des siècles ne sauvera pas de cette ambiguïté. Le premier pas, dans toute méthode étant donc d'éviter cet ambigu, cette équivoque, le principe de la méthode sociologique ne peut être de conserver à tout prix les termes reçus, mais au contraire, d'éviter les termes équivoques ou trop étroits. Voilà du reste ce que M. von Gottl-Ottlilienfeld a voulu dire dans son article *Freiheit vom Wort*, dans Max Weber, *Erinnerungsgabe* (ouvrage déjà cité, I., p. 97).

Il ne reste que l'objection suivante: la matière d'une sociologie universelle étant déjà assez difficile à comprendre, la difficulté des néologismes augmentera encore cette difficulté. On ne lira pas nos livres, à cause des néologismes. La réponse à cette objection ne peut pas être trop radicale: *major amica veritas!* La popularité appartient, en général, aux nominalistes, aux idéalistes, aux fabricants d'illusions et de nuages. Il ne reste donc, pour le savant objectif, que la maxime suivante: essayer de se rapprocher des choses à étudier autant que possible, essayer de comprendre leurs rapports sans idée préconçue (*idéalisme*), sans belles formules (*nominalisme*); essayer de faire comprendre, d'enseigner ces résultats sans concessions monistes ou simplistes. Autrement dit: "Marcher droit à travers les séductions de l'intérêt et de la vanité," comme l'a très bien dit Augustin Thierry dans ses *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France* vers le commencement.

Il est clair que cette question morale se rattache de très près au problème de "génie," car il s'agit de savoir si les aspirations du savant peuvent aller au devant de l'approbation, sans nuire à la connaissance de la vérité, ou si la recherche de la vérité défend d'aller au devant de l'approbation:

"On est si peu habitué à traiter les faits sociaux scientifiquement," a dit M. Durkheim dans la préface des *Règles de la Méthode sociologique*, "que certaines des propositions contenues dans cet ouvrage risquent de surprendre le lecteur. Cependant s'il existe une science des sociétés, il faut bien s'attendre à ce qu'elle ne consiste pas dans une simple paraphrase des préjugés traditionnels, . . . L'objet de toute science est de faire des découvertes et toute découverte déconcerte plus ou moins les opinions reçues."

*Major amica veritas!* Pascal l'a dit un peu autrement dans ses *Pensées:*

"Nous supposons que tous les hommes conçoivent de la même sorte. Mais ceux qui sont capables d'inventions sont rares. Ceux qui n'inventent point sont en plus grand nombre, et par conséquent les plus forts. Et l'on voit que pour l'ordinaire, ils refusent aux inventeurs la gloire."

Donc, il n'y a pas à hésiter: le savant objectif n'arrangera pas sa science d'après les nécessités de sa vie ou d'après les conseils de sa vanité,—mais au contraire, il devra arranger sa vie d'après les nécessités de la science. *Primum vivere deinde philosophari*, c'est-à-dire: d'abord assurer sa vie et ensuite faire de la philosophie. Et non pas: assurer sa vie et faire de la philosophie en même temps, car ceci est impossible. Au fond, c'est une des plus anciennes vérités que le monde ait comprises: la philosophie sino-japonaise du Zen l'exprime en quatre syllabes: *kenshūryozen*, "beau-laid-clarté." Ce qui veut dire que l'"objectivité" ne commence qu'au delà du "beau" et du "laid," de la "sympathie" et de l'"antipathie," des "intérêts" et de la "vanité," des "modes" et des "opinions reçues."

Pascal, ainsi que nous l'avons vu, ne comprenait pas encore la différence entre

"invention" et "découverte"; il ne connaissait pas non plus la différence entre "opinion" et "jugement." "Rien n'est juste en soi," dit-il, "tout branle avec le temps" (*Pensées*, III, 9). "Pourquoi suit-on les anciennes opinions?" demande-t-il autrepart (*Pensées*, V, 5). "Est-ce qu'elles sont plus saines? Non, mais elles sont uniques et nous ôtent la racine de la diversité."

Depuis, trois siècles ont passé. La science s'est complètement transformée. Il ne s'agit plus, dans la science, d'opinions à recevoir. Au contraire, il s'agit aujourd'hui d'*éviter* les opinions reçues. Et il s'agit surtout de s'entendre sur la méthode de penser à suivre. De nos jours, elle est encore assez irrégulière: personne ne sait exactement ce que c'est que l'*induction*, ce que c'est que la *déduction;* on définit l'*abstraction*, mais on la définit mal, et je crois que l'*abstraction*, c'est le problème central de la pensée. Tout le monde ensuite parle d'*analyse* et de *synthèse*, sans autrement se préoccuper de leur définition.

Si on définit les méthodes de penser par les mathématiques, c'est pis: l'objet des mathématiques étant des fictions, des rapports abstraits et conventionnalisés, la méthode normale des mathématiques, c'est la "déduction." "Analyse" et "synthèse" en mathématiques sont tout autre chose qu'"analyse" et "synthèse" de faits ou d'individus en biologie ou en sociologie. Les mathématiques ne sauraient être sans axiomes. Mais les sciences expérimentales et objectives ne sauraient être *que* sans axiomes et sans fictions. Leur méthode normale ne saurait être la déduction, comme en mathématiques; mais l'induction est de rigueur partout où l'objet ne fait pas défaut. C'est alors qu'apparaît la seule méthode possible et objective de l'"abstraction": celle qui va de l'individu à la classe, du fait à la pensée générale. L'unité que Pascal cherchait dans le passé, dans la tradition, elle se trouve à l'avenir dans la logique, dans la méthode de penser des sciences expérimentales.

Voilà pourquoi M. Zilsel devra, s'il continue ses études sur l'idée de "génie," distinguer à partir du 19e siècle, l'évolution du "génie" en politique et en art, de celle de la "personnalité" dans les sciences objectives. En effet, si les mathématiques ne sauraient être sans axiomes, l'art ne saurait être sans modes.

Mais la science objective ne saurait être *que* sans axiomes et sans modes. Ensuite M. Zilsel devra encore distinguer strictement, plus strictement qu'il ne l'a fait, le "génie des vivants" du "génie des morts": l'adoration du génie des morts, elle aussi, a ses fictions, ses règles, ses dangers. Si la vérité a été dite par les morts, pourquoi la rechercher? Il suffit d'expliquer ce que les morts ont voulu dire et la parole est aux commentateurs. On oublie que le héros a été homme et, ayant été homme, s'est trompé. Sanctifier ses erreurs, c'est les consacrer. Toutefois le culte du "génie mort" est moins intéressé que le culte des "génies vivants." Ce n'est que pour anéantir la marche de la pensée que ces deux cultes s'unissent étroitement.

M. Zilsel nous a conduits par son travail, en partie directement, en partie indirectement, jusqu'aux problèmes vitaux de la sociologie et de la philosophie. J'espère qu'il continuera cette étude.

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## SOME STUDIES ON STENDHAL

Paul Arbelet, *Stendhal épicier ou Les Infortunes de Mélanie*, Paris, Plon, 1926, 259 pp.
Marie-Jeanne Durry, *Un Ennemi de Stendhal*, Paris, Le Divan, 1928, 59 pp.
Jean Prevost, *Le Chemin de Stendhal*, Paris, Hartman, 1929, 131 pp.

In this age of intellectual and artistic restlessness, of psychological subtleties and of poignant irony and scepticism it is fitting that Stendhal should be revived; for,

perhaps, no man before him, unless it be Pascal, has expended as much intellectual energy in a tragic effort to solve the delicate problem of his personal equation.

It was of course natural for his contemporaries, in their romantic efflorescence and their emotional ebullition to call him a cold and calculated ironist and to deny him any synthetic value. We could not, in the light of present tendencies, share their prejudice. We have gradually learned not only to tolerate but highly appreciate Nietzsche and his exaltation of the individual. Baudelaire's lesson is that, even for a poet, self-analysis is perhaps the *sine qua non* of synthesis, while Dostoyevsky's exploration of the depths of the human soul has made abnormal psychology a subject of art. As a result of their influence we have authors like Gide, Proust, J. J. de Lacretelle, J. Prevost and many others who sought and seek their artistic material in the intricate ramifications of their ego and in the intellectualization of its delicate shades and tones. André Berge rightly epitomizes the spirit of the present restlessness in his *L'Esprit de la littérature moderne*: "Quelque chose s'est developpé entre temps: la critique de soi. Le scepticisme s'est généralisé, l'ironie également, et l'on préférera être ironique vis-à-vis de soi-même, plutôt que de donner prise à l'ironie des autres."

But the most important contemporary development is the fact that we have become broad enough to appreciate sincerity and look for it under the masks worn by such men as Stendhal. And so we have come to the happy point where we can see Stendhal without his masks and recognize how akin he is to our spirit. Such books therefore as Arbelet's *Stendhal épicier*, Durry's *Un ennemi de Stendhal*, Farges' *Stendhal diplomate* and many others published by these increased "happy few" lovers of Stendhal, are of great interest to us in as far as they help us to get a firmer grip and a better understanding of the man who may be looked upon as the father of Dostoyevsky and the contemporary psychological novel.

*Stendhal épicier ou Les Infortunes de Mélanie.*

This book deals with the life of Stendhal in Marseilles from July, 1805, to May, 1806. In it Paul Arbelet provides a fitting climax to his *Les Amours de Stendhal et de Victorine*, a transition from Stendhal's love *à la René* to his love *à la Valmont*. In a charmingly light and humorous tone, this faithful and untiring Stendhalian recreates out of Beyle's letters to Pauline and his *Journal* a very interesting chapter of his life, a chapter in which Stendhal plunges into business and love to emerge sane and sober, and evidently tired of both groceries and Mélanie Guilbert.

What was the motive that decided Stendhal in favor of the groceries at the betrayal of his cherished ideal of becoming a great man? Was it the beautiful big eyes of Mélanie or a desire to become a business man that drew him to Marseilles? Arbelet seems to favor the second view, contending with a degree of conviction that after all by the year 1807 Stendhal expected to give up the groceries for bank notes. He would certainly become a banker by then (Mante, Beyle & Co.), Stendhal thinks, and a retired banker is not to be despised; for he possesses a generous part of the qualities attributed to a philosopher. In fact this desire found an artistic expression in his Leuwen the father, a highly successful banker, and a political philosopher whose Machiavellian views were ideally adapted for the government of the *juste-milieu* under Louis-Philippe.

It was this chimerical expectation that made him for the time being give up the noble project of writing comedies *à la Molière;* for he was still at the interminable and luckless Letellier, which he had to definitely abandon later with the consolation that after all the Alexandrine is nothing but a "cache-sottise" and Molière suffered in

comparison with Regnard, because he catered to such insipid clients as the gloved nobility of Louis XIV.

Arbelet believes that Stendhal would have gone to Marseilles, Mélanie or no Mélanie; for Stendhal needed money and his need was rather dire. If we turn to his *Journal* at this particular period we shall see how important the question of money was to him then. He was poor to a point of destitution. He had no money to pay the doctor, not enough to buy decent clothes and he was simply a raving maniac against his closed-fisted father who refused to be humane. "Qu'on joigne à cela," he says bitterly, "toutes les humiliations morales et les inquiétudes d'une vie passée continuellement avec vingt sous, douze, quatre et quelquefois rien dans ma poche, on aura une légère idée de l'état où cet homme vertueux me laisse." [1] It is indeed during this time that he adorns his father with the most abusive and vituperative epithets: "bâtard de père," "vilain scélérat à mon égard, n'ayant ni vertu, ni pitié, *senza virtu ne carità*." He is even ready to prove in a debate and in writing to any one who has any doubts about the matter that "mon père à mon égard a eu la conduite d'un malhonnête homme et d'un exécrable père, en un mot d'un vilain scélérat."

The experiences of Stendhal at Marseilles, his grappling with financial problems arising out of the wholesale vending of groceries, his gradual disgust for the thing, his amorous relations with Mélanie, and the inevitable cooling down and the final extinction of his passion for her, are all related with a style of charm and humor. Of interest are also Arbelet's illuminating observations concerning the facile virtue and the heavy gaiety of the life of Marseilles, a life which Stendhal had ample opportunity to taste and execrate:

> "Pas l'ombre d'amusement ici," quotes Arbelet on p. 91, from Stendhal's letter to Mounier, written on the 4th of January, 1806, "pas même de société; des femmes archicatins et qui se font payer; des hommes grossiers qui ne savent que faire des marchés; lorsqu'ils se trouvent mauvais, ils font banqueroute; s'ils sont bons, ils entretiennent des filles. Quel séjour, lorsqu'on a habité Paris!"

But Marseilles, as Arbelet believes, was far from being a total loss to Stendhal. This baptism in the sea of vulgar realism had a tremendous cathartic influence on him, in as far as it helped him to get rid of some highly romantic notions on life which prevented him up to that time from becoming the intelligent observer of the human heart that he became later. Arbelet shows him receiving his share of fun without any evident reluctance. But to react and yet remain insoluble seems to have been a favorite trick with Stendhal. He always managed to escape being colored with the dyestuffs of his environment.

This book of Arbelet, just like all his other works on Stendhal, is certainly revelatory as well as entertaining.

*Un Ennemi de Stendhal.*

Somewhat detailed information concerning the relations between Stendhal and Lysimaque Tavernier, his assistant at Cività-Vecchia, is given us for the first time in Chuquet's scholarly book, *Stendhal-Beyle*.[2] Also in the letter of D. Bucci,[3] this faithful friend, who provided the only break in a rather drab and wearisome existence

[1] *Journal*, 28 nivôse.

[2] "Lettres de Beyle au duc de Broglie et au comte de Rigny sur Tavernier," pp. 530–533.

[3] *Soirées de Stendhal-Club*, II, 4th letter to Romain Colomb.

in Cività-Vecchia, sufficient glimpses are thrown on the character of this Tavernier. Rescued from the disgrace in which he had fallen through his discharge by M. de Vaux, the predecessor of Stendhal, this wily and ambitious Greek became a source of constant irritation and aggravation to Beyle, and Bucci, who had been for many years the depository of Stendhal's confidences, strongly denounces the low and subterranean tactics of this evidently capable but unscrupulous individual.

With the aid of some unpublished letters found among the archives of the French embassy at the Vatican, others at Saint-Louis des Français, and finally some which came from the consulary archives of Palais Farnese, Marie-Jeanne Durry gives us an exhaustive account of this unfortunate Tavernier-Stendhal relationship in her little book.

This book is highly interesting for the Stendhalian, first because it gives us a complete and documentary evidence of Tavernier's ingratitude, thus discrediting the contentions of some who claim that Stendhal was harshly unjust to his assistant, and secondly because Mlle Durry advances a significant theory that Rassi in the *Chartreuse de Parme* is the artistic transposition of Lysimaque.

In his well known article on the *Chartreuse de Parme* in the *Revue Parisienne*, Balzac sees in Count Mosca "le plus remarquable portrait qu'on puisse jamais faire du comte de Metternich." Stendhal denied that he copied Metternich, and in his answer to Balzac he explained the creation of his characters in the following terms: "Je prends un personnage de moi bien connu, je lui laisse les habitudes qu'il a contractées dans l'art d'aller tous les matins à la chasse du bonheur, ensuite je lui donne plus d'esprit." Louis Farges in his *Stendhal diplomate* ingeniously bases on this artistic theory of *Stendhal* his contention that Count Mosca resembles the Count of Saurau, Austrian envoy at the court of Tuscany, whom Stendhal had known as a governor of Milan towards 1816.[4]

Following this trodden path Mlle Durry suggests that Stendhal had Lysimaque in mind when he drew the black silhouette of General Rassi, minister of finance at the court of Ranuce-Ernest IV, and she presents quite a convincing array of character juxtapositions to prove her point. For instance for Rassi " . . . il savait lutter contre le mépris . . . il était impossible au noble le plus insolent de pouvoir l'humilier"; for Tavernier "ou je me trompe fort, ou il est égal à M. Lysimaque de faire toutes les excuses possibles." [5] Lysimaque is capable of all sorts of base intrigues which might put him in the good graces of the ambassadors and their assistants; Rassi has a passion for befriending himself with great personages. Rassi was a squealer and a spy; [6] Lysimaque was a denunciator trying to discredit Stendhal with the French ministry and the Roman Government, branding him as "athée en religion et révolutionaire en politique et comme un des principaux agents en Italie de la propagande de Paris." [7]

Mlle Durry's contention, then, that Rassi is an artist's vengeance on Lysimaque is plausible; it conforms somewhat with the esthetic theories of Stendhal concerning the creation of literary personages, according to which theory a person is taken from real life, then given a high intellectual development and a complex psychological life, and finally left to react dynamically on things external in his quest for self-realization and happiness.

[4] *Stendhal diplomate*, pp. 67–69.
[5] *Un Ennemi de Stendhal*, pp. 56–57.
[6] *Soirées du Stendhal-Club*, p. 101.
[7] *Un Ennemi de Stendhal*, p. 58.

*Le Chemin de Stendhal.*

It is no doubt a puzzling question when and when not to take Stendhal seriously. In *La Vie de Stendhal* Paul Hazard evidently refuses to take him seriously and in so doing he applies on him the needle which Stendhal most delectably applied on his contemporaries. I doubt that Beyle would have resented such a treatment of this particular mask of himself, called Dominique. But he would have most assuredly frowned at Chuquet who, by taking him too seriously, came to the conclusion that Stendhal, or Beyle the artist, was nothing but a scribbler and a "fantaisiste." Take Stendhal at his word and you will probably have sufficient amount of contradictions to write a most learned doctoral dissertation, not merely the three pages of them in Chuquet's book. This may be true with all great men, if we fail to penetrate the surface and see beyond the masks they wear. In view of the present tremendous revival of Stendhal, it is useless to refute Chuquet's contention that only his influence on Taine and a few others who "sont fiers d'être ses élèves," will save the literary fame of Stendhal. A sure sign of his immortality is Chuquet himself, who, in spite of his evident inappreciation of Stendhal, devotes a volume of 550 most scholarly pages to this "scribbler."

In return it only took Jean Prevost 141 pages in his *Le Chemin de Stendhal* to give us the quintessence of Beylisme, an accurate and fair interpretation of the flux and reflux of a strong and complex personality.

Philosophically critical and artistically kaleidoscopic these pages are intended for those who are fatally bitten by Stendhal and are thoroughly enjoying it. It is a study of the spotlights of his works and a conscientious effort to get a firm hold of the perennially eluding and tantalizing Stendhalian ego. Mindless of biographical facts, of sensational and spicy details cleverly juggled by some biographers in their attempt to novelize lives, Prevost devotes his entire work to a study of Stendhal's art. It is a highly introspective effort and may be considered as another *Essai sur l'Introspection* by the same author.

While Prevost is undoubtedly an ardent admirer of Beyle he does not go into irrational lyric ecstacies, his praises always being tempered by rational discrimination, as shows his criticism of Stendhal's conception of romantic literature.[8] But he is not opaque to Stendhal's beauties. Quite interesting is his citation of a fragment from *Le Rouge et le Noir* showing the geometrical harmony of Stendhal's style, a style which has been always the target for adverse criticism. It is the scene of separation of Julien and Mme de Renal:

"Julien finit par être profondément frappé des embrassements sans chaleur de ce cadavre vivant; il ne put penser à autre chose pendant plusieurs lieues, son âme était navrée, et avant de passer la montagne, tant qu'il put voir le clocher de Verrières, souvent il se retourna" (pp. 63–64).

Again in pp. 108–109 is to be found a most deserved eulogium of Stendhal's poetic gift, which has been, until recently, invariably denied to him. In these pages Prevost recognizes the fact that, in his *La Vie de Henri Brulard*, Stendhal manages to poetize, without the inflated and the emphatic style of a Hugo or a Chateaubriand, a life which was essentially mediocre, or, at least, decidedly unromantic and un-Byronic. Prevost agrees with H. Martineau who, in his preface to *La Vie de Henri Brulard* (Le Divan, pp. VII–IX), states that there are many who regret Stendhal's leave from Cività-Vecchia in 1836, as being instrumental in preventing him from completing H. Brulard,

[8] *Le Chemin de Stendhal*, p. 40.

notwithstanding the fact that it was during this leave in Paris that he produced the *Chartreuse de Parme.*

Prevost has a profound admiration for the vigorous, curt, and yet self-analytical flashes of thought on the part of Stendhal's characters, phrases like "je serai beau sur mon échelle," admirably combining the comic and the pathetic, and is perhaps right in insisting that "depuis Stendhal on a donné autant et plus d'importance aux monologues intérieurs; mais, faute de sa souveraine promptitude, on n'a su peindre que des rêveurs."[9]

Finally he is highly successful in treating Stendhal "en cœur libre et en esprit pur." He does not attempt a romantic "novelization" of his life, but with the conscientiousness of an honest critic and the sympathetic understanding of an artist he seeks to discover the man and the underlying unity of his life and art.

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Charles Baudelaire, *Vers Retrouvés (Juvenilia—Sonnets). Manoël.* Introduction et Notes par Jules Mouquet, Paris, Émile-Paul Frères, 1929.

M. Jules Mouquet has published a book of special interest. It is a collection of poems that he attributes to Baudelaire, and which he was able to bring to light thanks to an ingenious sifting of the work of Ernest Prarond where they were buried. It will be recalled that in 1843 Baudelaire was invited by his friends Gustave Le Vavasseur and Ernest Prarond to join them in the publication of a first volume of verses. Baudelaire consented at first. Later he hesitated, and finally, according to Le Vavasseur, he withdrew "sa part de collaborateur." Here is where the mystification begins, according to M. Mouquet. Baudelaire withdrew his name, but not his verses. He allowed them to appear under the name of Prarond who lent himself willingly to this literary tomfoolery, because he had nothing to lose by it, and a literary reputation to gain. He did. But what of the testimony of Le Vavasseur? The manuscript of Baudelaire, he tells us, "c'était l'ébauche de quelques pièces insérées depuis dans les *Fleurs du Mal* (Spleen et Ideal)." That seems very explicit. What Baudelaire contributed to the literary commonweal of the friends is found to-day in *Les Fleurs du Mal.*

And yet M. Mouquet is not wrong. On the contrary. I am fully in agreement with him over the strictly Baudelairian quality of many of these verses. Some of them are full of poetry. There are words here, phrases, rhymes, ideas, passions, emotions which are unmistakably of Baudelairian origin. M. Mouquet's analysis of them, based on an exegesis that is both erudite and intuitive leaves no doubt as to their authenticity, where doubt is impossible. What beautiful gems he uncovers then for our admiration! Whoever knows his Baudelaire cannot help feeling again the famous "frisson nouveau" at the sound of such verses as:

. . . la Débauche, immonde et sombre reine . . .
. . . sa dent terrible mord . . .
. . . votre corps poli se tord comme un jeune arbre . . .
J'aime ses grands yeux bleus, sa chevelure ardente
Aux étranges senteurs, . . .

[9] *Le Chemin de Stendhal*, pp. 72–73.

Even more than juvenile verses, we have here words of an adolescent genius. They seem like echoes of rhythms already heard:

> Quand de la passion dans mon ciel je m'exile . . .
> Au seuil éblouissant mon aile s'est cassée, . . .
> Le sommeil et l'oubli, doux charmes des tombeaux! . . .
> Sur des lits de parfums . . .

The whole of the following stanza recalls, from a distance, the divine *Mort des Amants:*

> Et puis, lorsque la Mort, souriante ou livide,
> Réveillera du doigt un buveur endormi,
> Qu'elle vienne au festin prendre sa place vide
> Comme un convive ami!

Whole poems in these *Vers Retrouvés* seem to evoke their famous sisters in *Les Fleurs du Mal.* The poem III, for example, recalls *A une mendiante rousse. Un jour de pluie* has the same structure and inspiration as *Spleen* LXXIV. Poem VII seems like a mirror where we can see again Jeanne Duval with her "grand œil mulâtre."

Essentially then, I believe with M. Mouquet that a great many of these verses come from Baudelaire's pen. But certainly not all. I reject without appeal such verses as:

> Respirer au réveil les fleurs de sa fenêtre . . .
> Soupirer, s'attrister et chanter tour à tour . . .
> Aux baisers de l'aurore en riant je m'éveille . . .
> Mots si jolis, vers plus jolis encore . . .

This may be what you will. But poetry, and by Baudelaire, "juvenilia" or not, it is not, and cannot be.

There is then a further sifting to be done. A more incisive, more strict rejection by M. Mouquet of whatever seems inadmissible with what we know of Baudelaire, even of the Baudelaire of the juvenile verses he addressed to Sainte-Beuve, by lessening the bulk of this collection, would have heightened its historical and poetic value. Such as they are, nevertheless, all students of Baudelaire must welcome these new verses, or that part of them which is genuinely his, thanks to which we can enter, as through a new avenue, further into the secret chamber of the poet's genius, and see it going through the slow but powerful travail of its artistic liberation.

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P. Hazard, *Études critiques sur Manon Lescaut*, Chicago, Ill., 1929, xi + 113 pp.

This work is the result of a course upon *Manon Lescaut* given at the University of Chicago during the summer of 1928. During the course, reports were made which were criticized, discussed and recast to form four of the seven chapters of the present volume. To these four chapters are added a chapter on Prévost's life, based largely upon the recent discoveries of Miss M. E. I. Robertson published in her critical edition of the *Mémoires et Aventures d'un homme de qualité*,[1] a chapter on Jansenism, republished from an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,[2] and a very complete critical bibliography upon Prévost.

[1] Paris, 1927.
[2] April 1, 1924.

Mr. Hazard should be congratulated upon the choice of his subject. *Manon Lescaut*, is of the three really great literary masterpieces of the eighteenth century, the one with which every one is familiar and with which every one assumes a complete acquaintance. And yet *Manon* remains in large measure a mystery. We know neither the date nor circumstances of its composition and we are not fully certain when it was published. Even its elements have never been satisfactorily separated. The relationships between author and work, or between *Manon* and Prévost's other writings have not been definitely settled. And, as a consequence, the interpretation of the novel has suffered.

Any attempt, therefore, to throw light upon *Manon Lescaut* should be welcomed. Take, for instance, the biographical details which enter into the novel. Since there is the same "fond de ruine" in the novelist and in his fictional character, Des Grieux, critics have been inclined to stress in an unauthenticated way the similarity between the two. When, in 1885, Brunetière called attention to the police report concerning Prévost from the Archives of the Bastille which Ravaisson had published, the feeling that Prévost had written personal incidents into his novel was substantially confirmed. It has been recently strengthened with the publication of Miss Robertson's critical edition of the *Homme de qualité*, in the introduction of which she published the police record of a certain Marc-Antoine Prévost in England. If one wishes to admit that Marc-Antoine and Antoine-François Prévost are one and the same person—and they may easily be—it seems that the erstwhile Abbé was as clever at embezzling funds as he was adept at escaping convents. Mr. Hazard, who accepts Miss Robertson's conclusions, definitely proves that if the incidents are not fully the same in Prévost's and Des Grieux' life, if Prévost escaped from St. Germain and Des Grieux from St. Sulpice, if Prévost is a forger and Des Grieux a card-shark, they, at least, have in common a certain "qualité d'âme" which is similar. Both possess a "caractère ambigu," a mixture of virtue and vice, and, above all, a predilection for the "solutions louches." Both seem capable of using Jesuit casuistry to excuse what is known theologically as a fall from grace.

Mr. Hazard devotes two chapters to a discussion of the qualities of *Manon*. He selects for comparisons the *Mémoires* of which *Manon*, first published at Amsterdam in March, 1731, forms the seventh part, and *Cléveland* which appeared in July and October, 1731. In both the *Mémoires* and *Cléveland*, the miraculous, the melodramatic, the morbid, strained imagination, the intricate and complicated plots serve to destroy even the impression of reality. Mr. Hazard has no liking for Prévost's lengthier productions; one could accuse him of appreciating them even to a lesser degree than Brunetière who overlooked the plots, excused the improbable situations, pardoned the "bizarreries" and still found unforgettable qualities "dans ces romans justement oubliés." And yet, Mr. Hazard finds that the three novels are composed of the same materials. In each, we find the conception of love as a sudden, overpowering force, similar personages with their dual natures and their subtle justifications, and ecclesiastics whom Prévost excelled in painting. Even the technique is similar. All are told in the first person, and each episode is prepared in the same way. *Manon* differs from the other works, however, in that its proportions are perfect. It also possesses riches of its own, such as, for instance, the quality of classicism. Prévost, who delighted in classical allusion, quotes Horace, shows us Des Grieux reading Virgil and represents Tiberge as another Pylade. A more praiseworthy instance of Prévost's classicism, however, consists in his imitation of French classical drama. The character portrayal is classic, the artistic point of view is similar to that of Racine. Pré-

vost's novel might even be divided into a five act tragedy and indeed has been done so, thanks to Puccini. It possesses also the quality of realism in its setting and incidents. Time, place and manners are, as Schrœder has already shown, strictly but discreetly portrayed. Classical in form and character portrayal, realistic in setting, *Manon* possesses a romantic atmosphere. In short, classic, realistic, romantic, the novel stands at the parting of the ways of two artistic movements and its elegance comes from the skill and proportion with which Prévost has united the good qualities of each movement.

The Jansenism of *Manon*, which Mr. Hazard has been led to seek from his knowledge of Prévost's life and time, is not very apparent. The author of *Manon* who spent five years with the Jesuits and eight with the Benedictines naturally was interested in priests and their quarrels. Prévost left the Jesuits to become a Benedictine, and the Benedictines, we are told, sided with the Jansenists. It appears also that the Abbé added his protest to the public opinion which ran high after the publication of the *Bulle Unigenitus*. Moreover, he admired Pascal. In theory, all these facts would seem to point to the spirit of Jansenism in Prévost himself. What evidences of it can be found in the novel? Three are mentioned: The role of Providence, the role of fate, and one use of the word "Jansenist." However, the evidence is questionable. The Providence of the novel seems rather more profane than the Providence of the Jansenists. The fatal element is not necessarily Jansenist, it is rather the "sombre coloris" which Rousseau discovered in other works of Prévost and proceeds from the subject treated and his conception of sudden, overpowering love. And lastly, the use of the word "Jansenist" by Tiberge in characterizing Des Grieux' fatalistic hedonism does not confirm the presence of Jansenism in the novel. It is perhaps the only humorous remark of Tiberge in the whole book. One must conclude, therefore, at least for the present, that *Manon* is not a "roman janséniste."

The chapter on the style of *Manon Lescaut* is possibly the best one in the work. Mr. Hazard has with painstaking care made an analysis of this style which Brunetière had already signaled as worthy of note. Its outstanding quality is simplicity, which springs from the accord of feeling and expression, a keen logic, and a remarkable power of suggestion. But it is not only simple, it is natural, restrained and exceedingly rhythmical. Whole passages are analyzed to bring out the harmony of the work—a harmony which is attained by the succession or interchange of even-syllabled or odd-syllabled phrasing. And finally, to show how Prévost reworked his style for effect, many lines are given from the editions of 1731 and 1753. Here a change introduces the "mot propre," another adds precision to an equivocal expression, another lightens a sentence to give it force; useless epithets are abolished, infelicitous phonetic sounds are corrected, rhythm is restored. The author of *Manon* was fully as careful of the details of style as he was of facts.

The final chapter is more an appendix than a study of *Manon*, although a short consideration is given to the date of composition of the novel. The result, however, is purely negative, since the date of composition is still unknown. The remainder of the chapter is a survey of Prévost and English influence. In it, Mr. Hazard summarizes what has already been accomplished and points out what remains to be done.

This last contribution to our knowledge of *Manon* is quantitative rather than qualitative. Much of what is said can be found elsewhere, either in Schrœder, Robertson, or Brunetière, especially in the latter. The present *Études critiques* suggest, even in title, Brunetière's studies. The relationship between author and work, that between *Manon* and the other novels, the peculiar conception of love,

Prévost's style, the similarity between Prévost and Racine have all been suggested in the study of 1885. The majority of Mr. Hazard's views are by no means new. But his work has the particular excellence of adding freshness and interest to old views, both by a keener analysis and a larger display of documentary material. Where Brunetière suggested, Mr. Hazard presents evidence, where the former suspected the existence of a quality, the latter shows its existence.

Mr. Hazard's views, largely those of Brunetière, have the merit of bringing the latter's excellent essay up to date. But Mr. Hazard's interpretation is his own. He not only knows critical works around *Manon* and Prévost, but also the novel itself. His analysis of the characters of Manon, Des Grieux, and Tiberge is superb. His exposition of the fictional technique of the novel is well worth study, and his interpretations of situations by references to the history of the time are striking. His caution, the careful weighing of material, the drawing of distinctions, the attenuations of a statement in order to bring out the truth are all noteworthy characteristics of the work. Only rarely are his judgments debatable. He perhaps insists too much upon Prévost's love of ancient classicism. And he over-emphasizes the ecclesiastical side of the novel, to the exclusion of what for want of a better name we might call the philosophical side.

One might venture the remark that the novel is more "philosophe" than "janséniste," that Des Grieux is a better exponent of eighteenth-century epicureanism than of Jansenism, and that Prévost is a "victim" of contemporary ideas rather than of seventeenth-century theology. Two episodes, which Mr. Hazard mentions but interprets differently, bring out this point. It will be remembered that Des Grieux, after being convinced of Manon's perfidy, aspires to a country life devoted to the pleasures of study. Mr. Hazard interprets this as an example of Prévost's classical learning. As a matter of fact, Gil Blas envisaged the same prospect, Zadig also, and at least twenty eighteenth-century plays portrayed a "philosophe amoureux" who wished to withdraw to a studious life in the country. The second episode is the discussion between Des Grieux and Tiberge, which ends with Tiberge exclaiming: "Dieu me pardonne . . . je pense que voici encore un de nos jansénistes," and in which Mr. Hazard sees a manifestation of Jansenism. But if one reads carefully the discussion between the two priests, one will discover that it is not Jansenism which is in question, but eighteenty-century hedonism. Condillac himself, twenty-four years later, could not have formulated more concretely the pleasure-pain principle. Des Grieux uses it even to explain Tiberge's ecclesiastical preference, as well as his own desire for Manon. And to further substantiate the fact that Prévost is a "philosophe," we might recall the sub-title of *Cléveland ou le Philosophe anglais*, which Mr. Hazard mentions, and add that Mainvilliers included the author of Manon in his *Huit Philosophes errants de ce siècle.*

Finally, the book is of interest for its suggestiveness. It not only unites in one volume what is known about Prévost's novel, and adds to that knowledge, it also suggests what directions future investigation of Prévost and his work should take. Mr. Hazard is a true professor in that he refuses to consider any treatment of a subject as final. For instance, many of us several months ago would have doubtless been inclined to consider Prévost's relation to England as completed. Mr. Hazard reopens the whole subject. And not merely the English influence, but a good deal of Prévost's biography needs to be studied, Harrisse should be more impartially controlled, Schrœder's work should be rewritten. The genesis of *Manon* which has been, until the appearance of the present study, regarded as a hopeless subject, now seems possible of

solution. In connection with these problems, the complete critical bibliography at the end of the work is most useful.

Ira O. Wade

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Mary-Margaret Barr, *A Bibliography of Writings on Voltaire, 1825–1925*, New York, Institute of French Studies, 1929.

This long-heralded bibliography should prove an indispensable guide for serious students of Voltaire. Forty years have elapsed since the issue of the fourth volume of Bengesco's *Bibliographie des Œuvres de Voltaire*, but the other side of the question—that of a listing of books about him—has remained practically untouched since the efforts of Quérard, now nearly a century old. It is true that between Voltaire's death in 1778, and the year 1825, when Miss Barr's study begins, there remains still a deplorable gap for which one can only fall back upon Quérard. It is hoped, however, that the present author may at some time undertake the covering of the earlier period as well.

In its arrangement, Miss Barr's bibliography seems particularly commendable. Unlike so many bibliographers, she has not separated periodical articles from whole books on the subject, but has thrown into the same alphabet both sorts of material. The work is, however, divided into seven main parts, entitled: *Bibliography and Bibliographical Studies*, *General Criticism*, *Biography*, *Voltaire, the Writer and Thinker*, *Correspondence*, *Criticism of Individual Works*, and *Voltairiana*. The fourteen hundred and ninety four entries are numbered, and the numbering runs continuously through the whole of the seven parts, appearing again in the *Index of Proper Names* at the end. The first main division, consisting of a list of bibliographies of Voltaire, is especially valuable. Not only does it show to what sources the author had access at the beginning of her task, but it provides a valuable list of references for the student who may wish to make independent investigations of his own. The division entitled: *Criticism of Individual Works*, should also prove very useful. It is interesting to note, however, that it is already out of date in regard to *Candide*. Since the recent bringing before the public eye of this book by the Literary Guild, many reviews and discussions of it have appeared in print.

An important feature, which should not be overlooked, is the list of abbreviations of the periodicals cited. This follows immediately after the introduction, and is based on the abbreviations used by Gustave Lanson in his *Manuel bibliographique*. Where Lanson has not had occasion to use an abbreviation for a particular periodical, the form adopted has been devised from his ordinary methods of procedure. This list of abbreviations is in some respects the most impressive feature of the bibliography, for nowhere else is the breadth of Miss Barr's research so clearly emphasized. Over three hundred periodicals and other serial publications were examined for the years comprising the period. The findings involved in this investigation alone might well have been published as a separate volume.

Of course the book contains one or two minor disappointments. As the author suggests in the introduction, no bibliography can be absolutely complete. There has been no attempt made to annotate any of the books included; a brief bibliographical entry is, in most cases, all that has been given for an individual book. Yet notes would have added greatly to the value of the entries, particularly if they had stated the bias of each author, or had given a bibliographical history of the book. Also there are a small number of the inevitable typographical errors which will creep into

the best of bibliographies, and a few inconsistencies as to capitalization, punctuation, and bibliographical form. Still it is always easy to pick flaws in a bibliography, and to overlook the really scholarly work which has been done. In reading the lives of the bibliographers of the past century one is struck with the endless amount of verification which they found necessary, the need for a knowledge of many foreign languages, and, above all, the almost overpowering burden of the task involved. Always they were inadequately paid; and frequently, like Quérard, they became involved in endless law suits, or, like Lowndes, ended in an insane asylum, or, like Watt, actually died before their undertaking was completed. Truly it takes courage to undertake a bibliography even today, when incentives for such work are infinitely greater. Yet the compiling of a list of books is only the first step; the scholarly examination, systematic sifting, and verifying, must go on and on to the very end of the task, if the result is to be a reference book of any value.

Miss Barr has met all of the above tests squarely. From the beginning she seems to have had a clearly defined path ahead of her, and sufficient perseverance not to have strayed from it. The very limits as to period, which she imposed upon her work, have probably aided in the production of a perfectly rounded whole for the century covered. Surely it is the mark of wisdom, even in a bibliographer, not to undertake the impossible!

Harriet Dorothea MacPherson

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Th. E. Oliver, *The Mérope of George Jeffreys as a Source of Voltaire's Mérope*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. XII, No. 4 (1928), 111 pp.

When, in 1925, Professor Oliver published his noteworthy edition of Voltaire's *Mérope*, his attention was drawn to a problem which scholars had until then neglected: In the introduction to his *Mérope française* (1744), Voltaire referred contemptuously to a clumsy English *Mérope* play, without giving the name of its author. He was, however, identified as an obscure playwright, George Jeffreys, who had published a free imitation of Maffei's *Mérope* in 1731. He seems to have born Voltaire's taunts quite patiently during ten years, and, apparently, did not reply to them before 1754, when he issued a new edition of his work. At this occasion he accused Voltaire of having plagiarized *his* tragedy while sneering at it:

"Mr. Voltaire . . . did me the honour to adopt every one of [my modifications of the theme], except the last, and flourished on them, as *his own;* tho' it is as plain, that he met them in my *Mérope*, as that he read and abused it. But having detected him in this petty larceny, I shall not deny him what is really his own . . . ."

But, what is his *own* is merely the ridiculous invention of a *deus ex machina* of a new kind,—of a suit of armor, introduced to reveal the hero's identity.

Professor Oliver has compiled a quite imposing list of similarities of plot between the *Mérope* tragedies of Jeffreys and Voltaire. They are both based upon Maffei's *Mérope*, he concludes, but in the places where Voltaire's plot deviates from Maffei, it follows the outline of Jeffreys' play,—which Voltaire claimed to despise! This would throw a quite sinister light upon Voltaire's honesty and literary methods, and Professor Oliver's study shows, here and there, some traces of his moral indignation about Voltaire's "tactics."

Yet, we should guard against exaggerating his somewhat superficial Macchiavelism, or even his very real jealousy. One could well ask: If Voltaire had wanted to

hide his borrowings from an unsuccessful and forgotten English play, entirely unknown in France, why did he refer to it at all? Why did he draw attention to it in his *Préface* and risk Jeffreys' reply by attacking it so sharply? Shall we say that this imprudence, or impudence, obeyed the Macchiavelian rule of forestalling an attack by discrediting an enemy in advance? But in 1744 modest Jeffreys and his forgotten play,—which had failed thirteen years before after a single performance and was withdrawn,—were no match and no enemy for Voltaire! Moreover, Voltaire's "Macchiavelism" would have been singularly obtuse. He would have gone in search of an opponent, silenced since thirteen years, in order to *avoid* a reply which his very attack would make *unavoidable!* Then, his "petty larceny," at Jeffreys' expense was, after all, quite insignificant. At the most it consisted in an imitation of a few details of plot and characterization, commonplace enough even on the French stage, and which George Jeffreys could not have convincingly claimed as his sole property and his personal invention. In fact, they are so little obvious that Professor Oliver had to write a minute study in order to establish the fact of these borrowings more or less convincingly. If Voltaire had not betrayed, by his very attack, that he knew Jeffreys' *Mérope*,—all of these similarities would have been called coincidences, and might have passed by for ever unperceived.

Then, the "similarities" between Voltaire and Jeffreys are so general, that they should not be called necessarily an "intentional plagiarism," which Voltaire covered up by a gratuitous and undeserved attack on the work he plundered. It is more likely that Voltaire had kept from Jeffreys' play, during several years, a general mental picture. In his desire to surpass Maffei's celebrated *Mérope*, he probably drew upon his remembrances and incorporated some of them in parts of his plot. But neither he nor his contemporaries would have accepted that he had thereby committed an act of "plagiarism." More powerful Deities than he had borrowed unblushingly some of the colors from the paintings of poorer artists, to be blended in their own frescoes. "Il lui fit, en le pillant, beaucoup d'honneur," some one would have written, and that would have been the end of the story. This borrowing and imitating was so generally practised, so unpunished at the time, that Voltaire had no particular reason for feeling that he was "shamelessly robbing" an unhappy English playwright—who himself had "borrowed" much of his *Mérope* from Maffei. As long as there were no verbal or very close similarities of plot between the two plays Voltaire could not feel himself guilty of plagiarism. And, therefore, his attack on Jeffreys' play was, after thirteen years of silence, hardly a part of a deep-laid scheme of self-protection, but, I believe, the expression of his true opinion of it. It should be noted that Voltaire protested mainly against the mawkish love-scenes which Jeffreys had introduced in his *Mérope*, but which both he and Maffei had avoided.

It is true that Voltaire gave a distorted and incomplete account of Jeffreys' plot, but anyone acquainted with his mental processes will readily grant that anything he disliked was almost unconsciously parodied and caricatured in his mind. He was temperamentally incapable of an unbiased account of a play he did not esteem. And again, what proves that he was not describing it from memory,—after thirteen years? Or from some short note in his copybooks? For these reasons I do not believe that Voltaire was obeying any tortuous "Macchiavelism" when he condemned Jeffreys' *Mérope* for its sweet love-scenes and its unconvincing looseness of construction. I believe that he uttered a sincere opinion with his ordinary terseness and his ordinary one-sidedness.

Nevertheless, he may have borrowed some details from its plot. Professor

Oliver's parallels are interesting and seem to establish a limited amount of influence. Yet, granting that such influence exists, we should not decry too easily Voltaire's "ingratitude." He drew, for instance, also some details from La Grange's *Amasis*, but I doubt whether for that reason he would have proclaimed that play a masterpiece. Nor had he any moral obligation to do so.

Professor Oliver's study helps us to gauge the exact amount, and to understand the nature, of the English influence upon Voltaire. In this as well as in the more general field of the English influence in 18th century France, vague generalities are still abundantly flourishing, repeated in the class-room and religiously noted down by the students, who will hand them over to their future pupils like an apostolic tradition. Of late more precise investigations of these Franco-English relations have been inaugurated, and we may hope that vague commonplaces will be eventually replaced by established fact.

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

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Muriel Dodds, *Les Récits de Voyages, Sources de l'Esprit des Lois de Montesquieu*, Paris, Champion, 1929, 304 pp.

Montesquieu was more or less a riddle to the more pedantic and pedestrian among his contemporaries. He was too versatile, too flexible, too curious. He was at the same time grave and flippant,—seriously scientific as in his several *Mémoires* for the Bordeaux Academy, incisively critical as in his *Lettres Persanes*, gracefully frivolous as in his *Temple de Gnide*, or a master of historical synthesis as in *L'Esprit des Lois*. He lacked that trustworthy uniformity that impelled so many far more mediocre minds to run their daily rounds in the expected way and without deviation, until the expected end. One never knew what he would publish next. He issued now a scientific treatise, then fiction or philosophy or a historical work,—and his diversity bored the staid and steadfast among contemporary scholars, who held that "profundity" was somehow a synonym of "immobility," and that in the arts and the sciences, the respectable stay-at-home was, by God's grace, a deeper thinker and a better scholar than the lusty adventurer of the mind.

But Montesquieu was excellent in his various performances, whereas they remained dull and insignificant in their exclusive specialty. He was intellectually omnivorous. He investigated all branches of science, law, history and literature. He disdained nothing, and there is record of his interest in the lowly *vaudeville* song and in contemporary satire, of which he gathered manuscript collections. And he had a passion for general ideas and liked wide horizons, world-wide perspectives of thought. He dreamed of writing books, the mere mention of which would make a cautious scholar shudder as before a super-human task. He wanted to compose, for instance, a *Histoire de la Terre Ancienne et Moderne*, and for many years he piled up the most diverse documentation for the construction of that monument. He did not construct it, of course. He took one stone, and out of it he fashioned the *Esprit des Lois*.

But, for the composition of this book, his wealth and catholicity of knowledge was his best asset. His *relativism* was but a corollary of his documentation, and his documentation was as precise and plentiful as it could be at his period. Miss Dodds brings definite proof of his co-ordinating a mosaic of extracts from a prodigious quantity of monotonous travel relations, law books, histories, descriptions of foreign countries, etc. He always attempted to verify his citations and to control them with all the documents at his disposal. He almost lost his eye-sight through this incessant

labor. With the help of secretaries he continued, indefatigably and minutiously,— and this very diverse, changeable and versatile author became also the best documented scholar of his century. One has only to peruse the *Tableau des Sources de l'Esprit des Lois*, which Miss Dodds publishes, on pp. 175–290 of her volume,— more than one hundred pages of parallels!—to see this fact exhaustively established.

In order to establish it Miss Dodds had to follow the traces of Montesquieu through the winding labyrinth of his readings, and she has achieved this task with discrimination and infinite patience. Her work, besides revealing the origin of some of Montesquieu's ideas, brings an important survey of the knowledge of foreign countries in the eighteenth century and of the sources of information about them. And this *tableau* is indispensable for the understanding of the growth of the *esprit philosophique*. It gives us a welcome addition to the pioneering articles of Lanson on this subject, as well as to the works of Chinard, Martino and Atkinson, and continues their investigations on a more limited, but more exhaustive, scale.

G. L. van Roosbroeck

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Agustín González de Amezúa y Mayo, *Formación y elementos de la novela cortesana* (Discurso leído ante la Real Academia Española), Madrid, Tipografía de Archivos, 1929, 133 pp.

Of the several academic discourses relating to the Spanish novel, this is one of the most interesting to the student of classical literature. The text, which gives a survey of prose fiction in Spain in the seventeenth century, is followed by thirty pages of documentation and useful bibliographical data. At the outset the author justifies his theme by emphasizing the need for a thorough study of the *novela*. In his allusions to preceding works on the subject he includes the principal American contributions, all of which are inadvertently listed as doctoral dissertations (note 2, p. 104). Sr. Amezúa defines the *novela cortesana* as a branch of the *novela de costumbres*, and chooses to separate it from the picaresque although the distinction is not easily maintained, as is attested by some of his references.

In a brief review of the Spanish novel before 1600, the lacuna between the *Lazarillo de Tormes* and Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* is attributed to the profound transformation of Spain under Philip II and to a "falta de escenario y de contenido real para este linaje de novela." Attention is given also to the stern attitude of the Inquisition, but the importance of this factor should not be exaggerated since it has already been shown that the effects of censorship were of a subordinate nature (cf. G. Moldenhauer, *Spanische Zensur und Schelmenroman*, in *Estudios eruditos in memoriam de Bonilla*, I, pp. 223–239). It was not restraint so much as deficiency of talent that limited the novelistic production in the interim.

Concerning the beginning of the *genre* which he discusses, Sr. Amezúa makes this statement: "Verdad es que la segunda parte del *Guzmán* data de 1605, época del verdadero nacimiento de la novela cortesana" (note 96, p. 119). Alemán undoubtedly shares honors with Cervantes in the development of the novel, for even the first part of the *Guzmán de Alfarache* contains experimental interpolations. Nevertheless, until the *Novelas ejemplares* had fully demonstrated the possibilities of the short story, the cultivation of narrative fiction remained in an indeterminate state, as is shown by the works of Hidalgo, Eslava, Mey, and Rosel y Fuenllana.

The author devotes considerable space to his personal theory that the change in literary taste in the seventeenth century was due largely to the advent of peace. In

corroboration of this view he cites the fact that the leading exponents of the pastoral were soldiers (note 22, p. 107). His opinion is qualified somewhat by a careful exposition of conditions in Madrid, which reflect the moral decadence responsible for some of the most distinctive satirical works in Spanish literature. It is here that the courtly novel and the *novela picaresca* are in danger of confusion. Sr. Amezúa prefers a selection of material, however, that will paint a pleasant picture of society in the *siglo de oro*. He portrays a court in keeping with the glamour of the novel of adventure in which love and honor are paramount, and dismisses the sordid experiences of the *pícaro* thus: "Su baja ralea, su condición rahez hácenlos indignos de la especie novelística que venimos estudiando, la cual como más pulcra y orgullosa, rechaza la compañía y trato con semejante canalla." In spite of this optimistic interpretation, it will generally be admitted that a spirit of *desengaño* appears with noticeable frequency in works of that time.

Among the various sections into which the discourse is divided, there is a rather broad treatment of the elements absorbed by the *novela cortesana* from earlier literature. As the author remarks, the Italian influence calls for a more thorough study than he has presented. He cites only the more important relationships without tabulating the precise sources. The following passage is quoted as an example:

> ". . . hay dos novelistas de quienes, a pesar de haberse traducido, no encuentro rasgo en nuestras obras de pasatiempo: ni Ludovico Guicciardino, con sus cuentos esquematizados de propósito apotégmico y ejemplar, ni el genial Straparola, cuya percepción de lo maravilloso y extraordinario, bebido principalmente en la fuente de lo *folklórico* y popular, tanto realce y modernidad presta a sus novelas, parece que impresionaron a nuestros ingenios, pues salvo algún episodio sin interés, apenas si este valiosísimo elemento nutre sus libros, sustituído tal vez por episódicas intervenciones de las artes brujiles y hechicerescas, tomadas, no de los libros, como en la *Celestina*, sino de la gran cantera supersticiosa de la vida española, tan rica y veteada con ensalmos, oraciones y conjuros, inédita en gran parte, por desgracia, en las causas y papeles de la Inquisición."

In failing to find any trace of Guicciardini, Sr. Amezúa apparently disregards an indication made by Menéndez y Pelayo with respect to Salazar's *Clavellinas de recreación* (cf. *Orígenes de la novela*, Vol. II, p. LXXXI). It may be added that Chandler notes a coincidence between an episode of Santos' *Día y noche de Madrid* and the second tale of the thirteenth night in Straparola's collection, a jest which occurs often in picaresque fiction (cf. *Romances of Roguery*, p. 390, fn.). Furthermore, Miss Bourland has pointed out that Castillo Solórzano is his *Tardes entretenidas* borrowed Straparola's idea of including one or two enigmas in verse in each afternoon's diversion (cf. *The Short Story in Spain*, p. 12). Apropos of the extraordinary or marvellous in Spanish folklore, its scarcity does not seem to be so great unless application of the term is restricted to fairy tales. Further light might perhaps be cast on this subject by a comparison of some of the *casos prodigiosos* of the seventeenth century, including *El entretenido* by Sánchez Tórtoles, with such compilations as Pedro Mexía's *Silva de varia lección*, Antonio Torquemada's *Jardín de flores curiosas* and the *Historias prodigiosas* which were translated from the French of Pierre Boaistuau. The story of *El Andrógino* in Lugo y Dávila's *Teatro popular* is a case which illustrates the point in question. The theme is a common one that has been used by Straparola, Firenzuola and others.

At all events, Spanish fiction of the Golden Age is a complex blend of many elements that offer a wide range for curious investigators. For this reason it is doubtful whether its more idealistic and imaginative manifestations may be relied

upon to furnish an accurate idea of manners and customs. This aspect of the *novela* has already been elaborated by Miss Bourland, with whom the author of the present treatise shares an inclination to overestimate the historical worth of romantic narrative.

In evaluating the merits of the *novela cortesana*, something should be said for its influence in France and England. A complete bibliography will reveal many translations and imitations which played a significant role in the advancement of story telling in those countries. Evidently the exigencies of the occasion prevented the inclusion of further details in an address which deals chiefly in generalizations. Sr. Amezúa promises, however, to publish subsequently a more exhaustive treatment of the topic.

Robert H. Williams

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Dorothy Schons, *Apuntes y Documentos Nuevos para la Biografía de Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza*, Madrid, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, December, 1929, 95 pp.

The present study, which is a Chicago doctoral dissertation, is based upon certain documents discovered by Miss Schons in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The documents, here reproduced, number fourteen, of which two—Nos. I and VII—refer to the dramatist, and twelve to his brother Pedro. No. I is the *Información* presented by Alarcón in 1608, when he applied for permission to sail for Mexico. Although it adds but little of importance to the body of our knowledge of the poet's life, the writer is able to draw from it an occasional detail to supplement the summary of the years 1600 to 1608 (taken principally from Fernández-Guerra, Rangel and Rodríguez Marín) which constitutes her first chapter.

Document No. VII is a *Memorial* of the year 1635, offered in support of Alarcón's petition for a place in one of the *Audiencias* of the Indies. This throws light upon a disputed point: Fernández Guerra is authority for the assertion that Alarcón was *Teniente de Corregidor* and at times *Corregidor Interino* and publishes in his appendix a document which seems to substantiate the statement. This was denied by Rangel who published an apparently conclusive negative proof in 1915, The *Memorial* of 1635 does not, indeed, make use of the term *teniente de corregidor* but it does say that the Corregidor, Garci López del Espinar appointed Alarcón to act in his stead during his absence in 1611 and commissioned him to try cases involving the selling of *pulque* to the Indians. Further, the *Audiencia* of Mexico in 1612 appointed him *juez pesquisidor* and sent him to Vera Cruz to officiate in a murder trial there.

Document No. II shows that the brothers Juan and Pedro were in 1613 engaged in establishing the fact that their father had never received any reward for his services to the crown in the mines of Tasco, in order to strengthen their own claims to preferment in the judicial and ecclesiastical systems respectively.

Document No. III (*Información de Oficio del Licenciado Pedro Ruiz de Alarcón*, 1613) apparently contradicts the marriage certificate of Alarcón's parents with respect to the identity of his maternal grandfather. The older document gives his name as Hernando de Mendoza, the later calls him Hernando Hernández de Cazalla. Miss Schons thinks that the same person is meant and conjectures that Hernández de Cazalla was the surname of the mother of the individual in question. Research has yielded nothing further concerning this Hernández de Cazalla nor concerning the poet's maternal grandmother María de Mendoza. No documentary evidence that

the grandfather was one of the discoverers of the mines of Tasco, as claimed in the aforementioned *Información*, has yet been unearthed. A *Relación* of 1581 mentions other persons as the discoverers.

Miss Schons takes up the question of the famous *don* which Alarcón adopted after his return to Spain. Such claim as he had to the distinction came from his mother, who is always referred to as *doña* Leonor de Mendoza. Neither his father nor his grandfather was so distinguished. The poet first used the title in 1615 and more or less regularly thereafter. His brother, Pedro, did so from 1624 on, but apparently did not ever sign the surname Mendoza, which Juan always used in Spain.

The author (Chap. IV) discusses the career of Pedro from 1617, when he was appointed *capellán* of the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán (of which he was later *rector* also) until his forced retirement in 1656.

It must be admitted that the actual contribution to existing biographical material on Alarcón brought by this study is relatively slight. However, where so many have sought and found nothing every positive discovery is welcome. The author's method is strictly scientific and her conclusions may be trusted. Where she indulges in speculation and conjecture she frankly says so. The printing and proof-reading have been carefully done. The reviewer has noted but one unimportant misprint, *ente* for *ante*, p. 27, l. 5.

Arthur L. Owen

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Luigi Pirandello, *Questa sera si recita a soggetto*, Milan, A. Mondadori, 1930, pp. 215 (L. 10).

From the twenty-seven odd plays contained in the *Maschere nude* series this play, *Tonight: Drama Improvisation on a Theme*, along with *Six Characters in Search of an Author* and *Henry the Fourth* (*The Mask*), makes up a trio best suited to exemplify Pirandello's theories on drama. Let us consider, though briefly, the main dramatic principles to be found in this famous trio of plays. In *Six Characters in Search of an Author* exactly six *dramatis personæ*, running loose as it were, swoop down upon a stage director informing him that they have an important drama to play but need an author to give them definite forms. "Art creates character" is the principle evolved here. In *Henry the Fourth* a character lives or feigns his part to the point of confusing any line of demarcation between the real and the unreal. The thesis here is that history and art make for stability, whereas life with its ever changing circumstances tends to distort, if not destroy, what is commonly accepted as stability, reality. Now, if the foregoing plays deal more or less in the abstract or in the philosophy of the theatre, then, *Tonight: Drama Improvisation on a Theme*, constituting a necessary complement, deals in the theatre *per se*, or, to what extent does theatrical device and technique lend itself towards creating a work of art? The problem in this last play revolves about the transformation of the actors into their characters who in turn are transformed into real people. This seems to be a reversal of the *finite* that the theatre strives for. Heretofore the public lives or emulates or is transformed momentarily into *characters*. Still, if this play contains a reverse order in this respect, it possesses at the same time, but mildly so, the power of converting the public into *characters*. To get a clearer idea with regard to this statement let us examine Pirandello's preoccupation in this strange play.

The author makes use of every device of theatrical art and craft to convert *characters* into public and vice versa. Here is the setting: the public awaits nervously

for the curtain to rise. The play, if there be one at all, has not been advertised; it has no title, it is to be concocted on a theme by an author well-known but not mentioned. The director will be Dr. Hinkfuss, and the audience is to cooperate. Delay, moments of confusion follow, the audience becomes impatient, and certain ones among them begin to voice their opinions. Is this a part of the play? Has the audience unknowingly been tricked into establishing the necessary prelude? One of the spectators thinks so. As this repartee continues the strange Dr. Hinkfuss comes running up the aisle and on to the stage proceeding to explain the purpose of this drama and the principles to be expounded. The audience continues to be diffident. Some of them quibble with Dr. Hinkfuss retorting that they have come to see a play and not listen to a lecture on the theatre. Whereupon Dr. Hinkfuss assures them that the play has actually started since he is there among them (the effects premeditated apparently are going on as scheduled by the clever director). Next he states that the author of a play figures but insignificantly, once the play is delivered to the director. The audience jeers. Here is Dr. Hinkfuss' retaliation (Pirandello's latest theory):

". . . in teatro l'opera dello scrittore non c'è più . . . c'è la creazione scenica che n'avrò fatta io (the director), e che è soltanto mia. . . . E avverto (giacchè ho visto qualcuno dei signori critici sorridere) che questa è la mia convinzione. . . . La mia convinzione è fondata su solide ragioni. L'opera dello scrittore. . . . Che ne fo io? La prendo a materia della mia creazione scenica e me ne servo, come mi servo della bravura degli attori scelti a rappresentar le parti secondo l'interpretazione che io n'avrò fatta; e degli scenografi a cui ordino di dipingere o architettar le scene; e degli apparatori che le mettono su; e degli elettricisti che le illuminano; tutti secondo gli insegnamenti, i suggerimenti, le indicazioni che avrò dato io. In un altro teatro, con altri attori e altre scene, con altre disposizioni e altre luci, m'ammetterete che la creazione scenica sarà certamente un'altra.

"E non vi par dimostrato con questo che ciò che a teatro si giudica non è mai l'opera dello scrittore (unica nel suo testo), ma questa o quella creazione scenica che se n'è fatta, l'una diversa dall'altra; tante, mentre quella è una? Per giudicare il testo, bisognerebbe conoscerlo; e a teatro non si può, attraverso un'interpretazione che, fatta da certi attori, sarà una e, fatta da certi altri, sarà per forza un'altra. L'unica sarebbe se l'opera potesse rappresentarsi da sè, non più con gli attori, ma coi suoi stessi personnaggi che, per prodigio, assumessero corpo e voce. In tal caso sì, direttamente potrebbe essere giudicata a teatro. Ma è mai possibile un tal prodigio? Nessuno l'ha mai visto finora. E allora, o signori, c'è quello che con più o meno impegno s'ingegna di compiere ogni sera, coi suoi attori, il Direttore di scena. L'unico possibile."

Summed up briefly, Pirandello brings us now face to face with the important rôle a director plays, who, given a theme, plus unlimited theatrical devices at his disposal, will evolve a drama that is nothing short of a miracle. Among other devices used in this play the feature has been to have the players play off stage and on. They come in from the entrance of the theatre and take their places in the audience; between the acts we see them in the corridors and lobby intermingling with the crowd, —they become Tom Jones, Henry Smith, anybody. This fusion of players and spectators achieved by clever directorship, and thus a common problem created, will facilitate a workable medium in which to release the art, the poetry contained in the play. In this play as well as in the many others in the *Maschere nude* the author dramatizes his theories via satire, paradox, poetry, philosophy, and like elements which mark the high spots in Pirandello's dramas.

Aside from the purely intellectual conceptions of the problems in this play it must offer when performed very amusing situations. The following lines are representative of many others provocative of laughter:

"Dr. Hinkfuss—The spectators, after a day replete with deadening cares and fatiguing activities, work and hardship of every description, in the evening, when they come to the theatre want to be amused.

"A Gentleman in the Audience—The Dickens you say! And you expect to amuse us with a play by Pirandello?"

O. A. Bontempo

Columbia University

## French Book Notes

The well-known series *Les Beaux Pays* (B. Arthaud, Grenoble) has just been enriched by the charming *En Bretagne* of M. Francis Gourvil (220 pages, 261 illustrations, of which 28 are full-page). The author is a Breton who has devoted his life to the language and literature of his mother-tongue, and every page of his new volume reveals his love for Brittany. He most admirably portrays the charm of the ancient Duchy in scenery, in history, and in art; no corner is neglected; and the accuracy of his descriptions, with his wealth of illustration, is provocative of a veritable nostalgia.

The only adverse criticism is that one longs for even more! The reviewer misses the beautiful fountain of St. Nicodemus near Pontivy, and even such humbler —but equally characteristic—holy wells as those at Quilinen or Berven; the tomb of St. Ronan at Locronan and some of the statues of saints there used in the "Troménie"; the remains of the twelfth-century cloister at Daoulas and the arcades of the "House of Mary Stuart" at Roscoff; the remarkable choir-screen in the chapel of St. Fiacre near Le Faouët; the lovely Château of Josselin; and—for the solace of the antiquarian—the bell of St. Pol de Léon (the reviewer knows of only two other bells of this type in Brittany—at Locronan and at Stival).

Shakespeare's reference to Port Blanc, which M. Gourvil regrets no longer to recall (p. 55), is *Richard II*, II, i, 277–287 (for other references see E. H. Sugden, *Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists*, Manchester, 1925, pp. 75–76); and "cold hell" (*ifern ien*) is mentioned elsewhere in Brittany than at La Martyre (p. 95), for it is named in the Breton "Mirror of Death," written in 1519 (J. Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne*, Paris, 1890, p. 295), and also occurs frequently in Middle Irish literature (cf. P. W. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, London, 1903, i, 391–392; J. Vendryes, "L'Enfer glacé," *Revue celtique*, xlvi, 1929, 134–42), to say nothing of Dante's *Inferno*.

In brief, the book is a model of its type: for those who already know Brittany even in slight degree it will bring increased appreciation of the "Land of the Ermine"; and it should be read by everyone who either plans to visit Armorica or is of those unfortunates who would fain do so, but as yet cannot.

Louis H. Gray

Columbia University

## Italian Book Notes

Vincenzo Cardarelli, *Il sole a picco*, Bologna, L'Italiano Editore, 1930, pp. 166 (L. 12).

To Vincenzo Cardarelli, editor of the literary journal *Ronda*, has gone the 1930 Bagutta Prize for the best work in Italian literature for the season 1929. Before entering upon the discussion proper of this volume, *Sun at Zenith*, it is of interest to note that the Bagutta Prize, instituted four years ago, derives its name from a café-restaurant situated in Bagutta Street in Milan. It is now a famous café, frequented

by writers and other professionals of distinction. Here once a year a special committee of *littérateurs* convene to vote upon a prize-winning book. The business of voting is carried on as a multi-course meal is in process. (A reporter sent to cover the story states that the Chianti, in measure of discretion, is only served after the voting.)

And now a word relative to the book: *Sun at Zenith*, a series of sketches and memoirs in prose and poetry, couches its principal value in style. Its varied and facile expression imparts a glow to the whole creation. The luxury of certain words, the value of phraseology, is brought into play to produce the desired sensation, the sought-for impression. It seems to have been the author's preoccupation to create a piece of literature in carefully wrought language. In this he has succeeded. There is no denying that the effects in color and contrast are brought into lively relief by an idiom which has imprints of research and experiment. As we pass from the sun-scorched pavements of Florence to the sun-baked vineyards of Capri, the author, virtuoso fashion using *staccato* and *legato* phrases, registers for us a series of impressions. There is the quaint odor of tomato preserves drying on the window-sills; the scent of perfumes and fruits mixed with the penetrating odor of summer dust. For the sight there is a sweeping panorama of landscape and colors intensified to the point of voluptuousness. The sun penetrates everywhere, burns everything, but seems to reduce nothing to state of aridity; there is no oppression. In short the sketches offer a symphony of sensations consummately worked out. Now and then the author becomes subjective, perhaps too seldom, and suggests ever so lightly a bit of nostalgia, a note dimly melancholy, a discord in the futility of it all, however dazzling and gay the sun may appear. There are moments of poetry throughout, and the several chapters written in verse form rise to real beauty.

In closing, it must be repeated that the value of this work lies in its style,—in linguistic virtuosity which, for its well-timed effects, soon manifests itself to the reader with result that toward the end he remains a little chilled. The illustrations in black-and-white, unconvincing and cold, suffer in contrast to the warmth of the book. They might have been dispensed with.

Piero Gadda, *Mozzo*, Milan, Casa Editrice Ceschina, 1930, pp. 236 (L. 10).

The Fiera Letteraria Prize has gone to Piero Gadda, a youthful writer who shows promise. *Mozzo* (Deck-Hand) is his fourth and best book. What characterizes Gadda as a writer is his ability to tell a story. In little more than two hundred pages he succeeds in literally "glueing" the reader to the contents. This he does for the simple reason that the story has vital and human interests. In addition to telling the story well, the author scores again for his straightforward and simple style. It shows the freshness and vigor which is in evidence in the early works of talented novelists who have not found it necessary to delve into the stock-bag of professional writers for rhetorical and stylistic effects.

The novel opens with some touching episodes on the infancy of the boy. Later we watch with interest his character taking shape. Will he hate the sea? Soon he is put to test. We watch him in a storm as he battles against odds in a supreme effort to get a row-boat to shore. But far from hating the monster of which he has had a taste, he is drawn irresistibly to it. Next we witness his running away from home to become a deck-hand. He is brought back to his mother, but he swears that he will run away again.

The novel is closely constructed, and the episodes are so arranged as to offer unabated interest. The author is young. If he continues to impart vitality and freshness to his creations he will go far.

Bruno Cicognani, *Strada facendo*, Florence, Edizioni di Pègaso, F. Le Monnier, 1930, pp. 195 (L. 8.50).

This book of short stories was adjudged one of the best works of the present season as evidenced by the fact that it was up for consideration for the Bagutta Prize. *Strada facendo* makes up the third of a series published in the Pègaso editions under the general editorship of the eminent critics, Ugo Ojetti and Pietro Pancrazi. The other two volumes published this year are Corrado Alvaro's *Gente di Aspromonte* and Pietro Pancrazi's *L'Esopo moderno.* Five other volumes are in preparation, among which we note with interest a book by Ojetti, *Alla scoperta dei letterati*, and *Lettere* by Renato Serra.

Let it be said in passing without attempts at exhaustive criticism or recourse to superlatives: the eleven stories make a pleasant half-day's reading without taxation or strain on the part of the reader. Cicognani is a Florentine, and that explains in point of fact the flow and charm of the Tuscan idiom. Giuseppe Borgese's opinion of the book will give a rapid and trustworthy evaluation:

" . . . Ecco qui il suo chiaro maschile parlar toscano, senza debilitazioni accademiche e senza ingorghi vernacoli; ecco la sua buona arte di dialogare; e il suo coraggio, quando non occorre di meglio, di dire anche le cose ovvie, anche le frasi che si son sempre dette; e la sua virtù, quando occorre, di trovare sintetismi lirici che non chiedono se non di essere più sciolti, più distesi in racconto; e la sua esperienza di vita, e la sua umiltà e novità di cuore. Ed ecco i pezzi di romanzo, l'archivio del signor avvocato; e la città dolorante (quella sua stupenda Firenze d'inverno, città del tramontano!); e, invece, la campagna, sogno di eternità e di pace."

Giovanni Battista Angioletti, *Scrittori d'Europa*, Milan, Libreria d'Italia, pp. 182 (L. 5).

The young editor of the weekly *L'Italia Letteraria*, G. B. Angioletti, publishes much in the way of articles, for the most part polemical in nature, on criticism and creation. The present volume makes up a collection of his journalistic contributions (1922–1927) in the field of criticism. In these essays he treats, among others, Nietzsche, Dostoieski, Rimbaud, Bergson, Pirandello, Cecchi, Vossler. In the general discussions he reviews the trend of European thought with much penetrating observation. It seems that he would isolate European literature from the influence of the Occident (America) and the Orient. As is to be expected from a critic of high-powered mentality, his premises, though on radical bases, disclose new channels of thought as regards literary criticism, keen information, and distinctive interpretation. Angioletti, let us hope, will continue in creative criticism, a department in which he excells. In this connection let us call to mind the distinction he gained from his recent book *Il giorno del giudizio* which won the Bagutta Prize for 1927.

Luigi Tonelli, *Alla ricerca della personalità*, Catania, Studio Editoriale Moderno, 1929, pp. 315 (L. 15).

Signor Tonelli continues his scholarship on topics of vast proportions and wide range. We can always be thankful for his publications as they are crammed with facts and information. Those who have thumbed his *Survey of the Italian Theatre* will know the usefulness of his texts, for reference. Now, again he presents a book, *Alla ricerca della personalità*, full of "meaty" material. He divides his book into three parts. The first is a panorama of contemporary Italian literature containing miniature essays on criticism, theatre, novel, and poetry. The second part of his book, *Medaglioni*, is devoted to the discussion and study of some of the major con-

temporary writers: Luigi Capuana, G. A. Cesareo, Ada Negri, Guido Gozzano, Pietro Mastri, Angiolo Orvieto, and Sibilla Aleramo. Lastly there are the *Profili* containing studies which, if not as exhaustive as those in the foregoing chapters, are intimately and attractively prepared. The writers discussed in these *Profili* are: Adolfo Albertazzi, Francesco Gaeta, Cesare de Lollis, Virginia Guicciardi Fiastri, Sabatino Lopez, Francesco Chiesa, Virgilio Brocchi, Giuseppe Lipparini, Marino Moretti, Margherita Sarfatti, Arturo Farinelli, Alfredo Galletti, Guido Manacorda, Emilio Cecchi, Paolo Orano, Silvio Benco, Gentucca.

The only complaint to register against the book is that the subject matter is loosely organized, as is the case with his *Survey of the Italian Theatre*. But once the material is unraveled the substance is there, and plenty of it.

Grazia Deledda, *Il vecchio e i fanciulli*, Milan, Fratelli Treves, pp. 227 (L. 13.20).

The dean of Italian women writers has added another novel to her shelf of over a score of others. The freshness of this rural story marks in no way a departure in the Deleddian technique of story-telling characterized by simplicity of plot as against complication, characters developed from moral activity as against psychological introspection, style without artifice as against stylistic display of erudition or sophistication.

The plot of this novel is laid in Sardinia during the World War. It revolves about three principals, the uncle, the niece, and a youth who by virtue of character gains the affection of the uncle, his employer. To the bewilderment of the niece, who does not relish this state of affairs, the story proceeds with wholesome interest. At first she hates this intruder who might inherit the uncle's possessions; she contrives to ruin him by shifting to him the blame of a stolen sum of money. But the unexpected happens in that the youth attempts suicide in a moment of exasperation. Then the girl comes to the realization of a great love she has unconsciously harbored for the boy. In the last episode of the novel we witness the marriage of the two youths. But beyond Sardinia there is the echo of a gigantic struggle. The youth leaves to defend his fatherland. Here ends the story of rural people, of staunch hearts and primitive passions.

Our distinguished Sardinian novelist closes this regional story with a modest apology classifying herself as a "tiny poet" of love and suffering.

O. A. Bontempo

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## Rumanian Book Notes

N. Iorga, *Istoria Românilor prin călători, Ediția II, adăugită*, București, Editura Casei Școalelor, 1928–1929, 4 volumes, 373 + 288 + 352 + 226 pp.

These volumes,—intended to be a review of books, memoirs, reports and correspondence of various French, Italian, German, Russian, Polish, Austrian, English, Dutch, Swiss, Spanish, Norwegian and Argentinian merchants, artists, priests, government representatives and war correspondents who visited Rumanian provinces since the end of the fourteenth century,—under the spell of the master's style become a reconstruction of lands, men and events. Not only do the rulers of the different epochs appear in their moments of glory or of sorrow, but in a greater measure come the very people, city dwellers as well as peasants. We witness the activities of generations, from the year 1389 on. We follow the vagrant host of visitors on the

roads and we reach with them the villages, towns and capitals whose public buildings and churches are described with lingering detail. The richness of the minute observations lends a peculiar charm to the general outline.

Professor Iorga's profound knowledge of the subject and his genius to revive the past are obvious in these pages. On the vast background of his own findings, he projects the long procession of foreigners, among whom he sifts the well informed from the superficial, unravelling conflicting statements, correcting wrong and inaccurate impressions. He has a chuckle for naïveties, biting sarcasm for unjust remarks, praise with scientific impartiality for sincerity.

Professor Iorga explains that the lack of descriptions by travelers before the year 1389 is due to the position of the main highways leading to Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, which were not through the Rumanian principalities. And he regrets that, due to this cause, there are no written testimonies by visiting foreigners previous to that year. Later on, more road facilities and interests bring travelers to Rumania. Among the more recent, the Swiss Emil Kohly de Guggsberg is upheld for his healthy advice in matters of education:

"If you bring up your children for another country than yours, send them there; if you wish to educate them for your fatherland, why send them during their youth to lands where they will become used to other customs and traditions? When they return, they will be strangers; they will see only France, Switzerland, Germany. Instead of making them happy, you will make them unhappy and, moreover, you will steal from the State which needs men truly patriotic."

Michael G. Quin, an English traveler of 1834, saw:

"beautiful women like antique statues sitting on the shore with veils white as snow on their shoulders, priests wearing blue sashes holding in their hands the silver headed staffs, shepherds roaming with their sheep. . . ."

Another English traveler, J. H. Skeene, who published anonymously his *Frontierlands of the Christian and the Turk, Comprising Travels in the Regions of the Lower Danube, in 1850 and 1851*, London, 1853, visits in Galatz Mazeppa's tomb in the Church St. George. Among the English, we miss Mrs. (Mary Adelaide) Walker, whose *Untrodden Paths in Rumania, with 17 illustrations by the author*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1888, is of some interest.

The Argentinian Antonio B. Massioti (*El libro del viajero*, Buenos Aires, 1890) is the only one of both Americas represented. The thing he notes is:

"In short, Bucharest is a city which offers an interesting point of intersection between Western and Eastern European civilization, and at the same time a center of enticing diversions in those regions. The traveler will find more comfort in the Rumanian capital than in the countries surrounding it, especially in the South."

An index of names, prepared under the supervision of Dr. Hermine Theil by Professor Iorga's pupils at the school of Vălenii de Munte, is appended to the fourth volume.

Zach. C. Panţu, *Plantele cunoscute de poporul român, vocabular botanic cuprinzând numirile române, franceze, germane şi ştiinţifice, Ediţia* II, Bucureşti, Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1929, xviii + 419 pp.

After twenty-three years, Dr. Zacharia C. Panţu publishes the second revised and completed edition of his botanical vocabulary. Besides the three thousand six hundred popular names in the first edition, this new one offers one thousand and fifty additional words. They refer to about two thousand species of plants.

It offers not only to the botanist, but also to the poet, a world of popular lore. It is a fascinating catalog of colorful names of plants and flowers known by the Rumanian people, each with a precise description,—a valuable contribution to science; many teeming with artistic possibilities,—a treasure for the poet.

For the linguist it is also welcome, as every plant has its name rendered not only in its scientific Latin form, but also into French and German. If at all feasible, it would be desirable to have, in a third edition, the English equivalents, as no Rumanian-English dictionary is available which could give such accurate translations of names of flowers.

N. Cartojan, *Cărţile populare în literatura românească, Vol. I, Epoca influenţei sud-slave*, Bucureşti, Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1929, viii + 271 pp. + xv planşe.

Since the publication of Dr. Moses Gaster's study of Rumanian popular literature in 1883, research in this particularly rich field has been scant if not completely absent. As Dr. Cartojan himself states in his foreword:

"During the half century which has elapsed since the appearance of Dr. Gaster's book, there has been piled on the shelves of our libraries an enormous amount of material of unpublished manuscripts and folk-lore publications. Without counting the texts in the libraries of Iaşi, Cluj, Cernăuţi and Sibiu, in the library of the Rumanian Academy alone there are more than one thousand manuscripts of popular texts."

After such a long period of collecting, the time was more than ripe to resume the work outlined by Dr. Gaster, who together with N. Iorga, N. Draganu, Leca Morariu, Eufrosina Simionescu and N. Cartojan has recently taken up a few of the problems arising from this bulk of material.

"The present work," writes Dr. Cartojan, "based for the most part on the unpublished material of the library of the Rumanian Academy, tries to present in a synthesis the results of a labor of several years, undertaken in the libraries at home and in foreign lands."

And the author continues:

"It presents the written popular material in chronologic order and within the boundaries of the organic development of the old Rumanian literature."

Dr. Cartojan also gives much bibliographic material as well. This first volume contains the epoch of South-Slavic influence.

It is indeed a complete and painstaking work of a very conscientious scholar, well known for his previous papers on old Rumanian literature. It contains, in an extremely clear manner, an accurate rendering of the popular books which pervade Rumanian folk-lore in a considerable measure. And this influence is traced to the very source.

The author takes up the Slavonic apocryphal popular literature which left its imprint in the Rumanian provinces, the part of the Bogomiles in the spreading of this apocryphal literature, the legends with Bogomilian character, the texts *Adam and Eve*, *The Apocalypse of Saint Paul*, *of the Holy Virgin*, *of Saint John*, *Abraham's Death*, *The Apocryphal Epistles*, the so-called *Paleea Biblical Legends*, *The Sybil's Oracle*, *The Wood of the Cross*. He further deals with the hagiographic legends and astrological literature.

It is interesting to note the chapter devoted to the *Fiore di virtù* which shows the relations between old Rumanian literature and the medieval Italian. This thirteenth

century Italian text appeared in the Danubian lands under the name *Albinuşa* or *Floarea Darurilor*. The book left an indelible mark in Rumanian folk-lore. The theme *Amărâta turturică* (The Embittered Turtle-Dove), for instance, which inspired not only the anonymous author of the popular song but also Ienache Văcărescu (1740?–1799?), is found in the chapter *Castità*. This very theme which thrives in Northern as well as Southern European folk-lore may be recognized even in much older texts, according to Dr. Cartojan. The *Fisiolog* (Physiologus), which is a book of would-be natural history and which gives descriptions of animals, birds, reptiles and fish, and their habits, as well as moral and religious teachings of which they are the symbols, and where we discover the Turtle-dove motive, "was composed in Egypt, in the second century, when the Hellenistic and the Judaico-Oriental cultures intersected there."

The popular novels *Alexandria*, *Varlaam şi Ioasaf* and *Archirie şi Anadan* close the first volume of this absorbing study.

Gheorghe Adamescu, *Contribuţiune la bibliografia românească, Fascicola III-a, Istoria literaturii române, Texte şi autori, 1500–1925* (*Seria III-a*), Bucureşti, Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1928, iv + 530 pp.

Incomplete as it appears, Professor George Adamescu's bibliography answers the needs of investigators in the field of Rumanian letters.

Professor Adamescu offers the apology that this is not a critical, but a bibliographical work, and especially points out the fact that uniformity in presenting the authors, their productions and the list of books and periodicals dealing with them, would have enhanced considerably the value of the undertaking. But when we bear in mind the difficulties under which he collected the material published in this and the two preceding volumes, we must be thankful to him for enabling us to have a basis for our literary research.

Vasile V. Haneş, *Formarea opiniunii franceze asupra României în secolul al XIX-lea*, Craiova-Bucureşti, Scrisul Românesc, 1929, 2 volumes, 199 + 182 pp.

The friendly relations between France and Rumania have been the subject of many a treatise published by Rumanian scholars during the last few decades. Yet the particular aspect considered by Dr. Vasile V. Haneş is of special interest. That Rumania was and continues to be eager to imbibe French thought and that Rumanian public opinion has been fashioned after the older Latin sister for more than a century, there is not the slightest doubt. In spite of other preponderances of Western Europe, of Germanic or Italian source, the French influence is the strongest. Nevertheless, a legitimate inquisitiveness prompted the author of these two volumes to investigate French opinion about Rumania.

Dr. Haneş alleges that such an estimate of Rumania in France has existed, in a restricted sense of the word, in the judgment, enthusiasm and support of publicists, writers and scholars who have given a helpful hand to Rumanian claims in moments of stress. The union of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, the war for independence of 1877–78, and finally the treaty of Versailles at the conclusion of the latest European war, which recognized the larger union of all Rumanian provinces, are the results of this attitude. Statesmen were prompted to create a greater Rumania in the atmosphere of sympathy prepared by the written and spoken word of the French.

At a closer view of the facts that led France to sustain the Rumanian demands,

Dr. Haneș discovers, however, that, although the Rumanians appealed to the sentiments of a far more influential member of the same race, and considered this element decisive, France has always put these considerations on a second plane, as something accidental and auxiliary, as an interesting detail of course, but which could not influence the political position of the two countries. Although I. A. Vaillant, Edgar Quinet, and others raised a warm voice in behalf of Rumanian rights, their appeals did not stir the desired echo in the mass of the French people. This was due, as Dr. Haneș states, to the lack of more detailed information.

"How many times," writes the author, "during the nineteenth century and sometimes to-day, have we the sad opportunity to realize how little known are our country, history, state organization and leaders, in the brilliant Western republic. And the small contribution of culture and civilization we brought, by so many noble efforts, during the last century, was not known, has not succeeded in enhancing us in the eyes of the related people of France."

It seems that the above statement is somewhat erroneous. France has recognized Rumanian contributions to literature, art, and science. If we only think of the number of Rumanian writers, artists and scholars who in recent years have won the appreciation and applause of Paris, it is hard to agree with Dr. Haneș on this particular point.

The author reaches the conclusion that France has lent her generous support to Rumanian movements in the name of one principle: the right of the smaller nationalities to freedom. And in virtue of this principle it embraced in one large gesture the Greeks, Hungarians, Poles, Eastern Slavs and Rumanians. The problem thus presented, even if we were to accept the more realistic political and economic motives of the French influence in Eastern Europe, calls for discussion.

Dr. Haneș himself is loath to shatter cherished convictions of the special interest France has shown in Rumania. He offers a stimulating contribution to the history of the intellectual relations between the two Latin nations.

R. Iosif, *Grigorescu, cu o prefață de St. I. Nenițescu*, București, Editura Bibliofila, Strada Wilson, 1927, 12 aquaforte.

The life of Nicolae Grigorescu (1838–1907), the sixth child of a poor family, who begins as an apprentice to an ikon-maker and becomes a famous artist schooled in the tradition of Fontainebleau, and highly appreciated by critics of Western European capitals,—this life in itself would offer the biographer a chromatic subject. And the twelve etchings by R. Iosif, which speak only with light and shadow, give the most remarkable episode of the master's career. They are reproductions of the great paintings in which there is so much sun and color of the native soil: slender peasant maidens, grave and wise shepherds, golden fields studded with jewel-like flowers, ox-carts slowly driven on the enchanted highways.

Iosif's etchings, as Mr. Nenițescu points out in his interesting preface, are not reproductions literally, but transpositions; not copies, but interpretations. They live by themselves. To any one who wishes to receive an authentic impression of picturesque Rumania, this collection is warmly recommended.

*Studi Rumeni*, a cura del Dott. Carlo Tagliavini, volume IV (1929–1930), Pubblicazioni dell' "Istituto per l'Europa Orientale," Roma, Anonima Romana Editoriale, 1930, xi + 215 pp.

Professor Carlo Tagliavini gives his fourth volume of this Italian publication consecrated to Rumanian studies, to which contribute the late Professor Aldo Alber-

toni on *Diritto bizantino, diritti balcanici, diritto italiano*, Professor W. Meyer-Lübke on the Rumanian word *Frasin*, and Dr. L. Treml, *Di un probabile calco linguistico nella Palia di Orăştie*. Yet the bulk of research is offered by that tireless scholar Professor Tagliavini. Besides his introduction and commentary to an eighteenth century text, by Father Antonio Maria Mauro, *Un manuale di conversazione Italo-Rumeno ad uso dei missionari*, Professor Tagliavini reviews, with but three exceptions, all the books and periodicals, of an impressive array. The three other reviews are due to Messrs. L. Göbl, L. Treml and N. Georgescu-Tistu. Needless to add, the services rendered by *Studi Rumeni* to Rumanian learning are of great import, as it not only appeals to larger audiences but it also brings valuable interpretations by scholars of world-wide repute.

Leon Feraru

Long Island University

## Romance Language Class Texts

Ruiz de Alarcón, *La verdad sospechosa*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by A. L. Owen, Boston, Heath, 1928, xxx + 177 pp.

Almost a century ago when some of our slightly naïve grandsires were fond of hypothesizing about the literary works that should be saved were our planet washed by a new deluge, Ochoa would have rescued this *comedia* with only three others of the whole drama of the Golden Age, as the most worthy legacies to future generations. He was neither the first nor the last to discover its supreme merit. The great Corneille, who made so close an imitation of it in his *Le Menteur*, sighed that he would have sacrificed two of his best works to have written so perfect a comedy, while Molière, equally enthusiastic, confessed that it had been his model.

And all this signal praise is well founded. Whereas other grand heroes of the *Siglo de Oro*, for all their sweeping gestures, ceremonious bows and florid eloquence, leave us cold, and finally glide into the wings like dim shadows,—the human and somewhat sinful Don García in *La verdad sospechosa* comes as a refreshing reminder that then also men were of flesh and blood, and not mere indistinct symbols of perfect chivalry. Yet Don García is equally bowing and even more eloquent than his compeers,—but fortunately a far less perfect, and far more living man.

For what has remained perennially fresh in this comedy is the character of the arch-liar-artist, Don García, this early Peer Gynt. In him lying becomes an art, an end in itself; and thus he merges into the psychology of the artist as the conscious creator of the illusion of a more sumptuous reality than life affords. This "dilettante of the illusion" toys with his inventions as with so many colored balls,—to exercise an artistic skill and "pour rendre les instants moins lourds." Perilously he dances over the tight-ropes of an interwoven net of lies and stands back to admire the several illusionary personalities which he has created and which he delegates to play supremely flexible roles. And, allowing for the difference in time and *milieu*, has Pirandello ever created a subtler and more disconcerting "problem of personality" than Alarcón?

In one respect time has readjusted the balance. We are more interested in the character as such than in the disposal which Alarcón made of him. When poetic justice is visited upon him, we may be allowed to feel dismayed about the sacrifice of such a protean inventor of many-lives-in-one who has to become a dutiful noble reduced to the traditional lofty gestures. In a word, the moral tendency of which Alarcón, the good bourgeois, was so proud; the weighty discourses he put in the

mouth of a father who savors too insistently of a class-conscious Polonius, seem to us far inferior artistically to the creation of the complex Don García and to his treating the world and his life and himself as a pretext for an unending *imbroglio* and a continual masquerade.

For this stimulating play one might have wished a less stereotyped introduction. Its tonality might have borrowed, for instance, something of the color of Wilde's *Apology for Lying* rather than exclusively from the pedestrian *exposé* of the scholar. But nobody can gainsay that the editor has written a well-informed and useful essay, replete with data and facts which are of real help to the reader.

Francisco de Rojas, *Del rey abajo, ninguno*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by Nils Flaten, N. Y., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929, 189 pp.

By a strange coincidence, this is another of the four plays which Ochoa prized above all others of the *Siglo de Oro*, and one which Menéndez y Pelayo believed to be as enthralling on the stage now, without a single modification, as when it first appeared. One of the suggestive titles under which it was issued, *El labrador más honrado*, shows clearly that the work was grouped in the *genre* of the honor plays, and drew more specifically on the theme of the noble peasant versus profligate noble, about which so many plays of the period centered, and which most of the leading dramatists of the time essayed. Lope de Vega used it in a whole series of plays: in his *Peribáñez, La fuente ovejuna, El mejor alcalde, el rey*, etc., Calderón built upon it his renowned *Alcalde de Zalamea*, while many other playwrights found similar inspiration in this ever appealing subject.

In the age when plays won applause chiefly through diversity within uniformity, this drama follows closely enough the formula and precepts of Lope de Vega, and would read like an embellished reworking of his *Peribáñez*, if its plot did not strive for a higher stake, and if its motivation were not more calculatingly prepared. It seems to follow *Peribáñez* almost scene by scene; it presents the same ideal youthful husband and wife, and a similar lascivious noble who casts a shadow of tragedy over their idyllic love; it follows up with the same simple constancy of the perfect wife, the same furious vengeance of an outraged husband, and the final absolution by the historical king through the mediation of a compassionate queen.

Yet while adopting the formula fully, Rojas Zorrilla created a new play. He was careful to make his honorable peasant a nobleman in disguise, disillusioned with the ingratitude of the mighty. For this reason the highly lyric speeches he utters are not at all as incongruous as the polished verses of Peribáñez had been in the mouth of a humble and untutored peasant. Lope's character was in essence similar to all the other heroes of his *comedias*. The courtier's songs he sang in praise of his beautiful Casilda seemed a mere transposition of adulating courtly compliments into bucolic terms: the star-bright eyes of the beloved, the gentle zephyrs of one's desires, were changed into the sweet scent of new-mown hay, the gay brilliance of wild flowers, and the perfume of young wine. But Rojas Zorrilla was careful to lend plausibility to this indispensable constituent of the most approved drama of his age. At the same time he adds novelistic elements,—the exile of the father, the life of a savage that he led before his death, the staunch friendship of the Count of Orgaz, etc.

In still another respect he departed from the comparatively simpler device of Lope's technique. He made more complex the jealousy of the husband by superimposing upon it another form of "honor,"—the sacredness of the King's person. He thus intensified the psychological struggle in García's mind. It grew more dra-

matic for the very reason that it was pent up, and because the conflict was transposed to a higher realm. The issue became one of honor versus duty to the King, the most elated of mortals, whereas in *Peribáñez* it had remained merely personal honor versus a social superior.

The play, while still one of the most technically perfect of the *genre*, turns the stress more from the overflowing and sometimes dispersed action of a Lope to a more concentrated psychological study of "honor" which Lope himself had already, in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, suggested as one of the most potent resources of a dramatist. The reproduction of this text, with its simple but pointed introduction, will allow the American student to appreciate this ever popular masterpiece of the drama of the Golden Age.

Barbara Matulka

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Abbé Antoine-François Prévost, *Manon Lescaut.* Edited with Introduction, Notes, etc., by Harry Kurz, N. Y., Oxford Press, 1929, 287 pp.

One may no longer accuse American publishers of being timorous or unduly prudish in the choice of school texts. The present edition of *Manon Lescaut* and Voltaire's *Candide*, published by Prentice Hall, Inc., have appeared in rapid succession to dispel all doubts on that score. We thus have available for class-room use the two outstanding masterpieces of prose fiction in eighteenth century French literature.

The Introduction which Professor Kurz has prefixed to the novel presents the facts and problems concerning the Abbé Prévost's career with more than a little thoughtfulness. The editor succeeds in giving his pages the perfume of the century with its literary quarrels of a highly personal nature, by recounting the legends that have attached themselves to the novelist's name through the writings of his literary enemies. They were no doubt augmented in number by Prévost's status as an unfrocked abbé—a social type of the eighteenth century which was the recurrent target for the writers of *vaudevilles*. These spurious but long-lived canards were disentangled from the true facts of the novelist's life by Henry Harrisse no less than one hundred years after the novelist's death. After presenting the legend, the editor sympathetically draws Prévost's historical portrait; he characterizes the abbé's early, checkered career as "clouded with hesitation," and presents the novelist in his later life as a determined pioneer, endeavoring to live by his pen.

Other portions of the Introduction discuss Prévost's place in the eighteenth century French novel, his contribution to the spread of anglomania in France, his originality in proclaiming "in the novel the divine right of passion." The statement that Prévost's novels are the "first which made people weep" is also advanced by Le Breton. The possibility of Prévost's having drawn his plot for *Manon* from his own personal experiences is succinctly put. The editor takes an affirmative stand in the matter, but quotes opposite opinions, especially the suggestions made in Paul Hazard's *Études critiques sur Manon Lescaut.*

An attractive feature of the edition and one which the college teacher of literature will no doubt welcome is the *explication littéraire* appended to the text. A model *leçon* which is aimed at analyzing the masterpiece into its literary elements, and by way of comparison with other works, at finding its place in literary history, is followed by suggestions to be used in other, similar lessons. To provide additional practice in literary appraisal the editor has "culled from French critics many of their

judgments and analyses of this novel, and has compactly arranged them under leading headings, so that they form a supplementary series of literary exercises appropriate to the novel."

Delisle's *Arlequin Sauvage*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, etc., by Nolan A. Goodyear, N. Y., Century Co., 1928, 121 pp.

Professor Goodyear's edition of Delisle's *Arlequin Sauvage*, which was presented for the first time in 1721 at the Théâtre Italien, is a welcome addition to the list of texts for class-room use. Delisle's work has its place in literary history. Before Voltaire's *Alzire* Delisle attempted a contrast of American and European customs in this play, and before Rousseau he proclaimed the uncivilized American aborigines, "bons naturellement," even though "ils ne savent pas un mot des lois." The editor, while he does in a cursory fashion indicate the general lines of French thought which philosophically considered the savage, and while he does make evident that no one before Delisle expressed so clearly and so forcefully the opposition between the "state of nature" and the "state of civilization," prefers to dedicate by far the greater part of his Introduction to the harlequinade in France. He uses the play and its leading character, Harlequin, as the springboard, so to speak, for his discussion of the Théâtre Italien.

The Introduction sketches the evolution of the peculiarly Italian *commedia dell'arte*—a dramatic type in which the dialogue is improvised by standardized types of actors. After a brief consideration of the several theories on the origins of improvised comedy, the editor devotes subsequent sections to the Italian players in France and their influence upon the French stage. Among the novelties which the Italian troupes introduced are mentioned the inclusion of music and highly developed stage machinery. Reference is also made to Molière's relations with the Italian theatre and to the Théâtre de la Foire which sprang into prominence when the Théâtre Italien was closed at the very end of the seventeenth century.

The bibliography is, on the whole, well chosen; it gives the source books for the Théâtre Italien and mentions the leading studies devoted to the *commedia dell'arte*. Since the publication of the bibliography, an English translation of Duchartre, *La Comédie italienne*, has appeared, which of course could not be mentioned.

Bernard Levy

College of the City of New York

## Faculty Notes

Brown University, Providence, R. I. Mr. Robert Williams, formerly Instructor in Columbia, has been appointed Instructor in Spanish.

Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. Prof. F. M. Jones will be on leave of absence in France for the year 1930–31. Mr. Chas. A. Choquette has resigned in order to accept a position as Instructor in French in Cornell. Mr. Harold Clapp will fill the vacancy left by Mr. Choquette.

College of the City of New York. Dr. S. A. Rhodes has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages. B. Levy, who recently received the Ph.D. degree at Columbia on his dissertation, *The Unpublished Plays of Carolet: A New Chapter on the Théâtre de la Foire*, has been promoted to Instructor. *School of Business and Civic Administration:* Dr. F. Rougier has been appointed Instructor in Romance Languages. E. H. Polinger was granted the Ph.D. degree at Columbia on his dissertation, *Pierre-Charles Roy, Playwright and Satirist (1683–1764)*.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. F. Strowski and E. Faral have been appointed as Visiting Professors in French literature for 1930–31. Giuseppe Prezzolini has accepted a position as Professor of Italian and Director of the Casa Italiana. Gabriela Mistral, the South American poetess, will be Visiting Professor of Spanish in Barnard College. Dr. Cargill Sprietsma has been appointed Instructor in French. Dr. Angel del Río has been promoted from Instructor to Asst. Professor of Spanish.

DENISON UNIVERSITY, GRANVILLE, O. Dr. W. A. Chamberlin, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, has been away on leave during the second semester. Wm. N. Felt, Instructor, has been studying the past year at the University of Bordeaux, where he was granted a scholarship.

EMORY UNIVERSITY, EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA. Professors Nolan A. Goodyear and J. G. Stipe, Asst. Prof. W. A. Strozier, and M. Géorge Raffalovich, Lecturer, all regular members of the Department, have been appointed to give the courses in Romance Languages in the Summer School. Asst. Prof. John A. Strausbaugh returned at the beginning of the past year after a year's leave of absence spent at the University of Chicago completing requirements for the doctorate.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Prof. J. D. M. Ford represented this University at the dedication of the new buildings of the University of Brussels which took place in June, 1930. Prof. C. H. Grandgent will be Exchange Professor to France in the second half of 1930–31.

HOBART COLLEGE, GENEVA, N. Y. Mr. A. L. Mezzacappa, who has been Instructor in Romance Languages for several years, has received a part time teaching position in Harvard and will continue his work for the Ph.D. degree. His position has been filled by Mr. Hugh Merson, formerly Instructor in the Columbia Grammar School, New York.

KNOX COLLEGE, GALESBURG, ILL. Miss Sarah E. Coleman will spend the summer at the Univ. of Mexico. Miss Lily Lindahl is traveling abroad. Prof. Harry Kurz will be on leave of absence next year for study abroad.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, PRINCETON, N. J. M. André Maurois has been appointed Visiting Professor of French during the first term and Prof. Paul Laumonier, of the University of Bordeaux, will be Visiting Professor of French during the second semester. C. Wesley Bird, at present studying at the University of Grenoble, has accepted an appointment as Instructor in French. C. M. Crist, now studying at the Princeton Graduate School, has been taken on as part time Instructor in French. J. G. Roberts, now Instructor at Harvard, has been added to the staff as Instructor in French. E. B. L. Borgeroff, Princeton 1930, has been made Instructor in French. W. H. Shoemaker, studying at present in the Princeton Graduate School, will become Instructor in Spanish. F. F. Crowley, now studying in the Princeton Graduate School, has been added as part time Instructor in Spanish. Prof. W. S. Hastings, of the French Department, who has leave of absence for the first semester, will be in France, working on a new edition of the correspondence of Balzac. Prof. C. C. Connell, of the Spanish Department, leaves to take graduate work at Harvard. H. A. Grubbs, Instructor in French, has resigned in order to do work abroad.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY, LAFAYETTE, IND. Edin Brenes, Instructor in Spanish, has been advanced to the rank of Asst. Professor of Spanish. Marie D. Loop, Instructor in Spanish, has resigned. D. H. Patterson, of Syracuse University, has been appointed Instructor in Spanish.

REED COLLEGE, PORTLAND, ORE. La Renaissance du Livre, Brussels, has just published a volume of essays entitled *Le Roman belge contemporain* by Prof. Benjamin M. Woodbridge. The preface is contributed by Prof. Maurice Wilmotte.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J. Mr. Lewis A. Ondis has resigned to accept a poistion in Ohio University, Athens. Mr. Clarence E. Turner has been assigned a position as Instructor in French for next year.

University of California, Berkeley. *French:* Professors Henri Chamard, of the University of Paris, and Gilbert Chinard, of Johns Hopkins University, have been appointed to teach in the Summer Session of 1930. In August, 1930, Mr. Gabriel Bonno, who during the year 1929–30 has been in Paris completing his thesis for the Doctorat ès Lettres, will return as Lecturer in French. Prof. Percival B. Fay, Chairman of the Department, has been promoted from Assoc. Professor to Professor of French. *Spanish:* Prof. Erasmo Buceta, who has spent the past six months in Spain, will remain there during next year on leave of absence from the University. Prof. Arturo Torres-Rioseco will teach at the Univ. of Mexico this summer. Mr. Hermenehildo Corbató, who received the Ph.D. degree here in May, 1930, has accepted a position at the Univ. of California at Los Angeles during the coming year. Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo of Lisbon, Portugal, will come to this University as Visiting Professor of Portuguese and Spanish during the spring semester of 1930–31.

University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. A number of lectures of interest to students of French and Spanish literature have been given here under the auspices of the Ropes Foundation for the Comparative Study of Literature. On November 18, 19 and 20, 1929, Prof. E. H. Wright, of Columbia, gave three lectures on the significance of Rousseau—"Rousseau and His Philosophy," "Rousseau and Education" and "Rousseau and Religion." On April 10, 1930, Prof. André Morize, of Harvard, lectured in French on Voltaire. Prof. Hayward Keniston, of the Univ. of Chicago, gave three lectures, on April 28, 29 and 30, on the general topic of Spanish poetry. The individual titles of these interesting lectures were "The Ballads," "The Mystics" and "The Modernists." Prof. Philip Ogden, Head of the Department of Romance Languages, is devoting his sabbatical year to research in France. In his absence, Prof. M. J. Hubert, acting Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, is acting Head of the Department. Next year Asst. Prof. Willard A. Kinne will be absent on leave; he plans to spend his sabbatical year in study and research. Mr. Chas. A. Brigham of this Department will teach here during the first term of the Summer Session. Other members of this Department are: Assoc. Prof. Chesley M. Hutchings; Asst. Profs. Louis Salbitano and Dillwyn F. Ratcliff; and Mrs. M. J. Hubert and Mr. Leslie G. Irwin.

University of Colorado, Boulder. Charles A. Newcomer (M.A. Univ. of Kansas, 1930) has been appointed Instructor in Spanish for 1930–31, to take the place of Asst. Prof. Stuart Cuthbertson, who is absent on leave. During the Summer Session Professors E. A. Méras, of Adelphi College, and C. F. Zeek, of Southern Methodist University at Dallas, Texas, will be Visiting Professors of French, and Prof. William Guevara, of the Univ. of South Dakota, Visiting Professor of Spanish.

University of Delaware, Newark. The Committee on Foreign Study has begun to publish *Foreign Study Notes*, edited by the students and the staff of the Dept. of Romance Languages. The publication secured the collaboration of several outstanding French scholars such as F. Baldensperger, C. Guignebert, G. Reynier, M. Bouteron and F. Gaiffe. It describes the activity of the Delaware group in Paris.

University of Illinois, Urbana. Prof. T. R. Palfrey has resigned his position to become Assoc. Professor of French in Northwestern University. Prof. Julio Jiménez Rueda returned to his duties at the University of Mexico after spending the second semester of 1929–30 as Visiting Professor of Spanish in this University.

Prof. John Van Horne, who has been abroad on a Guggenheim Fellowship, returns from a sabbatical leave of absence in Italy and Spain. Prof. Régis Michaud, who was Visiting Professor at Dartmouth in 1929–30, joins the Department as Visiting Professor in French for 1930–31. Mr. José A. Balseiro, of Porto Rico, who has spent the last six years in Spain, has been appointed Asst. Professor in the Department for one year. He is the author of two volumes of critical essays published under the title of *El Vigía*, and other works. Dr. C. C. Gullette, of the Univ. of Wisconsin, has been appointed Associate in Romance Languages.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The following new appointments have been made: Emilio J. Calvacca, formerly of the Univ. of Buffalo, as part time Instructor in Italian; Luther Dennis, of Georgetown College, as part time Instructor in Spanish; Jacques J. Engerrand, formerly connected with the Univ. of Texas, as Instructor in French; Robert C. Hamlet, of the Univ. of Maine, as part time Instructor in French; Dr. Camillo P. Merlino, of Bryn Mawr College, as Asst. Professor of Italian, and Chas. N. Staubach, previously of the Univ. of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, as Instructor in Spanish. Harry V. Wann has left to become Professor of French and Head of the Department of Romance Languages in the Indiana State Teachers' College, Terre Haute. The degree of Ph.D. has just been granted to him on the subject *The Tradition of the Homeric Simile in the Eighteenth Century*. Douglas M. Whittemore will become Instructor in the Menlo Junior College, Menlo Park, California. Wm. A. McLaughlin, Assoc. Professor of Romance Languages, will be on leave of absence for the academic year 1930–31. Warner F. Patterson has been promoted from Instructor to Asst. Professor of French. He expects soon to take his Ph.D. at Columbia University. His dissertation is: *Arts Poétiques of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. In February, 1930, the Ph.D. degree was granted to Newton S. Bement, on the dissertation, *Comparative Researches in the Syntax of the Personal Moods from Commynes to Malherbe*.

University of Oklahoma, Norman. Mr. Maurice Halperin, Instructor in French, has been awarded one of the French Field Service Fellowships. W. A. Willibrand, Asst. Professor of Modern Languages, will spend his sabbatical leave at Strasbourg. New members of the staff for the coming year include Louis Woerner, formerly of Stanford University, to be Asst. Professor of French, and Yvonne Fleury, of Lausanne, Switzerland, to be Assistant in French.

University of Oregon, Eugene. Miss Christina Crane, Instructor in Romance Languages, returns in September after a year's leave of absence spent in study at the Sorbonne.

University of South Dakota, Vermilion. During the past year William Guevara, M.A. Minnesota, has been Assoc. Professor of Spanish.

University of Wisconsin, Madison. Beginning with the Summer Session of 1930, the Dept. of Romance Languages will be divided into two separate departments —Dept. of French and Italian and Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese. Prof. H. C. Berkowitz has been granted a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1930–31 and will spend the year in Spain. Mr. C. T. Caddock, Instructor in French, will be in France for the year, having a "poste d'assistant" in a French lycée. He will teach at Chautauqua, New York, this summer. Prof. F. D. Cheydleur will teach in the Summer Session at the Univ. of Chicago. Miss Melissa Cilley, Instructor in Spanish, will teach next year at Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga. Miss Anne Gasool, Asst. in French, has an Instructorship at Smith College for the coming year. Miss Rebecca Flint, who received her Ph.D. this year, will be Asst. Professor of French at Russell Sage College,

Troy, N. Y. The subject of her dissertation was: *The Attitude of Brunetière Toward the Novelists and Poets of His Age.* Mr. W. J. Gaines, who has been abroad during the past year, will return to be Assoc. Professor of French at the Univ. of Richmond, Virginia. Prof. W. F. Giese will spend the year at his home in Ascona, Switzerland. Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Greenleaf will be on leave 1930–31 and will spend the year abroad, mostly in France. Mr. C. C. Gullette, who will obtain his Ph.D. this year, will be Associate in French at the Univ. of Illinois. The subject of his dissertation is: *The Growth of Realism in Alphonse Daudet.* Mr. Elton C. Hocking, Instructor in French, who will be granted his doctorate in the summer of 1930, will go abroad as Markham Fellow for 1930–31. The subject of his dissertation is: *Brunetière's Attitude Toward Art.* Mr. F. M. Kercheville, Fellow in the Department during the past year, will return to the Univ. of South Dakota, from which he was on leave. Miss Jeanne Mettenet, Instructor in French, goes to the John Burroughs School, Clayton, Missouri, for the coming year. Prof. R. B. Michell will teach at Duke University in the Summer Session. Miss Trinidad de Mora, Asst. in Spanish, will teach at the College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif., in the Summer Session, and will become Asst. Professor of Spanish at Baker University, Baldwin, Kan., for 1930–31. Miss Margaret Mott, Instructor in French, has resigned. Prof. Joaquín Ortega, abroad this year, will return as Chairman of the Dept. of Spanish. Prof. S. G. A. Rogers will be on leave 1930–31, and will spend the year in writing. Prof. Hugh A. Smith, who was Director of the American University Union in Paris in 1929–30, will return to this University and resume the Chairmanship of the Dept. of French and Italian. Prof. A. G. Solalinde will teach at Stanford University in the Summer Session. Miss Marguerite Treille will become Professor of French and Head of the Modern Language Department at Baker University, Baldwin, Kan., for the coming year. Mr. Joseph Palmeri has the Scholarship in the Dept. of French and Italian for 1930–31, and Mr. Wilson Wilmarth the Fellowship. Miss Mary Dallera will go to the Univ. of Illinois as Asst. in Spanish. Mr. M. P. Knott, formerly in charge of French at the State College of Washington, Pullman, will become Instructor in French here for the coming year in order to continue his graduate work. Prof. A. E. Lyon will be at the Univ. of Illinois in the Summer Session in place of Professor Hendrix, who was unable to teach this summer. Mr. N. A. Magaro has accepted a position as Instructor in Spanish at Indiana University. Mr. Alden R. Hefler, M.A. Harvard, formerly Instructor in French at Rice Institute, and during the past year studying in Spain, has been appointed Instructor in French for 1930–31. Mr. J. H. Herriott, a former member of the Department who during the past year has been Instructor at Princeton, will return next year as Asst. Professor of Spanish. Mr. Francis Roy, B.A. Saint Anne College, Nova Scotia, and during the past four years studying in France, has been appointed Instructor in French for the coming year. Mlle Simone Verrier, who has her Licence-ès-Lettres from the Univ. of Poitiers, and who has been teaching in England during the past year, will come here as Instructor in French. Promotions in the Departments include the following: Assoc. Prof. F. D. Cheydleur to Professor of French; Marjorie Covert from Asst. to Instructor in French; André Lévêque from Asst. to Instructor in French; E. E. Milligan from Asst. to Instructor in French; J. M. Sullivan from Asst. to Instructor in French; Esther Marhofer from Asst. to Instructor in Italian; Joseph Rossi from Asst. to Instructor in Italian. New Assistants who have been appointed for next year are: Mrs. Mary B. Anderson, Miss Anne Corfmat, Mr. Winslow Davies, Miss Catherine Staudt, Miss Beatrice Wadleigh.

Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. Thomas G. Bergin, Ph.D., formerly Instructor in Italian at Yale, has been appointed Assoc. Professor of Italian.

Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. Prof. Agnes R. Riddell, Head of the Department of Romance Languages, will be on leave of absence in 1930–31. Assoc. Prof. Marguerite Metivier will be acting Head of the Dept. for the year. Assoc. Prof. Anne Cutting Jones, of Wells College, will conduct Prof. Riddell's classes. Asst. Prof. Marie-Rose Buchler will spend next year in France. Her place will be filled by Instructor Lily Durrleman. Asst. Prof. Anne Harrington has edited *Altar Mayor* by Concha Espina. Virginia Moss, Wheaton, 1930, has been appointed Instructor in Spanish for 1930–31.

Caroline Matulka

New York City

## Varia

Educational and Bibliographic—Studi Rumeni (Rome, Vol. IV, 1929–30) contains the following résumé of Volume XIX (1928) of the Romanic Review as viewed from the angle of Rumanian studies: "Fra gli studi pubblicati in questa signorile rivista americana nessuno interessa, in questa annata, direttamente gli Studi Rumeni. Notiamo però Aur. M. Espinosa, *La sinalefa y la compensación entre versos en la versificación española*, pp. 289–301, prima puntata di un lavoro che ha importanza anche generale e che può essere utilmente confrontato, per le differenze e somiglianze colle condizioni rumene, colla dissertazione di A. Scriban, *Hiatus, Elision und Synalöphe im rumanischen Vers*, Halle, 1903. Nella sezione 'Reviews' notiamo: A. H. Krappe, *The Study of European Folklore Since 1914*, pp. 35–40, dove non si tiene abbastanza conto del folclore rumeno, ma specialmente due rubriche di L. Feraru, lettore di rumeno alla Columbia University: *Rumanian Literary News and Comment*, pp. 267–68, ove s'informa esattamente il pubbico americano delle ultime novità letterarie rumene, con precisione e finezza di giudizio."—The International Auxiliary Language Association held its annual meeting at the home of Mrs. Dave H. Morris in New York on May 19. Mrs. Morris reported on the recent meeting of linguistic research held in Geneva, which was presided over by Professor Otto Jespersen of Denmark, and which was attended by exponents of six rival international languages, Esperanto, Ido, Nov-Esperanto, Occidental, Novial and Latin without inflections. According to Mrs. Morris it was the consensus of opinion at the meeting that one neutral language, secondary to all national languages and in conflict with none, be developed and established. The experts further recommended that IALA undertake the task of preparing this language. It is interesting to recall that this idea was first proposed in an article entitled "Memorandum on the Problem of an International Auxiliary Language," published in the Romanic Review (XVI, 1925, 244–256) by Prof. Edward Sapir, and signed by Profs. Leonard Bloomfield, Franz Boas, J. L. Gerig and G. P. Krapp. Several thousand copies of this article were distributed, especially abroad, by IALA. That the need of such a language is now greater than ever may be seen in the reports of the World Power Conference held at Berlin from June 16 to 25. According to the *New York Times*, the 4,000 delegates to this conference hailed from more than fifty different countries. As a consequence of the number of tongues spoken there, it was found necessary to install head-telephones in the conference room, over which speeches were translated into six different tongues.—The American Council of Learned Societies, awarded, on April 20, twelve fellowships, with an aggregate value of $40,000, and thirty-four

grants in aid of research, with an aggregate value of $20,000. These awards are financed through a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation. Scholars receiving fellowships included H. A. Grubbs, Instructor in Modern Languages, Princeton, for studies of La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims* and of Damien Mitton; R. W. Lee, Fellow at Princeton, for studies of the *Opus Anglicanum*, and the influence of Ariosto on Italian painting; and I. A. Leonard, Instructor in Spanish, University of California, for studies of the cultural and literary history of Latin America during the Colonial period. Among those receiving grants are D. S. Blondheim, Professor of Romance Philology, Johns Hopkins, for Vol. II of *Les Gloses françaises dans les Commentaires talmudiques de Raschi;* F. M. Carey, Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin, University of California, for a study of the libraries and scriptoria of Fleury, Reims, and St. Denis; E. P. Dargan, Professor of French Literature, University of Chicago, for a biography of Anatole France; G. H. Forsyth, Instructor in Art, Princeton, for an archaeological study of the Church of St. Martin in Angers; Mary L. Foster, Associate Professor of Chemistry, Smith College, for a study of alchemy in Spain; J. E. Gillet, Professor of Spanish, Bryn Mawr College, for an edition of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro; F. C. Green, Professor of French, University of Toronto, for a study of the evolution of the French novel; W. S. Hastings, Associate Professor of French, Princeton, for editions of two novels and the correspondence of Balzac; and H. Keniston, Professor of Spanish, University of Chicago, for a check list of Spanish syntax. The fellowships and awards were distributed among 31 educational institutions. Those receiving more than one award and fellowship are Princeton, with a total of seven, while Yale, California, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Bryn Mawr, Catholic University, Toronto, and Mount Holyoke received two each. Prof. R. K. Root of Princeton is chairman of the committee which made the announcement.—The American House, erected in the Cité Universitaire of Paris, was formally dedicated on April 28. It will house 300 students, and, because of its financial backing, the rooms will be rented at rates ranging from $2 to $5 a week. In summer, however, the students will pay a slightly higher rate than in winter. In order not to deprive its occupants of the necessary international atmosphere, the directors have arranged to exchange fifty French for an equal number of American students. It was further announced on April 29 that Mr. Otto H. Kahn of New York, a trustee of Rutgers University, had donated $2,500 to establish a Rutgers room in the American House. The *New York Times* of May 2 contained a cable announcing that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who two years ago gave $2,000,000 for the construction of the central offices and meeting rooms of the Cité Universitaire, had increased his gift to $3,500,000 to cover the entire cost of the building, which is being planned. On May 3 the Rockefeller Foundation contributed $50,000 from its funds for the preservation of the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale.—On June 23, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Ambassador Hugh S. Gibson, and E. Rickard, Vice-President of the American Committee for Relief in Belgium, were granted honorary degrees by the University of Brussels at the dedication of its new buildings at the Solbosch. The ceremony, presided over by King Albert, took place in University Hall where the wall bears a Greek inscription expressing the gratitude of Belgian students to the American benefactors responsible for the building. Mr. Rickard announced that the Committee for Relief in Belgium had decided to contribute, in the name of the late Paul Heger, the sum of 1,000,000 francs (more than $27,000) for building students' homes in connection with the Solbosch project. The same Committee had contributed, previous thereto, $1,000,000 and the Rockefeller Foundation $3,000,000, for construction of buildings and endowment of the project.

THE FEDERATION OF THE ALLIANCE FRANÇAISE of the United States held its twenty-eighth annual General Assembly at the Hotel Plaza in New York on April 26, 1930. H. E. Paul Claudel, the French Ambassador, presided, and one of the chief speakers at the luncheon which followed the meeting was Professor Antoine Meillet of the Collège de France. Nearly two hundred delegates were in attendance.—MAXIME MONGENDRE, Consul General of France in New York, awarded on June 6 twenty-nine prizes and medals in the sixth annual Inter-High School French Contest, organized in New York City by the Society of French Teachers of America.—THE LATIN AMERICAN FELLOWSHIP, which is given each year by the American Association of University Women to a woman from one of the Latin-American republics, was awarded for 1930–31 to Adelphia de Silva Rodrigues, librarian of Mackenzie College, São Paulo, Brazil. The fellowship was established in 1917 and among the six holders of the honor Chile is the only country to be represented more than once.—PROFESSOR JEAN BRUNHES, of the Collège de France, was awarded recently the medal of the American Geographical Society for having made in his famous work, *La Géographie humaine*, an outstanding contribution to the subject of geography. "Others," says the *New York Times* of May 18, "have devoted much attention to the subject—Vidal de la Blache in France, MacKinder in England, and Ellsworth Huntington, Isaiah Bowman and others in this country. But they would be the first to admit the fitness of the tribute to their eminent French colleague."—THE R. B. STRASSBURGER PRIZE for 1930 was awarded unanimously by a jury of eminent journalists to M. René Puaux of the staff of *Le Temps* of Paris, for his *Notes sur les États-Unis*. This prize, amounting to $1,000 is awarded annually on May 6 to the author of the best series of articles tending to fortify relations between France and the United States, which have been published in the course of the year in France.—THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES voted unanimously on June 9 to authorize an appropriation of $1,500,000 to acquire for the Library of Congress the famous Vollbehr collection of 3,000 incunabula, including one of the rare Gutenberg Bibles (the Saint Blasius-Saint Paul copy, valued at $1,000,000). According to the *New York Times* of June 10, this collection, which was brought to this country by Dr. Otto H. F. Vollbehr of Berlin, covers the period from the invention of printing to 1500. It is said to be unusually complete in its specimens.—THE LIBRARY of the University of Vermont, at Burlington, announced on May 9 that a copy of Descartes' *Opera Phylosophica*, with marginal notes by Coleridge, had been discovered on its shelves. The volume was presented to the library by President James Marshall, a Coleridge bibliophile.—COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY announced on June 22 that Samuel S. Dale of Boston, former editor of *The Textile World Record*, had presented to its Library the most comprehensive collection on the science of weights and measures in the possession of any American educational institution. The collection consists of 1,200 volumes and 700 pamphlets extending from 1520 to the present time. An interesting work in the Spanish Section is *Johannis Marianae Hispani Socie. Jesu, De Ponderibus et Mensuris*, published at Toledo in 1599. In the French Section, besides a complete collection of the ordinances of Louis XIV, there is a fine set of the three-volume *Système métrique* of Méchain and Delambre, who, at the time of the French Revolution, measured the arc of the meridian from Dunkirk to Barcelona as a basis for the metric system. Another French work of especial interest is the *Mémoires sur le Système métrique des anciens Egyptiens*, by E. Jomard, who was a member of Napoleon's corps of scientists in his Egyptian expedition.—AFTER HAVING DISCUSSED at length the various possibilities of solving the problem of meeting the many new demands made upon the facilities of the Bodleian Library, its directors

have finally hit upon the novel idea of cutting down its vast proportions by the elimination of all time-tables, almanacs, calendars, diaries, fiction magazines, sheet music, juvenile books, and religious and temperance tracts. This is a problem that all of our libraries located in cities, where space is so valuable, will have to meet sooner or later, and it is indeed fortunate that the authorities of this famous library have not hesitated to solve it in the only way possible.—THE FAMOUS COLLECTION of 250 rare books, brought together by the French bibliophile Edouard Rahir, was sold at auction at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on May 7, 8, and 9 for a sum amounting to $446,000 (11,170,000 francs). According to the *New York Times* of May 10, "this is the largest sum ever obtained at the Hôtel Drouot for so small a collection." Bidders abstained on the last day of the sale in order to permit the Bibliothèque Nationale to acquire, for $2,000, J. J. Rousseau's *Le Devin du Village*, autographed and inscribed by him to the Marquise de Pompadour. Works bringing high prices included the following: an Apocalypse, illustrated with engravings by Albrecht Dürer and dated 1511, $13,000; a copy of Dante printed at Venice in 1544, with the arms of Henry II of France and Diane de Poitiers on its splendid binding, $6,000; a volume of Marully's hymns and epigrams printed in 1497, from the Grolier collection, $10,000; and copies of the *Lettres* of Mme de Sévigné, $4,000; Voltaire's *Pucelle*, $14,000; and Perrault's *Contes*, $10,000.—E. M. REMARQUE'S *All Quiet on the Western Front* established a new high mark for Germany by the sale of its millionth copy. The book has been on the market for only fifteen months. Foreign sales in twenty-nine tongues have, according to the *New York Times* of May 27, reached almost another 2,000,000, with France reporting 440,000, the United States 325,000 and England 310,000, followed by six other nations reporting more than 50,000 each. It is now recalled that it required the author almost two years to find a publisher willing to take the risk of issuing the book.

NECROLOGY—DR. JOHN R. WIGHTMAN, Emeritus Professor of Romance Languages at Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, died of heart disease at Geneva, Switzerland, on May 29. Dr. Wightman was a Canadian by birth and received his A.B. degree at Toronto University. He continued his studies under the late Professor A. Marshall Elliott at Johns Hopkins University from which he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Professor Wightman was highly esteemed by his colleagues and pupils as a teacher of French literature, and his influence extended, therefore, far beyond his classrooms at Oberlin College. He was editor of several class-texts much in use twenty years ago.—PAUL BERNARD THOMAS, head of the educational department of Coward-McCann, Inc., publishers, died at White Plains, N. Y., on June 1. He was born at Ann Arbor, Mich., on April 17, 1889, the son of Professor and Mrs. Calvin Thomas. Graduating from Columbia University in 1910, he became connected first with the Carnegie Foundation at Washington, and later assumed charge of the educational department of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., in which capacity he served for eight years. Son of the late distinguished Professor of German, who was, at the same time, a profound admirer of France and her culture, Mr. Thomas shared his father's sentiments and never failed to give encouragement to those engaged in the preparation of French texts.—GEORGES BIGOT, a well-known French journalist of New York, died suddenly in New York on May 29. He was on the editorial staff of the *Courrier des États-Unis* for fifteen years.—CARDINAL LUÇON, Archbishop of Rheims and dean of French Cardinals, died at his home in Rheims on May 28 in his eighty-eighth year. During the World War he became a national figure because of his refusal to abandon his beloved cathedral notwithstanding the constant bombardment to which it was

subjected.—Marthe Brandès, the famous French actress, died in Paris during the month of April. She was born in 1862 and during the period from 1896 to 1906 she was, with Bartet, Réjane and Sarah Bernhardt, one of the four queens of the Paris stage. She not only created the principal rôles in *Le Passé* and *Amoureuse* of Paul Hervieu and Porto-Riche, but also, in cooperation with Lucien Guitry, whom she joined at the Renaissance in 1903, she introduced to Paris many of the plays of Alfred Capus, Maurice Donnay, Jules Lemaître and others. Her last appearance was in 1914, when she played, with Le Bargy, Hervieu's *Le Destin est maître* at the Porte Saint-Martin. According to Philip Carr, writing in the *New York Times* of May 18, from the outbreak of the War she devoted her life to helping blind soldiers, and "retired definitely, not only from the theatre but from Parisian life in which she had her place as a writer, a painter and musician, as well as an actress. . . . She also had her place in it as a distinguished and noble personality," adds the critic, "and it was for her character perhaps almost as much as for her art that she was awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honor."—Louis Henri Julien, known affectionately to all American students as "The Bird Charmer of the Tuileries," is no more. Suffering from heart disease, he committed suicide in the latter part of April at the age of 67. "So passed the most kindly of Parisians," says the *New York Times* of April 27. "The sparrows of the Tuileries will miss him."

Literature and Drama—Charles le Goffic, poet, novelist and critic, and André Chaumeix, editor and critic, were elected on May 22 members of the Académie Française to succeed François de Curel and Georges Clemenceau. M. Le Goffic is best known for his novels depicting the life of his native province of Brittany, while M. Chaumeix has long been a member of the editorial staffs of the *Journal des Débats*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and the *Revue de Paris*. According to the *New York Times* of May 23, M. Chaumeix's "early recognition of young French authors has been one of the outstanding features of his critical work."—In a review of the Paris theatrical season of 1929–30, published in the *New York Times* of June 15, Philip Carr notes "the genuine artistic quality" of a large proportion of the plays given. In the first place, the success of the four plays continued from the previous season, Marcel Pagnol's *Topaze* and *Marius*, Henry Bernstein's *Mélo* and Marcel Achard's *Jean de la Lune*, is, he says, "an indication of the critical taste of the Paris public," for all of them are of a high class. The four productions of the new season, which showed "real imaginative quality of different kinds," are Jean Giraudoux's *Amphitryon 38*, Stève Passeur's *Acheteuse*, Fernand Crommelynck's *Carine*, and Alfred Savoir's *Lui*. Three other plays, "which are full of a knowledge of what can be done and what cannot be done in the theatre, and also have something to say," are Édouard Bourdet's *Le Sexe Faible*, Henri Clerc's *Le Beau Métier* and Jean Cocteau's *La Voix Humaine*. Finally, *Le Chapeau Chinois*, a little play by Franc Nohain, "deserves its place in the honors list because it is such a perfect gem of literary fantasy." While, as Mr. Carr states, "this is not a bad harvest," several excellent dramatists made no new contributions during the past season, notably H. R. Lenormand, Jules Romains, Paul Raynal, Denys Amiel, J. J. Bernard, Fernand Nozière, Simon Gantillon, Jacques Natanson, Bernstein, Pagnol and Sacha Guitry, for Mr. Carr terms the latter's *Histoires de France* and *Vive le théâtre* as "very inferior reviews." He praises also the classical matinées of the Antoine, Avenue and Œuvre theatres. Of the managers known as "Les Quatre," Gaston Baty's first production at the new Pigalle was such a failure that "the theatre appears to have reverted to merely commercial exploitation"; Jouvet has continued his success with Giraudoux; Pitoeff,

after several failures, has produced successfully Bruckner's *Criminels*, translated from the German; and Dullin "made a courageous but not entirely happy experiment" with Armand Salacrou's *Patchouli*. While Lugné-Poë has retired from the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, Mlle Falconetti has assumed charge of the Avenue, where she made "several bold and interesting ventures," among which are a translation of the Soviet play known in America as *Red Rust*, and Georges Neveux's "confusing, imaginative piece," *Juliette, ou la Clef des Songes*. Finally, Mr. Carr states that "no great actor or actress has come forward, but in France, as in other countries, this is not the era of the dominating actor or actress." However, this absence of any overshadowing personalities among artists "has perhaps contributed to maintain the excellent tradition of the French theatre that the author must be supreme in the casting, the rehearsal, and all the interpretation of his play."—Edmond Haraucourt's *La Passion*, which was given annually during Holy Week at the Odéon from 1899 to 1910, was revived last April by the Comédie Française. It is interesting to recall that when the play was originally produced in 1890 by Sarah Bernhardt, the French Government invoked the decree of 1548 by which Mysteries were forbidden, and refused to permit anything more dramatic than a public reading of the play in modern dress.—Tristan Bernard and Albert Centurier's *L'École des Charlatans*, produced at the Odéon last March, was pronounced a failure by most Parisian critics. "It is fairly obvious," says Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of April 27, "that, unless the hand of M. Bernard has lost much of its cunning, his share in the play cannot be great, though the thing is quite entertaining in a mild way." The theme that a medical man, to be successful, must be a charlatan was already amply treated in Jules Romains' *Dr. Knock*.—Sacha Guitry's first wife, Charlotte Lysès, who not only is said to have encouraged the dramatist to work in his early days of indolence, but is also believed to have shared in writing several of his delightful comedies, produced a play of her own, entitled *Coucou*, in Paris in May. While well constructed and witty, the play made no profound impression.—Vassily Kouchita, the Franco-Russian theatrical director, who helped Charles Dullin found the Théâtre Atelier in Paris and also worked with Gémier and Pitoeff, was engaged by the American Laboratory Theatre as guest director of its Summer Season which opened at Woodstock, N. Y., on July 20, with Goldoni's *The Fan*. In 1926 he assisted in the direction of Eva Le Gallienne's French presentation of *Jeanne d'Arc*.—Ambassador Claudel left Washington on April 28 to attend the première of the lyric opera *Christoph Columbus* which was given at Berlin on May 10. M. Claudel prepared the libretto for which the music was written by Darius Milhaud, the French composer, who was attaché at the French Embassy in Rio de Janeiro many years ago when M. Claudel was Chargé d'Affaires. After having been refused by two French lyrical theatres, the work only reached production through the good offices of a German State Theatre. The *New York Times* of June 1 contained a long review of the production by Alfred Einstein of Berlin. After dwelling with interest upon the symbolism, mysticism and allegory of both words and music, Mr. Einstein comes to the novel and sensational element in the opera, i.e., the union of scenery and motion picture. "This alliance," he concludes, "is proved to be quite impossible, and this production demonstrates that the motion picture and theatrical scenery belong to two irreconcilable spheres."—La Prensa, of Buenos Aires, began on April 27 an editorial campaign against English talking movies, pronouncing them "a grave danger to Argentine culture," in the words of the *New York Times* of April 28. The well-known journal further demanded that the Argentine government adopt restrictive measures to prevent them, at least, from monopolizing the entertainment presented in the cinema theatres of that country.

According to *La Prensa*, "speaking pictures in English have caused the total disappearance of Argentine music and Argentine imagination from the cinema theatres . . . thus the foreign language, music, social habits and literary and artistic conceptions form a homogeneous whole which is invading the world as a spiritual conqueror."—The French Club of Hunter College presented Victor Hugo's *Hernani* and Rostand's *Les Deux Pierrots*, in commemoration of the centenary of Romanticism, at the college in New York on May 17. The Circolo Italiano of the same institution gave, on May 3, performances of two one-act plays: Giovanni Salvestri's *Medici a Tavola* and Luigi Pirandello's *La Giara*.

Art—The Marquis de Dampierre, descendant of Lafayette, and his two sons, arrived in New York on May 26 on the first voyage of the new French motorship Lafayette. Among the many festivities arranged in their honor was a reception at City Hall attended by 400 children from Southerland Public School at Grove St., New York, which Lafayette visited when he came to the United States in 1824 by invitation of Congress. Throughout their brief stay in America the distinguished visitors were accompanied by the Monticello Guard, the oldest military unit in Virginia, attired in pre-Revolutionary uniforms. On his return to France the Marquis presented, on June 13, to Ambassador Edge for the Monticello home of Jefferson various gifts, among which were a bust of Jefferson made at the national manufactory at Sèvres after the bust by Houdon, and a portrait of Lafayette at the time of his second visit to the United States.—In an address delivered before the American Club of Paris on May 22, Ambassador Claudel stressed the development of *l'art nouveau* in America, which he attributed to the influence of the work installed in the French liner Ile de France on its first voyage in June, 1927.—The National Museum of France, established with American cooperation at Blérancourt, recently received, according to the *New York Times* of May 11, from Miss Anne Morgan a gift of a wash drawing executed about 1774, showing the layout on a Santo Domingo sugar plantation. The drawing once belonged to the St. Memin family, who were driven from the island in 1793 by an uprising of Negroes. A son of this family, Charles Fevret de St. Memin, became famous in the United States for his "physionotrace" portraits, of which he executed more than 800. Some of these fashionable portraits are in the Morgan and Congressional Libraries, but most of them (760) are in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington. The "physionotrace" method was invented by the French master Chrétien and developed by his competitor Quenedey.—A Rembrandt Loan Exhibition was opened by the Detroit Institute of Arts on May 2. It included more than seventy canvases, said to be more than half the estimated total of Rembrandt paintings owned in the United States. Only two previous exhibitions were of comparable size, that in Amsterdam in 1898 and that in London in 1899–1900.—The first permanent American pavilion for the exhibition of modern American art was inaugurated in the Venice Biennial Exhibition on May 4 by the Duke of Bergamo. The pavilion is constructed in Colonial style of red brick with marble trimmings. "About ninety paintings and a dozen pieces of sculpture are being exhibited," says the *New York Times* of May 5.—The outstanding event of the artistic season of Paris was the inauguration early in June of a superb exhibition of the works of Eugène Delacroix. The *New York Times* of June 15 calls it "the greatest exposition ever held of paintings from the brush of the most variously gifted and certainly most prolific of French painters." The collection, which is housed in the Louvre, contains 250 canvases as well as more than a hundred drawings. Twenty paintings were loaned by American museums and collectors.—King Albert opened

at the Beaux-Arts Palace in Brussels on May 17 the Belgian Centenary Art Exhibition. Six hundred of the finest works of art in Belgium, outside of museums, were assembled at the exhibition.—THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 22 contained an interesting account of the "life quality" in the sculpture of Major Georges Scapini, the blind War veteran, who, besides being a member of the Chamber of Deputies, is a lawyer and sculptor. In 1928 Major Scapini represented France at the convention of the American Legion, in San Antonio, Texas.—THE WHOLESALE FORGERY of François Millet's paintings has aroused much attention in the public press. As the celebrated Barbizon master used a *griffe*, or plate, to sign his paintings (which was also used by his imitators Jean Millet and Paul Cazeau, the artist), the fraud was discovered happily through the mistake made by the forgers of signing "Le Vanneur" at the top, whereas Millet always signed at the bottom of his pictures. Notwithstanding the fact that it has been revealed that one was resold recently in England for $60,000, most of the 20 imitations painted since 1924 still remain in the hands of dealers. As a consequence of the publicity given to this art scandal, it was to be expected that diligent journalists would uncover others. Two paintings declared to be by Watteau, which were purchased in 1927 from an English family for $60,000 by M. Guiffray, conservator of paintings at the Louvre, are now alleged to be works of one of the associates of Watteau, Quillard. Consequently, says the *New York Times* of May 10, "the Council of National Museums are asking for an annulment of the sale." The same journal reports in its issue of May 11 that the famous artist Pablo Picasso reproaches certain dealers with having "obtained more than 400 drawings, sketches, and paintings that he made in his youth, from his mother in Barcelona by misrepresentations." While some of the specimens were, Picasso contended, "no more than childish scribblings and in bad condition," they were washed and repaired by other artists and sold for handsome prices. Not to be outdone, Spain has likewise revealed a scandal. According to the *New York Times* of May 27, Cuban police are searching the underworld of Havana for fourteen priceless paintings by Dürer and Rembrandt which were mysteriously stolen from the Fine Arts Museum in Madrid on Sept. 14, 1929. And finally America's famous art slander suit brought by Mrs. Andrée Hahn of Paris against Sir Joseph Duveen, who denied that her painting of "La Belle Ferronière" was the authentic masterpiece of Leonardo, was settled out of court on April 11, 1930, for a sum alleged to be $100,000 by the *New York Times*. The trial of this suit in New York in 1929 aroused much attention in the press.—NOTWITHSTANDING recent art scandals, modern pictures continue to bring high prices. At a sale of paintings from the collection of Henry Canonne held at the Hôtel Drouot on May 28, Henri Matisse's "Concert," which sold for less than $1,000 in 1926, was auctioned for $6,000. Other works by the same master brought from $2,000 to $3,000 each. Vuillard's "Le Salon" sold for $4,000, Claude Monet's "Cliffs at Varengeville" also for $4,000, and a landscape by Bonnard for $3,000.

MISCELLANEOUS.—IN A LETTER TO the *New York Times* of May 25, Rev. Dr. Henry A. Stimson, famous clergyman of New York, makes the following interesting statement: "France may today be regarded as the strongest of the European nations. Economically, financially and politically she is at the head. Of them all none has, with all her differences, a more distinct and more predetermined character and career. From the beginning, in fact for nearly 2,000 years, France by her territory, her temperament, her traditions, her speech and almost her instinct, has been herself. . . . Through all the vicissitudes which have been overabundant in her career, and never less frequent or less threatening than in the past 150 years of the modern period and

its immediate antecedents, France has been true to herself."—In a recent editorial entitled "Living the French Life," the *New York Times* discusses at length the suggestions of Professor Fortunat Strowski that the Parisian "dead season" from June to September be enlivened for the benefit of American tourists, who, according to the distinguished French critic, go to his country "to live the life of France" and "to bathe in French culture." While not expecting so great a change in French customs, the *Times* lauds M. Strowski as "a professor who knows and likes Americans so much that he is glad to act as an interpreter of manners."—The pilgrimages of the many groups of American Gold Star Mothers to the graves of their sons in France have made a profound impression in both countries. The first group of 234 mothers bowed their heads before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Paris on May 17. These devout pilgrimages will continue throughout most of the summer.—Hugh C. Wallace, former American Ambassador to France, accepted, on June 10, the presidency of the Foch National Memorial, Inc. Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney has been commissioned to design the monument which will be erected through gifts from the United States.—The canonization of the eight French Jesuit missionaries, who suffered martyrdom in Canada in the seventeenth century, took place in the Vatican on June 29. Fathers Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were the first of the little band of Jesuits to arrive in Quebec on June 15, 1625. They labored among the Hurons and were tortured to death in a massacre of the Hurons by the Iroquois in March 1649. Father Charles Garnier perished in a massacre of his settlement of St. Jean by the Senecas and Mohawks. Father Noel Chabanel was the victim, the following day, of a renegade Huron. The other martyrs were Father Isaac Jogues who, with his faithful servers Brothers Jean de Lalande and René Goupil, perished at the hands of the Indians in 1644; and Father Antoine Daniel. Father Jogues, a scholarly Jesuit, is said to have been the first Catholic priest to set foot on Manhattan Island. The Public Archives of Canada possess an Old French engraving portraying the martyrdom of these first North American Saints.—According to the *New York Times* of May 11, 5,000 Americans were registered last year in Paris as students.—Ninety American and Canadian physicians completed on June 23 an extensive tour of inspection of the medical centres and thermal resorts in all parts of France. They praised highly the twenty-three thermal resorts visited, and their excellent installations. They were given a formal reception by the Academy of Medicine at Paris on June 24.—Mlle Paulette Bernège, founder and editor of the magazine *Mon Chez Moi*, lectured in the United States in April and May, with the aid of films, on French cuisine, modern decorative art in France and the home economics movement in Europe.—The celebration of the centenary of Algeria as a French colony was held at Algiers during the week of May 4 after the arrival of President Doumergue. "France," says P. J. Philip in the *New York Times* of May 11, "is proud of Algeria where prosperity reigns". While in Algiers M. Doumergue inaugurated a statue of René Viviani, former French Premier, who was born in Algeria. M. Viviani first visited the United States with Marshal Joffre in 1917, and was later one of the French delegates to the naval conference at Washington.—The Vergilian bi-millenary, which, as announced in the last issue of the Romanic Review (p. 190), is being held in various cities of Italy, will have as its culmination the opening, at Mantua, of the Lucus Vergilianus, the great park that is to contain all the plants and flowers named in the works of the poet. A long article in the *New York Times* of May 25 reveals that the idea of such a park originated with the French general, Miollis, who was Governor of Mantua during the French occupation of the city in 1796–1801. Im-

pressed by the decree issued by General Bonaparte in 1796 exonerating the village where Vergil was born from all taxes, Miollis first changed the name of the local academy to Accademia Vergiliana. Later he unveiled a pyramid in Pietole on Oct. 15, 1797, the birthday of the poet. It was then that the architect Pozzo submitted to him plans for a Lucus on which work was begun. The park, however, was destroyed during the Russian and Austrian occupation in 1801. Nearly a century afterward the idea was taken up again by Giacomo Boni and has now been carried out.—THE NEW YORK TIMES of June 1 contained a long article by Arnaldo Cortesi, entitled "Mussolini's Fiery Talk Airs Italy's Grievance." For further discussions of this question consult *Current History* of June and *The Literary Digest* of June 14 ("Mussolini's War Dare," pp. 8–9).—THE ITALIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY gave a supper dance at the Hotel Plaza in New York on April 30. The guests of honor included the Italian Ambassador and Signora de Martino and the former Ambassador to Italy and Mrs. Richard Washburn Child. The proceeds were devoted to the work of the Society.—IT WAS ANNOUNCED from Buenos Aires on May 6 that Raoul Follereau, President of the Latin Union of Paris, will lecture there in October on the cultural relations between France and Argentina. At present Mlle Raymonde Latour, a French journalist, is lecturing in Argentina under a commission from the French Ministry of Public Instruction. This happens to be an important year for Buenos Aires, for, on June 11, the world's second largest Latin city celebrated the 350th anniversary of her founding by Juan de Garay, fifty years after the Indians had destroyed the first settlement established by Pedro Mendoza, Francisco Pizarro's lieutenant.—MORE THAN 7,000 PERSONS re-enacted on May 17 the entrance of Joan of Arc into Compiègne 500 years ago. These splendid ceremonies were solemnly opened before representatives of the French government as well as of the diplomatic corps of Great Britain, Belgium, Italy and Canada. An impressive feature of the celebration was the different corporations, each of which carried an effigy of its patron saint, the lawyers that of St. Yves, the comedians St. Genest, the grocers St. Michael, the cobblers St. Crispin, etc. Various relics of saints which had been bequeathed by Charlemagne to his son and which have been preserved in Compiègne since the year 876 were carried in the procession. Included in the pageant was a body-guard of Scots who were present in commemoration of the Scottish soldiers of fortune who fought in the ranks of the French against their old enemies. It was the last ceremony in which Cardinal Luçon took part.—DESCENDANTS of archers who drew the bow at Agincourt and Cressy met during June at Compiègne to choose a champion from among them.—IN DISCUSSING the recent work of M. Félix Boillot, the *New York Times* of June 18 relates that an English lady, setting up a school for girls in Paris, had painted on her door the words "Ecole de Déportement," not realizing that the last word meant "misconduct." Again an Englishman, who was making an address from one of the Paris radio stations, began with the words, "Mes chers écouteurs," but his "dear listeners" were puzzled, for they understood: "My expensive ear-phones."—THE ISLAND OF ELBA celebrated on May 4 the 109th anniversary of the reign of Napoleon. This annual commemoration, which takes place at Portoferraio, is provided for in the will of Prince Demidoff, an admirer of the Emperor.—THE JUNE ISSUE of *Gallia*, a review of French studies published under the editorship of Prof. N. Serban of the University of Jassy, Rumania, is devoted entirely to the life and works of the Comte de Saint-Aulaire, the well-known French diplomat, who visited the University in June. J. L. G.

BOCCACCIO AND PETRARCH

Illumination from French MS Edition of Boccaccio's *Le Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes,* Written in 1409 for Jean, Duc de Berri. (Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library and of Albert and Charles Boni, publishers of T. C. Chubb's *The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio).*

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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## LA NOTION DE RADICAL EN FRANÇAIS

A L'ÉGARD du radical, c'est-à-dire d'un élément commun exprimant dans plusieurs mots un même sens général, les langues se comportent de manières diverses. Il y a des langues, l'arabe par exemple, où il est normal que les mots s'analysent et où, presque dans chaque mot, on sent une "racine." En français, au contraire, les principaux mots de la langue ne s'analysent pas. Ce trait caractérise le français.

Déjà en latin, l'élément radical est souvent dissimulé par des altérations phonétiques. Dans *carmen*, le changement de *-nm-* en *-rm-* masque le fait que le radical est celui de *cano;* le mouvement qui a entraîné *carmen* loin du groupe de *cano*, *canto* était commencé déjà avant la période historique du latin. De même, le traitement du groupe *-gsm-* a isolé *exāmen* de *ago*, *exigo;* si fr. *essaim* n'a plus rien à faire avec le groupe de *ago*,—qui, du reste, n'est représenté en français que par des formes comprenant *cum-: cailler*, *catir*, *cacher*, vfr. *cuider*,—déjà en latin, *exāmen* n'était plus analysable.

Un trait donne au français un aspect propre, qu'a aussi en une large mesure l'anglais: le nom d'action n'est pas souvent un dérivé du verbe correspondant; le nom de qualité n'est pas un dérivé de l'adjectif, ni l'adjectif un dérivé du substantif. Ainsi *absolution* ne s'explique par aucune forme de *absoudre; vérité* n'est pas fait sur *vrai; oculaire* n'est pas fait sur *œil.* Pour l'historien, ceci veut dire que, en pareil cas, l'un des mots est traditionnel, et l'autre pris au latin écrit. Mais, pour le sujet parlant qui ne se soucie pas d'histoire, le fait observable est simplement ceci, que *absolution*, *vérité*, *oculaire*, qui forment groupe sémantiquement avec *absoudre*, *vrai* et *œil*, ne sauraient s'expliquer, en l'état actuel de la langue, par ces mots.

Quelle qu'ait été l'action du latin écrit sur le français, pareil procédé n'aurait pu se répandre aussi largement si quelque chose dans la structure de la langue courante n'y avait prêté.

En réalité, les altérations violentes que la phonétique a fait subir aux formes sur le terrain gallo-roman, surtout dans le Nord, ont miné le sentiment d'un élément radical. Les mots qui, par eux-mêmes, étaient le mieux faits pour maintenir le sentiment d'un radical étaient les verbes radicaux. Ils ont été si disloqués par le traitement qu'ils ont subi qu'il n'y est, en général, rien resté où l'on ait pu apercevoir un radical.

Soit *lego*. Les formes françaises sont de l'un des types: *je lis—nous lisons—je lirai—lu*. Le substantif *lectionem* a abouti à *leçon*. Le seul élément commun à tous ces mots est *l-* qui ne peut passer pour un radical. Dès lors, rien ne s'opposait à l'adoption de mots venus de la langue écrite: *lecteur*, *lecture*.

Soit *scribo*. Le français a *j'écris—nous écrivons—j'écrirai—écrit*, qui, malgré la ressemblance de quelques formes, se comporte tout autrement que *lire*. D'où la possibilité de mots pris à la langue écrite à diverses dates: *écriture*, *scribe*, *scripteur*.

Soit *sapio*. Le français a *je sais—nous savons—je saurai—su*. Il est résulté de là que, pour rendre la notion nominale, on a recouru à un mot d'un autre groupe, *science*, et qu'ainsi aucun rapport n'apparaît entre *science* et *savant*.

Soit *debeo*. Le français a *je dois—nous devons—je devrai—dû*, et le substantif *dette*. Aussi a-t-on pu prendre sans résistance *débiteur*.

Soit *video*. Les formes françaises sont de l'un des types: *je vois—nous voyons—je verrai—vu*. Le seul élément commun à tous ces mots est *v-*. Dès lors, rien ne s'opposait à l'adoption de *vision*, *visuel*, *viser*, etc.

Soit *prehendo*. Les formes françaises sont de l'un des types: *je prends* (où le *d* n'est que graphique)—*nous prenons—je prendrai—pris*. Le français, qui a fait *preneur* sur le type *prenons* et *prise* sur le type *pris*, n'offre évidemment pas un radical quelconque.

Si encore des formes pareilles du latin avaient abouti en français à des résultats pareils, il y aurait au moins des traitements parallèles qui fourniraient, en quelque mesure, l'équivalent de radicaux. Mais le groupe de *rendre* n'est pas parallèle à celui

de *prendre: je rends* (avec *d* purement graphique)—*nous rendons —je rendrai—rendu.* La forme aberrante de *rente* a séparé ce mot de *rendre.*

Là même où l'élément radical est demeuré plus substantiel que dans les cas précédemment cités, des variations internes empêchent qu'on ne l'aperçoive clairement. Ainsi dans *je meurs—nous mourons—je mourrai—mort,* où *m* et *r* paraissent donner une caractéristique assez nette, mais où les variations de la voyelle, *eu, ou, o,* font qu'on n'aperçoit encore pas une unité.

Par le fait que *je bois, boire, je boirai,* s'opposent à *nous buvons, je buvais,* etc., on comprend qu'il y ait, d'une part, *boisson* et, de l'autre, *buveur,* qui n'ont pas grand' chose de commun.

A ne voir que les formes personnelles et l'infinitif, *naître* et *connaître* sont pareils (on fait abstraction ici du prétérit simple, *je naquis* et *je connus,* qui, n'existant plus dans la langue parlée, n'interviennent pas, à l'époque actuelle, dans le sentiment du radical); mais les participes *né* et *connu* brisent le parallélisme.

Dans la mesure où les noms d'action sont des dérivés de verbes, ils sont tirés de formes dont le sens ne montre pas de rapport avec le nom d'action: *naissance* ou *connaissance* se rattachent à *naissant, connaissant* qui ne font pas penser à des noms d'action. Du reste, il s'agit souvent d'anciens participes qui ne sont plus en usage: *dette* ou *recette* ne se rattachent à aucune forme usuelle de *devoir, recevoir; perte, assiette, course* à aucune forme usuelle de *perdre, asseoir, courir,* et ainsi de bien d'autres.

Il est inutile de multiplier les faits de détail; le principe est acquis: dans les verbes anomaux qui, seuls, devraient conserver d'anciens types radicaux, le français n'a pu garder aucun sentiment d'un radical.

Il en va autrement des verbes réguliers. Il n'y manque pas de groupes, tels que *chasse, chasser, chasseur—pêche, pêcher, pêcheur—danse, danser, danseur—jeu, jouer, joueur—vol, voler, voleur—prêt, prêter, prêteur—son, sonner, sonneur—cri, crier, crieur,* etc. Mais cela ne fait que des groupements étroits et souvent imparfaits: le lien de *parole* avec *parler* est rompu; *goût* est loin de *goûter,* pour le sens; et *espoir* loin d'*espérer,* pour la forme; personne, malgré l'étymologie, ne pense à un rapport entre *poisson* et *pêcher.* Du reste, les rapports sont souvent

complexes, ainsi dans *foin* et *faner*, *loin* et *éloigner;* plus encore dans *blé* et *emblaver*, *fort* et *renforcer*, *plomb* et *plonger*.

Quand un mot obtenu par un procédé général de formation entre dans l'usage courant, la valeur de ce mot se restreint, et il ne sert plus qu'à désigner une notion particulière. Il y a là un fait général.

Comme, en français, le sentiment d'un radical est réduit au minimum, ces restrictions de sens sont fréquentes. Ainsi le verbe *tailler* a un sens général; mais *tailleur* désigne une profession particulière. Il n'y a presque plus rien de commun entre le sens de *soupe* et celui de *souper;* moins encore entre les sens de *coiffe* et de *coiffer*. L'adjectif *aimable* est devenu indépendant du verbe *aimer;* et, si l'on sent entre *aimer* et *amour* quelque parenté, on ne saurait préciser le rapport entre les deux mots.

Là où ils existent, les rapports sont souvent vagues. On ne peut voir en français comment *chantre* et *chanson* se relient à *chanter;* la formation à laquelle appartient *chant* n'étant plus productive, le rapport entre *chant* et *chanter* n'est pas net; enfin *chanteur*, dont la formation est transparente, a son usage pour lui-même et ne dépend plus guère de *chanter*. On ne voit pas mieux comment *reine* est lié à *roi;* et la formation de *royaume* n'est pas transparente.

Il suffit de rappeler comment l'alternance *eu*, *ou*, qui a cessé d'être fréquente, et la spécialisation de sens de chacun des deux mots ont isolé *œuvre* d'*ouvrier*.

*Plenus* et *implere* ont eu, chacun, leur histoire propre, et *plein* s'est séparé d'*emplir*. Même *santé* est loin de *sain*.

On ne sent plus ce qui relie *mi* (dans *à mi-corps*, *à mi-chemin*) à *milieu*, à *demi*, ni surtout à *moitié*.

C'est que les accidents, phonétiques ou morphologiques, ont été acceptés par la langue, si bien que les liens des formes se relâchent ou se dénouent tout à fait. Le fait que le féminin de *vert* est *verte* tend à écarter de l'adjectif le nom de qualité *verdeur*, qui n'a qu'une valeur spéciale, et les verbes, *verdir* et *verdoyer*. En l'état actuel du français, il n'apparaît plus que *grain*, *grange* et *grenier* aient fait partie d'un même groupe; aussi ni la *grange*, ni le *grenier* ne sont limités aujourd'hui au logement du

grain. On ne saurait même soupçonner la parenté de *pion*, *piège*, *piètre*, avec *pied*.

Il n'aurait pas été aussi facile qu'il l'a été de donner à *poi(d)s* le *d* du latin *pondus*, si le nom n'avait été déjà séparé du groupe de *peser* auquel il appartenait anciennement. *Lais* n'aurait pu recevoir la graphie *legs*, si l'on y avait senti un nom d'action de *laisser*.

Pour donner de ces faits une idée complète, il faudrait parcourir tout le vocabulaire français. Même abstraction faite de l'action qu'a exercée le latin écrit, le français tire médiocrement parti des procédés de formation des mots qu'il possède. Chaque mot y a, par lui-même, son sens, et la structure du mot y est plus propre à tromper qu'à instruire sur la signification exacte. Le vocabulaire y gagne en précision: une formation de mots ne peut orienter sur le sens que d'une manière vague. Le vocabulaire est le domaine des faits particuliers; c'est donc un mérite du français que d'opérer avec des mots dont le sens est fixé d'une manière pour ainsi dire individuelle et que défigurent le moins possible des reflets jetés par d'autres mots.

A. Meillet

Collège de France

# CONCEPTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC IN FRENCH LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

## Estienne de la Boétie and François Hotman

THE political theory of the absolute monarchy and the divine right of kings was probably never as completely unquestioned in modern times as it was in France during the reign of Louis XIV. The ground had been prepared by the relentless hand of Richelieu, and the courtiers of Le Roi Soleil had completely forgotten that this attitude toward the State was the belated fruit of the painful gropings and clashing opinions of the wars of religion. Conceptions and eulogies of a utopian republic were remarkably rare, and it is possibly worth while to trace the steps in the gradual establishment of the principle of absolute monarchy.

It is regularly accepted that the ponderous, extremely dull, but completely logical treatise of Jean Bodin [1] marks a date in the history of French political theory. From this time forth, at least as far as French literature is concerned, the idea of absolutism and divine right of kings is pretty firmly established. Long years of constant bloodshed and unstable government increased the already large body of those who believed that royal absolutism was the only path to peace. Slightly later, the accession of Henry IV, who was at least acceptable to the vast majority, reduced still further the numbers of those who insisted on advocating republican ideas. Dissenting voices still made themselves heard after 1576, but the general trend of political opinion was very definitely in the direction of the acceptance of the absolute authority of the sovereign.

However, the unanimity of opinion in regard to the absolutism of the king, which was gradually arrived at in the decades following 1580, is in marked contrast to the widespread and diversified opposition to this principle that existed in France in the twenty or thirty years before this date. Much of the literature written in opposition to the unrestricted supremacy of the

[1] *Les Six Livres de la République*, Paris, 1576.

monarch came from the pens of the Huguenots. This religious coloring, with the consequent bloodshed and disorganization, strengthened the arguments of those who claimed that royal supremacy was the only solution to a disastrous situation.

J. W. Allen suggests that, but for the religious complication, the opposition to the Crown might have taken a constitutional form solely, and the struggle might have been fought out along lines similar to those which prevailed in England in the following century, with analogous results.[2] As things were, the desperate state of affairs and the need for immediate remedy won over to the principle of absolutism many who might have otherwise prolonged and intensified their opposition in favor of the Estates-General and constitutional rights.

Of the many treatises composed in opposition to the theory of the divine right of kings and the unquestioned supremacy of the ruler, there are two which deserve particular attention. These are the *Servitude Volontaire* of Estienne de la Boétie, remembered chiefly because of his famous friendship with Montaigne, and the *Franco-Gallia* of François Hotman. The two works provide as striking a contrast in tone as it is possible to imagine in pamphlets produced in defense of the same principle. The change in tone from the first work to the second is due in part to the method of approach, in part to the different social positions of the authors, and in part to the new aspect which the political situation had assumed in the twenty years that separated the dates of composition.

Estienne de la Boétie (1530–1563), whose premature death modified the whole course of Montaigne's intellectual life, wrote the *Traité de la Servitude Volontaire* at a date which we are not able to know exactly. In the face of the controversy over the date of composition and the implication of this work, which has been going on for the past seventy-five years, this is about the only statement which can be made with any degree of certainty. The very date of composition of the work has been variously estimated anywhere from 1546 to 1560.[3]

[2] *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, London, Methuen, 1928.

[3] The former date is given by Montaigne (*Essais*, I, 27). The latter date is advanced by F. Combes, *Essai sur les idées politiques de Montaigne et de la Boétie*, Bordeaux, 1882, pp. 26 ff.

Whatever may have been the original date of composition of the treatise of La Boétie, it remained in manuscript form until 1576. It was then published by Simon Goulart, along with a number of Huguenot pamphlets of more recent date, in the *Mémoires pour l'estat de France sous Charles neuviesme.*[4] The *Servitude Volontaire* gained an immediate reputation as a piece of anti-monarchical literature, being acclaimed by opponents of the existing régime, and just as vehemently denounced by the opposite side.

It does not lie within the scope of the present study to debate the question of whether La Boétie intended his *opuscule* to be merely a scholarly dissertation on the time-honored theme of liberty, or whether he thought of it as a political pamphlet with a direct application to the affairs of France at that time. However, a summary of the controversy which has taken place about this detail can scarcely be omitted here.

There is no doubt of the fact that when the *Servitude Volontaire* appeared in 1576 it was received by both sides as an attack on the monarchy and an appeal for a republic. Had the author been alive, he would have suffered at the hands of the courts. Montaigne, alarmed by the turn of events which was placing a stigma on the fair name of his dead friend, hastened to palliate the guilt of La Boétie by affirming that the treatise had been written in early youth, and had no application to the affairs of France at that time.[5] Modern critics are divided as to the truthfulness of Montaigne's assertion. The majority agree with Montaigne that the work was merely a scholarly essay, but a rather forceful minority believe that the treatise *did* have a practical application. These last maintain that the work was inspired by the massacre perpetrated by royal troops upon the citizens of Bordeaux when the latter revolted against the new taxes in 1548.[6] My own feeling is that A. Laborde-Milaà is

[4] Mention should be made here of the fragmentary version which had appeared in 1574, together with a number of Huguenot pamphlets, in the *Réveille-Matin des François.*

[5] *Essais*, I, 27.

[6] The two most eminent Montaigne students of modern times, Pierre Villey and Paul Bonnefon, see in the *Servitude Volontaire* only a *travail d'école.* The ideas of the former are to be found in the *R. H. L.*, 1906, pp. 727–736; those of the latter in the introduction to his edition of the *Œuvres Complètes de La Boétie.* Paris, 1892.

The ideas of those who attach a practical significance to La Boétie's work are well expressed by François Combes, *op. cit.*

very near the truth of the matter when he asserts that La Boétie's work is neither a purely scholarly exercise nor a carefully prepared attack on the existing government: it is a combination of the two.[7] Montaigne probably exaggerated the lack of ulterior implication in the remarks of his dead friend, because he felt that public opinion was making him much more of an anarchist than he had really been.

Whatever one may think of the dependability of some of Montaigne's statements, it is hard to believe him guilty of the duplicity of which he is accused by Dr. Armaingaud. This critic thinks the *Servitude Volontaire* was rewritten by Montaigne around 1573: the style is a deliberate imitation of that of La Boétie: all of the passages containing covert references are from the pen of Montaigne and apply to Henry III!![8] This is certainly a remarkable and unconventional interpretation of the facts in our possession. The learned doctor has been rather sharply taken to task by A. de la Valette-Monbrun, as well as by Villey and Bonnefon.[9] It must be confessed that Dr. Armaingaud argues his unusual thesis so well that it is at times almost convincing.

The general impression left upon the reader after a perusal of the eighty-odd pages of La Boétie's best-known contribution to literature is that of an eloquent eulogy, Ciceronian in its tone, of the delights of liberty. He calls on oppressed peoples to oppose a collective "No!" to the injustice of the Tyrant, for the latter has only so much power as his subjects confer on him.[10] If nations which had become accustomed to their chains could but realize the profound satisfaction of freedom, the key to deliverance is in their hands, and it would not be much of a trick to recover the rights that properly belonged to them. Unfortunately there are many who are blinded to the greater blessings which would accrue to them through liberty, and aid the tyrant in keeping his subjects ground in the dust, not

[7] *Rev. des Études hist.*, 1902, pp. 366–367.

[8] *Rev. polit. et parlementaire*, janvier-mars et avril-juin, 1906.

[9] Valette-Monbrun's reply is in the *Bull. de la Soc. hist. et arch. du Périgord*, 1907. Those of Villey and Bonnefon are in *R. H. L.*, 1906.

[10] I have used the Coste edition of the *Servitude Volontaire*, Paris, 1835. These statements are to be found in pp. 75–78.

perceiving that the petty favors they receive in return are but a small fraction of the privileges that would be theirs in their own right. The whole work is permeated with the idea of popular sovereignty, and the idea was not a new one even then.

It is true that the highly speculative and impractical treatise of La Boétie is filled with pointless digressions drawn from the ancients (chiefly Plutarch and Herodotus): it is true that such references to contemporary things as may or may not exist in the work are carefully veiled,—nevertheless our author states specifically some of the main arguments against the absolutism of the Crown that were used by the Huguenots a couple of decades later.

Nature fashioned all men in the same mould, which is proof that she intended them to be companions and brothers: some have received superior qualities that they might practise fraternal affection and aid their less gifted fellows. The very wild beasts which languish and die in captivity are proof that freedom is a "natural right." Just as the wild animals are finally tamed and made to serve the ends of man,—so men gradually get accustomed to servitude and forget their heritage.[11] The three ways in which a tyrant can acquire his power (force of arms, election, and succession) are mentioned, and the conclusion is that there is little to choose between them. Thus, any sort of government in which one man is set above another is intolerable.[12]

La Boétie cites the incident in Plutarch's life of Cato of Utica in which the latter meditates the murder of the tyrant, Sulla. He commends this ambition as being quite in keeping with the glorious life and death of the Roman hero. Possibly no generalization is intended, but for those of us who place a practical interpretation on the statements of La Boétie the passage seems to be a justification of tyrannicide. Most of the Huguenot pamphleteers claimed that regicide was allowable in the cases of *iniquitous* rulers, but this qualification does not seem to be made by La Boétie.

The attribute of the monarch over which the fiercest battles were waged and the greatest quantity of ink spilled by the

[11] Pp. 78–85.

[12] Pp. 85 ff.

adherents and opponents of royal supremacy had to do with the claim to a "spark of divinity." Upon this point La Boétie also had his opinions. He launches a fiery invective against monarchs who presume to be the lieutenants of God on earth, and takes to task the benighted peoples who allow themselves to be thus imposed upon. It was inevitable that he should draw from Plutarch and Suetonius examples of rulers who had made use of gross artifices to make their subjects believe that they were possessed of super-human powers.[13]

It must be admitted that La Boétie takes occasion to throw a bouquet at the kings of France, saying that his fatherland had been uniformly fortunate in having as rulers men who were kindly disposed in time of peace and valiant in time of war,—so fortunate that one might almost believe that they had been specially chosen by God in view of the tasks they had to perform.[14] However, given the nature of the writer and the age in which he lived, it may be assumed that this was said with tongue in cheek and that this pointed exception to the general tone of the work is to be attributed to cautiousness rather than conviction.

In concluding the remarks on the *Traité de la Servitude Volontaire* (or the *Contr'un*, as it has come to be more generally called), it seems appropriate to call attention to its defects as a piece of political literature. Filled with digressions and ramifications which do not always bear on the point under discussion (as has already been mentioned), the work has no progressive unity. The author's mind circles from idea to idea like a bee in a flower garden, without ever getting very far away from the starting point. There is voiced a very eloquent protest against inequality and the supremacy of one man over many, but concrete suggestions as to how a government may be established which will give each individual his "natural rights" are remarkable by their absence. There is no conclusion: tyrants are objectionable and should be overthrown by a passive lack of approval on the part of the oppressed, but the practical details on how this overthrowing is to be accomplished are missing. In short, the work is speculative and the approach is idealistic,—

[13] Pp. 117–122.

[14] P. 123.

which throws into increased relief the pronounced utilitarianism of the other treatise to be considered here, the *Franco-Gallia* of François Hotman.

François Hotman, born in Paris in 1524, had gained for himself an enviable reputation as a jurist before the appearance of the *Franco-Gallia* (1574). So great was his reputation that he was elected to succeed Cujas in his chair at Bourges in 1567. Allied with Condé and the Huguenots, Hotman became one of the most prolific of those pamphleteers who directed their efforts toward discrediting the Valois régime. His position and his fame lent his writings an importance in the eyes of contemporaries which the contents do not always justify. Narrowly escaping assassination at the time of the Saint Bartholomew massacre, Hotman fled to Geneva and during his stay there he composed the most influential and the most meritorious of his treatises, the *Franco-Gallia*. The work was first published in Latin, but a French translation by Simon Goulart appeared shortly afterward.[15]

From the very outset of the work the task which the author has assigned himself is obvious to the reader,—that of reclaiming for the popular assemblies those powers which his interpreting of French history pretends they had had in earlier centuries, and which had been usurped one by one by the monarch. He approaches the subject, then, from the standpoint of history, in marked contrast with the philosophic approach of La Boétie. No more eloquent tirades on the theme of liberty with illustrations from the classics: each of Hotman's illustrations is a link in the chain of argument and bears directly on the problem before his eyes. The tone of the work is vicious and venemous, whereas that of La Boétie's outburst had been merely indignant. The idealistic friend of Montaigne had been writing in defense of a cherished principle, whereas Hotman gives the impression that he is making his arguments and illustrations serve the ends of his sympathies and hatreds. Not too much imagination is required to see in each argument that he advances some point in the controversy between the clashing parties of that day. In short, his treatise is distinctly utilitarian.

[15] *La Gaule Françoise*, Cologne, Hierome Bertulphe, 1574.

Hotman is concerned chiefly, in the opening chapters of his work, with showing that the kings of France were not, historically speaking, absolute sovereigns. He cites the historians to prove that the kings of Frankish Gaul did not receive their crowns by succession, but by the choice and vote of their subjects. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Jean Bodin, the defender of absolute royal supremacy, distinguishes between the rulers of Frankish Gaul and the kings of France. He admits that the former were not sovereign by heredity, but denies that they were the lineal predecessors of the latter.[16]

Kings who rule personally and fail to consult the representatives of the people, or take into consideration the opinions of the Estates, are tyrants, and may properly be ousted from their exalted positions.[17] The assumption is that this will be accomplished by violence.

The defense of the rights and powers of the Estates is, then, the principal theme of the *Franco-Gallia*. Scarcely less prominent is the Gallican Church question. Hotman, a Huguenot, denies bitterly that Rome had any authority at all in directing the French government and its policies. Since the majority of the French Catholics felt almost as keenly as Hotman about the interference of the Pope in their national affairs, it was one of the burning questions of the day. Several times in the course of his pamphlet Hotman cites precedents to strengthen his argument that the Pope had no control over temporal affairs in France.[18]

The seven Parlements, or regional courts, were clearly antagonistic to the Huguenots, so they come in for their share of criticism in Hotman's work. His complaints against them are not based on the politico-religious bias: he affirms simply that the Parlements and subsidiary courts have centered about them groups of lawyers and their subordinates whose activities make legal actions more frequent than would be necessary if they did not exist.[19]

Hotman devotes a whole chapter to the defense of the Salic

[16] Bodin, *op. cit.*, II, 5.
[17] *Franco-Gallia*, ch. 10.
[18] *Ibid.*, 13 and 19.
[19] *Ibid.*, 21.

law: women can never reign in their own right, and dire consequences have followed when they were no more than regents for a minor. The author lists a number of women-regents, with the unfortunate results that attended their rule. Hence, according to Hotman, history has confirmed the wisdom of the Salic law.[20] To what extent was this stress on the existence and importance of the Salic law occasioned by the prominent rôle which Catherine de Médicis was then playing in French politics? When one considers her constant opposition to, and persecution of the Huguenot party, it might seem that Hotman feared a combination of circumstances which would bring her to the supreme power.

The belief in the divine right of kings led Louis XIV to declare "L'État, c'est moi!" Ninety years prior to this famous statement, François Hotman affirmed that the *king* and the *kingdom* were not identical. The *king* might slip and fall, but the *kingdom* lived on: any ruler might be debauched or persuaded by various means, but the integrity of his kingdom is not affected thereby. To assert that the kingdom is but the possession of the ruler is folly, says the Huguenot pamphleteer.[21]

Composed in the white heat of passion, the *Franco-Gallia* is filled with the exaggerations and errors which are implicit in the conditions of composition. The very excesses of the work which caused it to create a furore at the time of its appearance prevent it from being a serious contribution to political literature. Many of the arguments are perceptibly weak, quite evidently manufactured to bulwark a partisan contention.. Most of the historical cases cited as precedents are of very doubtful, or at least uncertain, authenticity. But, while the work is not as impressively eloquent as the treatise of La Boétie, it has a practical remedy for national troubles,—greater powers and authority entrusted to a representative body which already existed in name, the Estates-General.

The *Franco-Gallia* is important for its influence on contemporaries rather than for its intrinsic value. Contrasting strangely in tone, style, and approach with the more polished,

[20] *Ibid.*, 20.
[21] *Ibid.*, 15.

earlier work of the counselor of Bordeaux, it remains, none the less, a masterpiece in the political pamphlet genre.

* * *

Somewhat foreign to the thread of this study, and yet interesting because they are the ideas of the foremost Huguenot man of letters in the late sixteenth century, are the political notions of Guillaume de Salluste, sieur du Bartas.

In the first version of the *Judith*,[22] dedicated to Marguerite, the daughter of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis, who had married Henry of Navarre a short time before, Du Bartas relates the murder of Holofernes by the Jewish heroine. The author causes the prospective murderess to excuse herself for homicide as follows:

> "Il lui souvient d'avoir des Sages entendu
> Qu'un meurtrier n'est meurtrier par le meurtre rendu,
> Ains par la cause injuste, et qu'un Tyrannicide
> Est tuteur des humains, et non point homicide."

It appears that Du Bartas was accused of advocating regicide, —a principle which many Huguenot writers openly avowed, as we have seen,—and suggesting that the faithful of the sixteenth century rid themselves of an objectionable king by like means. In the revised version of the *Judith* which appeared in the *Œuvres de Du Bartas* [23] the Protestant poet makes a heated denial of any such intention on his part. In the revised *Avertissement* he says that his treatment of the case of Judith was based on Biblical authority, and he had not meant that the seditious spirits of the sixteenth century should take this as a precedent to justify conspiracy against the life of their ruler. He revises the objectionable lines cited above as follows:

> "Tout homme qui meurtrit n'est meurtrier réputé.
> Hé! n'est-il pas meurtrier qui meurtrit son Prince?
> Holoferne est Tyran, non Roy de ma province.
> Mais quoy? Dieu nous le done pour Roy?
> Celui n'est point de Dieu qui guerroie sa Loy (religion)."

[22] The *Judith* is the longest poem in the *Muse Chrétienne* which appeared at Bordeaux in 1574. It is believed that the work had been composed in the decade preceding its appearance in print.

[23] Paris, 1579.

In the opening lines of the *Babylone*,[24] our poet depicts the joys of living under the rule of a king who is scrupulously attentive to the needs of his subjects, listens to wise counsel only, and avoids all excesses which will bring harm to those he rules. He then launches into a long description of the miseries of subjects who have to endure the rule of a king of opposite tendencies. The second passage is much more extensive than the first, and the poet seems to appreciate the disadvantages of an unwise ruler more keenly than the advantages of a wise one. We are tempted to wonder to what extent the notoriously depraved life of Henry III influenced the Huguenot writer's warmth on this point.

In the closing lines of *Les Capitaines*,[25] the nation is urged to accept the form of government which it has. Somewhat at variance with Bodin, the poet places the three forms of government (monarchy, aristocracy, republic) on an equal plane, and says that the special conditions in a country determine which form of government is best for that country. France has become accustomed to a monarchy, and it is better to endure the youthful mistakes of a sovereign than to attempt to establish a new form of government, with all the troubles and hardships involved in such an upheaval.

In the opening lines of *Le Schisme*,[26] Du Bartas upbraids those who meditate revolutionary measures in France. He calls on God to preserve and protect the ruling family, for this line alone is designated by God to direct the destinies of France. May Heaven not permit that France should serve a hundred local rulers rather than one monarch!

There seems to be a marked inconsistency when the rather forced allegiance of the earlier works and the unfavorable comment in the *Babylone* are compared with the later statements in *Les Capitaines* and *Le Schisme*. An explanation might be brought forward if we knew at exactly what date the latter works were composed: the nearest we can come to this date is

[24] This poem is the second part of the Second Day of the Second Week. The first edition of the *Seconde Semaine* is Paris, 1584.

[25] This poem was found among DuBartas' papers after his death. It was evidently intended to be an integral part of the unfinished *Seconde Semaine*.

[26] See note 25.

sometime between the poet's return from Scotland in 1587 and his death in 1590. If these works were composed after the death of Henry III in 1589,—might Du Bartas' support of the monarchy and hereditary princes be due to the belief that his beloved Henry of Navarre might soon come to the throne? If the works were composed before 1589,—and this seems more probable, for the poet's last year of life was made miserable by illness,—are we to imagine that the Protestant enthusiast, alarmed by the machinations of the Guise family, espoused the cause of the King of France because he was afraid that the extreme Papist party represented by the *Ligue* might seize the reins of power? In short, was it his feeling that it was better to uphold a bad situation than to risk a worse one?

To summarize: the political opinions of Du Bartas present a rather unusual situation in sixteenth century France. A Huguenot partisan, and one of the most prominent, defends, at least in his later years, the monarchy and the ruling family, exhorting his coreligionists not to resort to violent measures to rid the nation of a king whom many of the Protestants looked upon as a symbol of evil and a creation of the devil.

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# UNPUBLISHED FRENCH LETTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(*Conclusion*)

## XIX. Marmontel [to Mme Necker]

Although obsequious and flattering in his letters to Mme Necker, Marmontel criticized her elsewhere in the most malevolent manner. In his *Mémoires*,[121] for example, he was willing to grant that she was decorous, candid, virtuous, and kind; but, in his opinion, she was quite lacking in charm, her dress was devoid of taste, she was stiff and studied in manners, politeness, and wit; her *salon* suffered from her depressing influence—a *salon* which after all was never intended for her friends, but for her husband, who, worn out by his labors, needed a distraction and a show. In the long run, however, in spite of his ungenerous thrusts, Marmontel amply repaid the Neckers for their many favors: one of the first and most assiduous habitués of the famous *vendredis*, he was the official poet of the household; after singing the charms of Mme Necker, he performed a like service for her daughter Germaine.[122]

The following letter was written about May, 1787.

Quoique je n'eusse, Madame, aucune inquietude (assurement!) sur l'évidence qu'auroit la reponse de Mr. Necker aux inculpations de Mr. de Calonne,[123] je n'ai pas voulu me coucher hier au soir sans l'avoir lue, et je lui ai du le plus doux someil; car je me suis dit: *cela est clair pour tout le monde, et il n'y a plus de subterfuge pour le mensonge et la mauvaise foi.* Mais indepen-demment de la verité qui vous intéresse, j'y vois une verité

[121] Marmontel began writing his *Mémoires* in 1792, when the Neckers were no longer in a position to help him in any way.

[122] The above paragraph is hardly more than a paraphrase of the vicomte d'Haussonville's excellent treatment of the relations of Marmontel and the Neckers (*op. cit.*, I, 129 ff.).

[123] Necker published the following work in reply to Calonne's ironical attack on his integrity: *Mémoire publié par M. Necker au mois d'avril 1787, en réponse au discours prononcé par M. de Calonne devant l'Assemblée des notables* (see *Œuvres complètes de M. Necker*, Paris, 1820, II, 159–225).

généralement intéressante, et qui frappera tous les yeux, c'est ce resultat que rend si lumineux la reflexion de M. Necker (Page 54): *L'on ignore a quel degré l'on peut bonifier insensiblement l'etat des affaires, &c.*[124] Malheur en effet a l'administrateur qui ne sait que c'est dans les details que reside la véritable économie, et que ce n'est pas seulement a l'écluse du réservoir qu'il faut veiller, mais encore à tous les faux fuyans par lesquels l'eau peut s'echapper, et a tous les petits canaux par lesquels elle arrive. Ainsi non seulement il faut savoir que les petits ruisseaux font les grandes rivieres; mais que les grandes rivieres s'épuisent en petits ruisseaux si leur rive ne les contient.

Il me semble que le Roi vient de reconnoître cette verité. Il a fait choix d'un homme honnête et sage.[125] Les circonstances demandoient encore un homme habile et courageux. Je desire bien sincerement que tout cela se trouve réuni. Mais pour operer subitement la revolution necessaire, du plus grand discredit à la plus grande confiance, il falloit encore, ce me semble, l'autorité de l'opinion, et l'ascendant de la renommée; et un seul homme etoit capable de faire ce grand coup d'éclat.[126] C'est peut etre ce qu'on a craint, car on ne veut pas trop devoir, de peur de trop dépendre. Une consolation que j'aime à me donner, c'est que si le ministre actuel ne se sent pas l'habileté et l'influence necessaire pour remedier aux maux présens, il est *peut etre* homme à le dire, et à indiquer lui meme celui à qui il etoit reservé de guerir la plaie de l'etat. Si vous connoissez, Madame, ce nouveau *Machavel*, je vous prie de lui presenter mon plus tendre respect. Agreez aussi pour vous, Madame, l'hommage de notre veneration.

MARMONTEL.

Il me revient un exemplaire du nouvel etat de l'hospice, dont la preface m'a fait verser des larmes.[127] Votre ame s'y est peinte avec les traits les plus touchans. On y voit cette beauté pure,

[124] For the remainder of this sentence, see *ibid.*, II, 198.

[125] Loménie de Brienne served as Minister of Finances between Calonne's ministry and Necker's second administration (May, 1787–August, 1788).

[126] Necker, of course, is meant.

[127] In 1778 Mme Necker founded the hospital first called *Hospice de charité*, then *Hospice de l'ouest*, and finally, in 1802, *Hôpital Necker* (rue de Sèvres, Paris). Every year Mme Necker published a report which contained expenditures, details of organization, improvements, etc. See *Introduction aux deux derniers comptes rendus* (for the years 1789 and 1790), in *Nouveaux Mélanges extraits des manuscrits de Mme Necker*, Paris, 1801, II, 307–316. In the *compte rendu* for 1789, Mme Necker says: "L'hospice fut fondé dans l'origine pour montrer la possibilité de soigner les malades seuls dans un lit avec toutes les attentions de la plus tendre humanité, et sans excéder un prix déterminé."

qu'on appelle ideale, et qui ne se trouve en effet que dans une ame comme la votre. C'est au moral ce qu'etoit au phisique le modele de Raphael lorsqu'il imaginoit ses vierges et ses anges.[128]

## XX. Toussaint Louverture to General Laveaux

In May, 1794, during the war in San Domingo between Spain and the French Republic, Toussaint Louverture suddenly deserted the Spaniards and joined the French, taking with him four thousand black soldiers, the best armed and the best trained in the entire island.

"At this moment [says T. Lothrop Stoddard] the cause of the French Republic was at its lowest ebb. In the North, Laveaux had retired with the wrecks of the European troops for a last stand behind the walls of Port-de-Paix; in the West, the English were preparing their decisive stroke against the distracted Port-au-Prince.[129] Yet this was the moment chosen by Toussaint to enter the Republic's service. Strange as this may at first appear, reflection shows that his decision was determined by motives of sound policy. The progress of the English had greatly alarmed Toussaint, for England had entered San Domingo as the champion of the whites and the mulattoes; she was therefore pledged to the maintenance of that slavery which the French Republic had just abolished throughout its colonies." [130]

When Toussaint espoused the cause of the Republic, the Spanish forces were so badly disorganized as to be almost a negligible quantity.[131] The English, on the other hand, in spite of losses from yellow fever, were still in a strong position: they had covered the West with forts and had recruited black and mulatto regiments among the native population.

In October, 1795, General Howe landed in San Domingo with seven thousand fresh soldiers, but the sturdy resistance of Tous-

[128] Autograph, Harvard University Library, Norton 010. 4 pp., last page blank. 4to. The following note is glued to the letter: "Répondu de bouche—est de la main de Me Necker mere de Me de Stael." This statement is incorrect. The letter is in Marmontel's handwriting.

[129] England first intervened in San Domingo against Revolutionary France in September, 1791.

[130] Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, Boston and New York, 1914, p. 247.

[131] In September, 1795, in accordance with the terms of the Peace of Bâle, Spain ceded her part of San Domingo to France.

saint and the mulatto general Augustin Rigaud, not to mention the ravages of yellow fever, more than offset the advantage the English had gained by reason of their reënforcements.

"In a few months [says T. Lothrop Stoddard], the English army had wasted to a shadow, and by early 1796 it was plain that the invaders would make no further efforts of a vital nature." [132]

The following unpublished letter, dictated by Toussaint [133] during the campaign of 1795 against the English, contains information about a certain Quincarneau that cannot be found elsewhere.

Quartier Général de la Petite Riviére,[134] la P^re^ sans culotide [135] de l'an / 3. de la Rep. franc, une & indivisible [September 17, 1795]

Toussaint Louverture Commandant Général du cordon de l'ouest [136]

à

Et. Laveaux,[137] Général en chef à St. Domingue.

Je vais vous envoyer le Procès verbal du capitaine qui a fait Quincarneau, son Prisonnier, lors de la catastrophe de Des-

[132] Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[133] Toussaint Louverture was almost wholly untutored. His official letters were written by more or less competent secretaries and signed by him. For two letters written in French by Toussaint himself, see V. Schœlcher, *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, Paris, 1889, pp. 382–383. These letters are practically incomprehensible.

[134] La Petite Rivière is a small town in western San Domingo, midway between Port-au-Prince and the northern coast.

[135] In the Revolutionary calendar the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five complementary days (*sans-culottides*) for festivals (six days every fourth year).

[136] When, on May 18, 1794, Toussaint deserted the Spanish cause for that of th French Republic, he was given command of the *cordon de l'Ouest*, a territory some seventy-five miles in length.

[137] Etienne Maynard Bizefranc, comte de Laveaux, an ardent revolutionary, discarded his title after 1789. He first arrived in San Domingo in 1792 and immediately signalized himself by his merits as a soldier. He later became governor of the island. Courageous, generous, and kind, he won the admiration of both friend and foe.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris (Département des manuscrits, *Papiers de Saint-Domingue*, three volumes), there are 117 letters written by Toussaint Louverture to Laveaux (May, 1794–September, 1796). In these letters, which are marked by profound respect for Laveaux, Toussaint gives an account of his actions almost day by day.

sources.[138] Je ne pourrai vous envoyer ce capitaine ni les deux temoins que vous demandez pour la confrontation, attendu que ce sont autant de Bons Guerriers occupés dans l'armée, & dont je ne puis me passer actuellement. Mais pour vous donner des éclaircissemens sur Quincarneau, je vous dirai qu'étant Lieutenant-Colonel de la légion de Dessources, il étoit son bras droit. Lors que Dessources ne pouvant supporter notre feu, eut crié *sauve qui peut* et se fut jetté dans le bois,[139] il fut poursuivi par nos troupes, & quelques instans après on me conduisit Quincarneau désarmé. Il faut que vous sachiez que ce Quincarneau *a commandé, dans la Paroisse des verrettes* [140] *jusqu'à sa réduction,*[141] *le camp Bellanger contre nous;* il est intéressé dans la sucrerie Maugé qui touche au Bourg des verrettes. C'est un homme extrémement subtil & adroit, dont Dessources faisoit un très grand cas, il est *Zélé Royaliste.*[142]

Je n'ai pû vous envoyer le sergent de Dillon,[143] à cause que son état de santé n'eut pû supporter les fatigues de la Route des Gonaives au Port de Paix; [144] il est très malade.

Rien d'extraordinaire. Je vous embrasse & vous desire la meilleure santé.

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.[145]

[138] Dessources was a European who commanded a legion of negro *chasseurs* in the service of England (H. de Poyen, *Histoire militaire de la Révolution de Saint-Domingue*, Paris, 1899, p. 57).

[139] In a letter written to Laveaux on August 31, 1795, Toussaint describes this incident as follows:

". . . quand l'ennemi s'est vu pris par devant, par derrière et de tous les côtés, le brave, l'impertinent Dessources a descendu de cheval et a foncé dans les halliers avec les débris de son armée en criant: Sauve qui peut!" For a full account of the *catastrophe de Dessources*, see Toussaint's letter in V. Schœlcher's *Vie de Toussaint Louverture*, pp. 142–144.

[140] Les Verrettes, a village near La Petite Rivière, was for months the center of bitter fighting.

[141] Toussaint captured Les Verrettes from Dessources' troops on August 29, 1795.

[142] On March 22, 1795, in an address to the inhabitants of Les Verrettes, Toussaint paid his respects to the foreigners in San Domingo and to the Royalists as follows:

"Les Français sont des frères; les Anglais, les Espagnols, et les royalistes sont des bêtes féroces qui ne les [les citoyens des Verrettes] caressent que pour sucer à loisir, jusqu'à satiété, leur sang, celui de leurs femmes et de leurs enfants" (V. Schœlcher, *op. cit.*, p. 128).

Up to the moment of his desertion to the French Republic, Toussaint was a stanch Royalist (T. Lothrop Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 248).

[143] The 87th battalion (*ci-devant* Dillon).

[144] Port-de-Paix, on the northern coast, was at this time Laveaux's headquarters. The distance from Les Gonaïves to Port-de-Paix is some thirty-five miles.

[145] Boston Public Library, Ms. U. 1.3. 2 pp. Folio.

## XXI. Toussaint Louverture to General Hédouville

This letter was written at the time when Toussaint was approaching the height of his career. He was now commander in chief of the army of San Domingo; five months later he forced the English to evacuate the island.

le 9 floréal[l'an sixième de la République française] [146]
Au citoyen Hedouville, général de Division, agent du Directoire à Saint Domingue [147]

Citoyen agent,

Je vous avais promis sitôt que j'aurai ëu mis mon cordon [148] en état de me permettre de m'en absenter, je me serai rendu auprès de vous pour vous rendre mes devoirs. Avant mon départ j'ai pris de nouvelles dispositions pour continuer la campagne en ordonnant l'attaque de la croix des bouquets.[149] J'ai fait les mêmes dispositions sur l'arcahaye où j'y ai envoyé un Parlementaire par terre, avec une sommation aux habitans du dit lieu de [se] rendre à la republique, dont cy joint la copie. Mon parlementaire ayant été conduit au général Englais [150] par *Lapointe*,[151] ce général a dessuite expedié auprès de moi par mer un parlementaire qui s'est rendu aux gonaïves,[152] sitôt que j'en ai été instruit je m'y suis rendu, il m'a remis la lettre, cy incluse, par laquelle il me fait des propositions.[153] Comme je ne veu rien faire sur cela sans avoir votre approbation, c'est pourquoi je vous prie, de me permettre de rester encore qu'elques jours à la tête de mon armée pour faire trembler les ennemis de la republique, & de m'autoriser à traiter avec le dit pour le mieu des

[146] April 28, 1798. The words in brackets are a part of the printed letterhead.

[147] Alarmed by the ever increasing power of Toussaint, the Directoire sent to San Domingo one of its ablest servants, General Hédouville, who had exhibited rare qualities in the pacification of the Vendée. Hédouville remained in San Domingo from March 27 to October 22, 1798.

[148] The *cordon de l'Ouest*.

[149] La Croix des Bouquets and L'Arcahaye, below, are villages near Port-au-Prince.

[150] Brigadier General Thomas Maitland.

[151] Cf. V. Schœlcher, *op. cit.*, p. 135, note 1: "Lapointe était un mulâtre indigne de la race à laquelle il appartenait. Il se donna aux Anglais dès les premiers jours de leur invasion. Sa vie fut un tissu de crimes. . . . "

[152] A small town situated on the Bay des Gonaïves.

[153] Proposals of peace were made by Maitland on April 23, 1798. About May 8, Toussaint granted the English "un armistice de cinq semaines pour évacuer tous les forts de l'Ouest" (*ibid.*, p. 228). The English surrendered Port-au-Prince on May 15, and on October 1 evacuated the Môle Saint-Nicolas, "le Gibraltar de la mer des Antilles" (*ibid.*, p. 232).

intérêts de la republique, des propositions qu'il pourra me faire.

Quoi que je n'aye pas encore l'honneur d'être connu de vous, ayes je vous prie Confiance en moi. Je tacherai de vous donner toute satisfaction de mes opperations.[154]

Vous recevrez aussi cy joint, une lettre, que Lapointe m'a ecrit. Veuillez je vous prie en me repondant me la renvoyer, ainsi que celle du général anglais,

Je vous desire une heureuse santé
Salut & respect,
TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

P. S. Vous recevrez aussi sous ce plis copie d'une lettre que j'ai ecrit au général anglais lorsque j'ai pris les montagnes de l'arcahaye. Il n' a pas voulu dans le tems accepter les Propositions que lui faisais de me remettre le point de la colonie occupé par ses troupes; [155] maintenant qu'il ce sent geinne, il me fait lui même des propositions.[156]

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[154] In the very beginning Hédouville aroused the mistrust of Toussaint by disembarking at the city of Santo Domingo, in the Spanish portion of the island. During the peace negotiations with the English, Hédouville was ignored by both Maitland and Toussaint. To make matters worse, two of his aides-de-camp were assassinated by ambushed negroes. Finally, realizing that his authority was almost nil as compared to that of Toussaint, he abandoned his bootless mission and returned to France. Concerning Hédouville, see H. de Poyen, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–69.

[155] The Môle Saint-Nicolas, the last foothold of the English in San Domingo, is situated on the tip of the peninsula that forms the northwest portion of the island.

[156] Harvard University Library, Simes Collection (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp., last page blank. 4to.

# MISCELLANEOUS

## THE DRAMA OF PRE-ROMANTIC SPAIN

### I

THE thirty-three years immediately preceding the advent of Romanticism in Spain were but a continuation of that so-called decadence which had fallen upon Spanish literature with the end of the Golden Age. During the extensive period covered by this decadence, there were two prominent phases in the drama, the national and the neo-classic. One was traditional, the other, an importation.

The neo-classic movement cannot be called a revival; it was little more than a long continued attempt at a revival, which, although the purpose of its champions was on the whole lofty, failed in the end because of very definite reasons—the qualities inherent in classicism, on the one hand, and those that make up the Spanish genius, on the other.

The eighteenth century did not lack in men of genius and ability. Had José de Cañizares and Antonio de Zamora lived and written under the happier influences of Lope's day, with little doubt they would now rank among the brighter lights of the *siglo de oro*. The broad intellectuality of Feijoó and Luzán can hardly be questioned; Jovellanos would be outstanding in any age, as would the Moratíns, Padre Isla, García de la Huerta, Cadalso, Meléndez Valdés, and Quintana, to say nothing of that remarkable and original genius, Ramón de la Cruz. These men and numerous colleagues proclaim the fact that the age was not devoid of men of ability. The causes for the general low state of Spanish literature must be sought elsewhere. The comprehensive explanation, when it is made, will take into consideration not only the political and social influences, but will analyze the spiritual and intellectual composition of the Spanish mind at this time. Here we shall be content with mentioning two great literary faults as among the prime factors, overimitation and lack of an artistic ideal.

The Spanish dramatists of the early eighteenth century were given to imitating the masters who had preceded them. Without keeping for themselves a standard of perfection, they sought to do little more than please an undiscriminating public (a defect of the nationalistic group until well into the next century). When at last sane heads began to cast about in search of a purge for this state of affairs, they looked upon Italy and, especially, France, where they saw a drama flourishing under the Aristotelian rules. Here, they decided, was what their country lacked. And so Spain was offered, through the *Poética* of Luzán, an artistic ideal, but a foreign one and one which demanded further imitation.

What the Spanish genius needed was an ideal suited to its own temper and free from imitation. Yet many earnest minds thought they saw salvation in the classical concepts, which were at first given a timid support that later became more generous, though they never found universal and wholehearted acceptance with either critics or public.

From the date of the *Poética*, 1737, neo-classicism in Spain moved strugglingly forward to reach its period of greatest achievement in the years between 1800 and the sudden appearance of Romanticism, when it was definitely throttled. During

the eighteenth century it had carried in its slow wake a large percentage of the writers whose names figure in the literature of that age. By 1800 we find two definite, opposing "schools" of drama; but we find further that neo-classicism is almost at the point of taking a place in the theater along with that held by traditionalism, which it achieves definitely in the years 1805 and 1806, with Quintana's *Pelayo* and Moratín's *El sí de las niñas*. And from this time on the neo-classic drama is in the ascendent in Spain with both critics and public, while the national drama is at perhaps the lowest ebb of its history as regards quality, though its output continues to be enormous.

Out of the chaos of the preceding century had appeared as a moderator the so-called, but ill-defined, Salamancan School, whose purpose was to avoid the extravagances of both the nationalists and the neo-classicists. Among the later members of this group was Manuel José Quintana, a disciple of Meléndez Valdés and Cienfuegos. His chief importance in a study of the drama of this time is that he, more than any other after Luzán, gave clear expression to the dramatic ideals of the members of the French school. This he did in an opuscule, a didactic poem published in 1791 with the title *Las reglas del drama*. Unlike its parent, the *Art poétique* of Boileau, it never, in any sense of the word, served as a manifesto for the exponents of classicism, but did, nevertheless, set forth their concepts in a very precise manner; so that, by a study of it, one can come into a fairly exact knowledge of what drama meant to them and what they tried to do for the drama of their day. Its chief value is that it states clearly the attitude held by the dramatists of the French school, who were flourishing more than ever, and who were at the beginning of the century about to rival on the stage the nationalistic group. The latter had thus far held the upper hand and were yielding any prestige only with a bitter struggle.

To the active Spanish stage Quintana himself contributed but two plays, *El Duque de Viseo* and *Pelayo*. The former was imitated from a blood-and-thunder play of the English theater, *The Castle Spectre* of Matthew Gregory Lewis. Developed under classical rules, it was presented on the evening of May 19, 1801, only to be withdrawn under unfavorable criticism after a single performance.[1]

Infinitely more successful was the *Pelayo*, played for the first time in the Coliseo de los Caños del Peral on the 19th of January, 1805. The triumph of this piece was immediate and lasting; it figured in the active theatrical repertory of Spain for nearly fifty years, and the popularity of its appeal is still echoed whenever some Spanish critic takes it upon himself to comment upon the play. More strictly classic than the *Duque de Viseo*, its success may be attributed in part to the tremendous patriotic appeal it had for the Spaniards, who were beginning to feel and resent the harsh hand of foreign oppression. The theme it employed and its fiery and ardent speeches, declaimed heroically from the stage by Isidoro Máiquez, went deep into the Spanish soul, causing public and critics alike to forget its classic form.

The success of *Pelayo* meant much for the subsequent neo-classic efforts in the drama and helped to pave the way for Moratín's *El sí de las niñas*, a play without patriotic appeal. The presentation of this play in 1806 was an important event in the history of the contemporary theater, because its success meant that neo-classic drama, without having to rely upon an appeal to patriotism, had at last found a place on the stage of Spain. The success of the piece was extraordinary; it ran for twenty-six consecutive days, until interrupted by Lent; the author enjoyed an indisputable popularity, the defeat of his adversaries was complete, much of the hostility that had

[1] Years later, however, it re-entered the repertory of the Spanish theater, to hold a definite place over a period of years.

long existed against him was dispelled, and he was hailed by the press of the capital and of the provinces. Nevertheless, Moratín's antagonists were not quieted, and, envious of their rival's victory, they had recourse to an insidious extreme and denounced him to the Inquisition. Disappointed and embittered, Moratín resolved never again to write for the theater, abandoning the plans he had already developed for several other comedies.

Let us state again the significance of *El sí de las niñas*. By 1806 the national theater was nearly as popular as ever; there was not yet a majority of sentiment favoring classic methods and form. Its hearty acceptance was then, and has since been considered, a significant victory for the Gallo-classicists and a defeat for the nationalists. However, this triumph did not signalize the death of the very decadent national school or the unreserved acceptance of the classic rules to the exclusion of laxity and freedom in dramatic construction and development. It meant chiefly that drama built according to the requirements of classicism had achieved recognition.

II

The writers of tragedy during the pre-Romantic period have been called *Quintanistas* and the writers of comedy, *Moratinistas*. These are rather arbitrary terms, but they serve broadly to group the exponents of these two types of drama.

Among the early *Quintanistas* were many dramatists whose plays either met with the same unfavorable receptions as those accorded the dramatic efforts of the earlier Gallo-classicists or achieved only a modicum of success. María Rosa Gálvez de Cabrera was an imitator of Quintana in verse and was the authoress of many dramas in the classic manner. Her tragedies are the best of her works, and among them the most prominent are *Ali-Bek* (1801), *Blanca de Rossi* (1804), and *Florinda* (1804). Contemporary with her was Francisco Sánchez Barbero, a poor poet and a worse dramatist, whose *Coriolano* (1803) was not played until five years after its composition and then was withdrawn after three days under a storm of ridicule. His tragic melodrama *Saul* (1805), adapted from Alfieri, was played with considerable success at the Caños del Peral. Better than Sánchez Barbero as a poet, though whatever fame he enjoyed rested chiefly upon his nautical writings, was José Vargas y Ponce, who wrote a single tragedy, *Abdalaziz y Egilona* (1804), a wild and extravagant piece which drew a smart reproof from the author's friend, Jovellanos.

Head and shoulders above most of his contemporaries as a literary artist was Dionisio Solís, a modest and retiring writer who gave his best efforts for more than a quarter of a century to translating from foreign theaters. His two tragedies, *Tello de Neira* and *Blanca de Borbón*, are the best of his original work. Neither was ever played, however, although the author had planned to produce the latter piece. But on learning that his friend Gil y Zárate had composed one on the same theme, Solís generously insisted that his friend's piece be staged, keeping the fact of his own a secret. The comedies of Solís, four in number, were, like his tragedies, built according to classical requirements. Hartzenbusch asserts, however, that the tragedies are very superior to the comedies.[2] Solís' greatest contribution to the Spanish drama was not made as a creative writer, but as a translator, of which more will be said below.

The so-called Sevillian school of writers added very little to the repertory of the theater. Alberto Lista was the author of one original play, a tragedy, *San Justo y Rufina*.[3] His other contributions to Spanish drama were four translations from the

[2] *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, LXVII, 236.

[3] Another tragedy, *Armida y Reinaldo*, was never completed.

French. Another writer often identified with this school, though wrongly so, was José Marchena. A Francophile of the first order, his spirit so absorbed the essence of the genius of France that he all but lost his intellectual identity as a Spaniard. He was the least Spanish of all the *afrancesados*. The spiritual evolution he underwent in France enabled him to write what comes near to being the best tragedy of Spanish neo-classicism, *Polixena* (1808), his only original drama, which, a nineteenth century writer and critic says, is worthy to stand at the side of García de la Huerta's *Raquel*, López de Ayala's *Numancia*, Quintana's *Pelayo* and the *Edipo* of Martínez de la Rosa.[4] *Polixena* differs from the first three of these in that it has nothing Spanish about it; it does not go to Spanish legend or history and not once does it evince any of that *españolismo* which so marks these dramas. It is more classic than any other play of the pre-Romantic period before *Edipo*. The piece was never played, however, and what favor it might have had with the public of its day, one can only conjecture.

The best native tragedy produced during this period was the *Edipo* of Martínez de la Rosa. Like Marchena, the author of *Edipo* wrote his play after spending several years among the French, where he imbibed enough of their spirit to enable him to write the most important tragedy of Spanish neo-classicism. His earlier efforts in this genre, *La viuda de Padilla* (1812) and *Morayma* (1818), are not to be compared with his last. Close contact with the genius of France seemed to be necessary for a Spanish author who would write a classical play free from national characteristics, and without it we may doubt that Martínez de la Rosa could have written his *Edipo*.

Standing quite apart from the *Quintanistas*, but worthy of mention before leaving the writers of tragedy, was Juan Francisco del Plano, a fecund author and lawyer of Saragossa. In his *Ensayo sobre la mejoría de nuestro teatro* (1798), he showed himself to be an out-and-out opponent of classicism and inveighed against the growing tendency to imitate the classics, declaring that the rules of Aristotle were inadmissible by that time and that the unities not only were not observed by the Greeks, but were laid aside in favor of other beauties. He offered a return to the drama of Lope de Vega and Calderón as a panacea for the theatrical ills of the day. None of his dramas achieved any degree of permanent success and *Gambela y Suni-Ada* (1799), a truly detestable piece, was severely hissed when offered in Madrid in 1800.

The writers of tragedy in Spain were markedly fewer than those who wrote in a comic vein, and the original comedies produced during this period far outnumber the original tragedies. Most of the tragic pieces played on the Spanish stage of the pre-Romantic years were translations from the drama of England, Germany, Italy and France. The Spanish dramatic genius did not adapt itself readily to classic tragedy, nor, for that matter, to tragedy non-classic. During this period as in the *siglo de oro* (the comparison does not go beyond a detail), it found its best expression in drama of a less sombre nature. Furthermore, besides the competition for public favor offered by comedy, this genre had to compete with the lyric opera, which had become exceedingly popular by this time.

In addition to the writers already mentioned and who were more or less well known in their day, there were others of little or no fame. It is to them that we owe whatever else of native tragedy is to be found in the theater of the first quarter of the century, if we except the contributions of those few who were to flourish and gain their fame in a later period, among whom may be mentioned without comment the Duque de Rivas and Gil y Zárate.

[4] Gaspar Bono Serrano, *B. A. E.*, LXVII, 619.

## III

The writers of neo-classic comedy were called *Moratinistas*. Among them were the most significant dramatists of the day, Gorostiza, Javier de Burgos, Martínez de la Rosa and Bretón de los Herreros. These and many lesser figures carried on the struggle for good taste against those fecund scribes of the late eighteenth century, Comella and Zavala, and their numerous followers in the national drama. Drawing much encouragement from the success of Moratín's *El sí de las niñas* in 1806, the *afrancesados* in the theater fought earnestly for over a quarter of a century to redeem the stage of their country. They did not succeed wholly, but they did set a higher standard in drama for both public and critics, their efforts becoming fruitless only with the sudden advent of Romanticism.

Comedy was more popular than was tragedy and its exponents were in far larger numbers, though few dramatists stuck exclusively to one genre. Most of the writers of tragic plays who have already been mentioned were authors of comic pieces also; but the first important figure in neo-classic comedy in Spain was Leandro Fernández de Moratín, who, after seeing several of his plays succumb to the bad taste and ridicule of the day, finally achieved the most significant triumph of the Gallo-classic group and gave his name to that type of play which was to be the aim and standard of the supporters of good taste during pre-Romanticism.

Among the very first comedies to appear in the nineteenth century were six original pieces by María Rosa Gálvez, who was better known, however, for her tragedies. Also among the earliest was a solitary play by an author whose name still remains in deepest obscurity, *El chismoso*, by Francisco Meseguer. It is an early and good example of that type which, within a few years, was to be known in Spain as the *comedia casera*. Meseguer was in practice one of the earliest disciples of Moratín.

Two comedies bearing a publisher's date of 1800 were written by José Mor de Fuentes, one of the most interesting men of his day and whose name was celebrated in the press of his country for half a century.[5] Better known in other branches of literature, he contributed besides the two referred to above (*El calavera* and *El egoísta*) several other pieces to the Spanish stage. Although a disciple of good taste, Mor de Fuentes belonged definitely to no school.

A relatively outstanding figure in the literature of his time was Eugenio de Tapia, a man of varied interests and great efforts who was highly esteemed by his contemporaries. Though he claimed recognition as novelist, poet and dramatist, his forte was history and jurisprudence. To his country's theater he gave some dozen plays, only half of which were original. These were of little literary worth. *La Acelina* (1800) may be cited as representative. It has no redeeming qualities; it is melodrama rank and sheer, suggesting "Monk" Lewis at his feeblest.

The undisputed leader of the *Moratinistas* after Moratín himself was Manuel Eduardo Gorostiza, whose advent in the theater came some years after this group had been left without a head. His rather extensive travels and his literary experience in London combined with native ability to place him above most of his contemporaries. He stands as the most important figure in the Spanish pre-Romantic period after Moratín and before Bretón de los Herreros. He possessed a genuine comic talent and has been described as a rival of the author of *El sí de las niñas*, to whose style his own has been likened. A second-rate poet, he is to be compared neither with his

[5] Azorín declares that Mor de Fuentes deserves "más que cuatro desabridas líneas en nuestros compendios de historia literaria" (*Lecturas españolas*, Madrid, 1920, p. 130).

predecessor nor with Bretón. Menéndez y Pelayo says that within his sphere and school he stands, with respect to Moratín, at the same distance that Regnard does with respect to Molière.[6]

Of the twenty-three dramatic works ascribed to Gorostiza, only five are known of a certainty to be original, *Indulgencia para todos* (1818), *Las costumbres de antaño* (1819), *Tal para cual* (1820), *Don Dieguito* (1820) and *Contigo pan y cebolla* (1833). Six other comedies may be original.[7] Besides these, he adapted to the stage of his day Calderón's *Bien vengas mal si vienes solo* and Rojas' *Lo que son mujeres*, Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*, and at least nine plays from the French. The first of the comedies mentioned above, *Indulgencia para todos*, has often been regarded as his best. In addition to being written in strictest conformity to classic requirements, it is characterized by lightness of action and grace, and animation of dialogue. His other comedies are marked by substantially the same qualities. *Contigo pan y cebolla* has been critized by Menéndez y Pelayo as being among his weakest plays, because the author could never master that perfection of style necessary to prose if it is to be accepted on the stage of Spain.[8]

Rivalling, if not surpassing, Gorostiza in the quality of his plays was Francisco Javier de Burgos, whose chief claim to literary fame, however, is his translations from Horace.[9] An intimate fondness for the poets of Greece and Rome determined Burgos' taste in drama and caused him to side with the neo-classicists. On the other hand, he did not allow himself to be blinded to the beauties of non-classical literature; he knew and admired the masterpieces of his glorious predecessors in Spain. Though he was himself an ardent supporter of the unities, he protested against the too rigorous restriction of genius. His own belief held that movement and warmth of action, richness of meter, and natural language were not incompatible with these unities. What Javier de Burgos attempted to do in his own plays was to amalgamate the inspiration and elegance of Lope and Calderón with the rigidity of classicism. He believed that the poets of the *siglo de oro* by the union of these qualities could have risen to more splendid heights.

Such a union was in fact the one real solution to the dramatic difficulties of pre-Romanticism. Moratín realized it to a degree in his *El sí de las niñas;* Gorostiza achieved it to a lesser degree in *Lo que son mujeres* and *También hay secreto en mujer.* But it was not preached or held as a doctrine by enough men of talent to have any considerable effect on the decadent drama. Most dramatists were either purely national or wholly classic in their attempts, the ones refusing to see virtue in the theories of the others. Javier de Burgos' *Los tres iguales* (1818) [10] was a conscious and not unsuccessful effort to harmonize the qualities of both. The argument of the play is that of Calderón's *Cuantas veo tantas quiero* and Solís' *El amor al uso.*[11] The

[6] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de la poesía hispano-americana*, Madrid, 1911, I, 120.

[7] *Una noche de alarma en Madrid, El amante jorobado, Las cuatro guirnaldas, El novio austro-ruso, Don Bonifacio, Virtud y patriotismo. La posadilla* is a reworking of *Las costumbres de antaño.*

[8] *Loc. cit.*

[9] Menéndez y Pelayo speaks of Javier de Burgos' versions of Horace as the equal or superior of any foreign translations and as perfect as the originals in style, language and metrical form (*Horacio en España*, Madrid, 1885, p. 149).

[10] Not played until 1827. His earlier plays were lost.

[11] Early in the year 1818 a discussion arose among a group of writers over the following question: " ¿Sería posible escribir comedias en que, sin faltar a las reglas del

author asserts that he did not strive to eclipse these lights of the Golden Age, but wished to point out to the youth of his own day the road opened by Spain's great dramatists, and to indicate the precautions that good taste advised to those who would follow their steps.

In his next piece, *El baile de máscaras* (1832), Javier de Burgos continued what he had begun in his earlier one, to which it is somewhat inferior in several respects. Nevertheless, so well did he realize his purpose that the play has all the atmosphere of a comedy of the *siglo de oro*. The degree to which Burgos has combined in these two plays the virtues of the old Spanish theater with those of the neo-classic is remarkable. In this he succeeded more than any other, except perhaps Bretón de los Herreros. *Los tres iguales* and *El baile de máscaras* are among the most satisfying plays of the period.

Among the *Moratinistas* should be mentioned the names of two writers who attained their lasting fame in a subsequent period. The first of these is Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, who wrote several comedies in support of good taste. His earliest dramatic work was a two-act comedy, *El egoísta o lo que puede un empleo* (1812), written in the short space of a week. This was followed in 1821 by *La niña en la casa y la madre en la máscara*, a social-domestic play which possesses many of the author's best qualities. Not until he had introduced the Spanish theater to Romanticism did Martínez de la Rosa return to the *comedia moratiniana*, once in 1833 with *Los celos infundados o el marido en la chimenea*, and again in 1839 with *La boda y el duelo*. All of these plays were domestic comedies done in the manner of Moratín. That he achieved less than his master was due to a difference in genius for the type of plays he wrote.

When Gorostiza withdrew from Spain in 1823, the *Moratinistas* remained without a leader. Had Martínez de la Rosa been in the country during the years that followed he would doubtless have been their chief. In October of 1824 the recognition and applause accorded a play bearing the title *A la vejez viruelas* [12] passed the leadership of this group to a new and unknown author, Bretón de los Herreros. The success of this first play, which was modeled on *El sí de las niñas*, so encouraged Bretón that he gave himself up avidly to the making of plays of all kinds. During the years before Romanticism, translations constituted the bulk of his dramatic work. His original comedies were relatively few, and only part of these belong to the *comedia moratiniana*. In fact, his claim to the brief leadership he held in the Moratín group rests chiefly upon three pieces, *A la vejez viruelas*, *Los dos sobrinos o la escuela de los parientes* (1825), and *A Madrid me vuelvo* (1828). His increasing popularity became fixed with the last of these three. Bretón wrote several other comedies during this period, but none were so marked by the characteristics of the *comedia casera* as those mentioned. With *Marcela o ¿cuál de los tres?* (1832), he achieved his greatest triumph and cast off the shackles of classicism, giving independence to his own genius and blazing with one stroke the path of his future greatness.

It only remains to mention a few of the more important lesser figures of neo-classic comedy. Many writers in that day were outstanding because of the frequency

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arte, se diese a la acción y al lenguaje el movimiento y el calor que se nota en las producciones de nuestro teatro antiguo?" Javier de Burgos sustained that it was "posible hacer comedias en que se reuniesen las condiciones indicadas," and to prove his contention he wrote *Los tres iguales* (cf. *Advertencia* to *Los tres iguales*, Madrid, 1828).

[12] Written in 1817.

with which new works came from their pens, and quality was often far from being a determining factor. Vicente Rodríguez de Arellano was a fecund playwright of the turn of the century who came to be a semi-classicist toward the end of his life (he died sometime after 1806). He was a fair poet, and a good translator, but a poor dramatist. *La fulgencia o los dos maniáticos* (1801) is representative of him. It is mediocre, but yet not uninteresting; characterization satisfies, but the author was unable to harmonize the characters with the action.

Better known as translators than as original dramatists were Félix Enciso Castrillón and José María Carnerero. Their minds were inspired by every likely theme and their plays range from simple *loas* to tragedy, including every type of comedy. The former was the exponent of the *comedia de costumbres* during the first quarter of the century. Both were playwrights of little worth. The support they gave to the struggle for the supremacy of good taste may be counted as their service to the theater.

José Vicente Alonso was a member of a group of writers whose intellectual center was Granada and whose chief representative was Javier de Burgos, if Martínez de la Rosa be not included. He translated from the English, Dutch and French, and wrote three comedies himself. Juan José Aparicio was the author of two patriotic comedies, the themes of which were taken from the Napoleonic invasion. The Marqués de Casa-Cajigal translated from the French and Italian, and was the author of several original pieces. Manuel Bravo, Juan Luis Estremera, José Maqueda, Antonio Marqués y Espejo, Tadeo Moreno González García, María Lorenzo de los Ríos, and Antonio Valladares each gave several comedies to the stage of Spain. But none, with one or two exceptions, devoted much time or energy to dramatic composition; nearly all were writers whose plays were only incidentals in a life of regular duties.

Numerous, too, were the writers of this period who are represented in the pre-Romantic theater by a single comedy. They were men who were better known by their activities in various offices and capacities other than dramatic, and as writers they enjoyed renown in subjects ranging from jurisprudence to science, theology and philosophy.

No mention has yet been made of the contribution of the so-called Sevillian school to comedy. This "school" received a fresh impulse in 1793 from the establishment of the *Academia de Letras Humanas*. To this gathering belonged some of the most famous names of the time, representing men who early began to recover from the decadence that was afflicting Spain: Blanco White, José María Roldán, José Manuel Arjona, Alberto Lista, Félix José Reinoso, Cayetano María de Huarte, Cristóbal de Beña, Justino Matute y Gaviria, Manuel María del Mármol, Juan Bautista Arriaza, and José Marchena. All were poets and many of them superior. What excellence they possessed was partially due to their sincere attempt to revive the glories of their illustrious antecedents of the *siglo de oro*, Herrera and Rioja. The role they played in the drama of this time was, however, so small as to make their influence in this genre almost negligible. Of them all only five have any dramatic composition whatsoever to their credit, and the most of this consists of translations. The Sevillians were interested in poetry at its best rather than as a vehicle for dramatic plots or action.

## IV

If there was any one phase of the dramatic movement of the pre-Romantic period that left a lasting impression upon Spanish drama it was, beyond a doubt, that of translation. The circumstances of the time considered, from neither the national school nor the neo-classic could the theater have gone forward to new life and restora-

tion. A drama coming from a fusion of the two was nowhere in sight as the period drew to a close, for the writers of Spain, with rare exceptions, had not yet learned to unite the qualities of both. Spanish drama found its escape through different channels, Romanticism, the *comedia de costumbres*, and the *pièce à thèse* as later espoused by Tamayo y Baus. Yet it was not the national or the neo-classic drama that had prepared the theater for Romanticism or the thesis play, and the costumbrista comedy would very likely have come with Bretón had the two schools never existed. More important as a cause contributory to the regeneration of the Spanish theater was a third phase of the pre-Romantic drama—translation. As a movement in this epoch it can hardly be identified; but it can be observed as a fairly distinct phase of the whole. Translation had its leaders and its minor exponents, among them men whose output was really prodigious. Through translation the theater of the Peninsula kept its contact with, and drew new life from, the theaters of the rest of Europe.

Dramatic translations had found more or less favor from the earliest years of their appearance in Spain. They may be said properly to have begun with the Marqués de San Juan's rendition of Corneille's *Cinna* in 1713. This was shortly followed by Cañizares's translation of the *Iphigénie* of Racine. From now on the theaters of Europe poured their plays upon the boards of Spain, until by the end of the century France, Italy, England, and Germany were supplying much of the repertory of the Spanish playhouses.

The pre-Romantic years showed a still keener interest in foreign drama, an interest that lapsed only during the years of the Peninsular War, and produced several figures who stand out preeminently as translators: Vicente Rodríguez de Arellano, Dionisio Solís, José María Carnerero, Félix Enciso Castrillón. These men made translations by the dozens. To theirs may be added literally scores of other names, including that of almost every dramatist of the first thirty years of the century. The theater of this time was very active, original plays were not in sufficient number to supply the demand, and translations appeared daily, being made, says Mesonero Romanos, with good taste in selection and care in the rendition. He mentions Enciso, Solís and Carnerero as the outstanding translators.[13] Larra, not so enthusiastic over the quality of the work in general, mentions Moratín, Marchena, Gorostiza, Ventura de la Vega and Bretón de los Herreros as the best of the translators.[14]

The most fertile and the most attractive field for the translators of Spain was the drama of France, and upon it they drew most heavily. Literally hundreds of French plays were done into Spanish, and more than once a same piece was translated by different scribes. It would require much space even to name all the authors whose plays were adapted for the stage of Spain. The great dramatists of French classicism, Corneille Racine, Molière, vied for popularity with Crébillon, Voltaire, Marivaux, Destouches, Picard, Duval, Regnard, Scribe, and with many lesser figures. The French vaudeville was an inexhaustible source. Contemporary authors were drawn upon with great frequency and often without discrimination; any French play that fell into the hands of the translators was likely material for rendition into Spanish.

The favorite Italian authors were Alfieri, Metastasio, and Goldoni. Shakespeare supplied most of the plays from the English theater, and almost always they were drawn indirectly, through the French of Ducis. In Germany Schiller, Lessing, and Kotzebue were the preferred authors for the drama-seeking Spaniard.

What translation meant to the Spanish stage was new ideas, new form, new

[13] *Trabajos no coleccionados*, Madrid, 1905, II, 417–18.

[14] *Obras*, 5a ed., Paris, 1885, II, 87.

methods and, ultimately, new life. This rubbing of elbows with other theaters helped finally to open for the home stage the way of future progress. It brought to the creative mind in Spain new conceptions of drama and its technique; it brought the people into contact with a new and different life. It helped not only to revive the Spanish drama, but made Spain a neighbor to the other countries of Europe.

## V

As has already been said, the pre-Romantic period was in Spanish literature a continuation of that decadence which had begun with the end of the Golden Age, and was distinguished from the rest of it by an increased prevalence of translation and by the rise of neo-classicism to its apogee. The neo-classic tendency was the chief phase of the native drama of the first thirty years of the century. At first it struggled unequally with traditionalism; but by the middle of the period it came (helped greatly by translation) to be the dominating movement in drama. Its rise in popularity was due chiefly to the superiority of its exponents and to their mingling of Spanish elements with the classical formalities. On the whole, however, the drama of the entire period was inferior, and even its high spots (Moratín, Gorostiza, Burgos), though above mediocrity, are yet below first rank.

Yet, decadence is seldom without its great. Art had already produced Goya, and even the theater of this period was not wanting in a genius. He was not found among the scribes, however, but among the actors, and his name was Isidoro Máiquez, the one great light in the darkness of this theatrical night. By his superior acting he gave life and merit to many a sterile play of his time, though even he, says a critic, had his "ribetes de traducido . . . de Talma, su émulo."[15] But Máiquez was as great or greater than Talma and yielded to him in nothing pertaining to his art. He is a surprising phenomenon in the theater of his time.

The most that can be said of the drama of pre-Romanticism is that it represents the culmination of a noble effort to rise above the debased state in which it had wallowed for so many years. That it succeeded in this to some degree cannot be denied, for the plays of Moratín and Gorostiza are decidedly above those of, say, Comella and Zavala. To be sure, they fall short of greatness; but they are better than the dramas they strove to offset. Yet the chief accomplishment of this period was that it showed beyond cavil that the classic play was not for Spaniards, either in composition or in its full appreciation. Even in pieces built under the requirements, the most success was had, as has been stated, when the Spanish elements were brought to the fore. Intrinsically the drama of the pre-Romantic period has little literary worth and, as a whole, compares unfavorably with that of other flourishing periods. With it Spain's long decadence was brought to a close.

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[15] José Yxart, *El arte escénico en España*, Barcelona, 1894–96, I, 15.

# REVIEWS

## PASCAL ET LA CRITIQUE CONTEMPORAINE

En ces temps d'anniversaires romantiques, tandis que le gouvernement français, l'Institut et la Sorbonne célèbrent, avec toute la pompe officielle, les centenaires de la *Préface de Cromwell* et d'*Hernani*, plus d'un lecteur a dû remarquer, non sans surprise, que la faveur réelle de la critique semble se porter vers les classiques du XVIIe siècle, plutôt que vers Hugo ou vers Lamartine. Rien n'est plus remarquable, dans la production littéraire de ces dernières années, que le très grand nombre de travaux qu'ont inspirés un Racine, un La Fontaine, un Ronsard; et nous ne parlons point tant de thèses universitaires que d'articles tout vibrants d'admiration, par des hommes tels que P. Valéry, A. Gide, J. Giraudoux ou l'abbé Bremond. Le romantisme maintenant accepté sans révolte et docilement intégré à notre être spirituel, allons-nous, à sa lumière, mieux comprendre le classicisme, et reconnaître que Ronsard et Racine sont peut-être nos plus grands poètes, que La Fontaine, plus que nos symbolistes, a laissé des modèles achevés de versification libre et de "poésie pure"?

Il en est un, parmi ces auteurs français classiques, qui semble avoir attiré, plus que tout autre, les discussions et les commentaires. Innombrables sont les articles qu'a fait naître, en 1923, la célébration du centenaire de Pascal;[1] l'érudition contemporaine a renouvelé, sur certains points, notre connaissance du grand Janséniste. Nous voudrions ici, très modestement, "faire le point" et préciser les résultats les plus nets de ces récentes recherches et de tant d'ouvrages, dont quelques-uns sont difficilement accessibles. En même temps, à travers la masse confuse des écrits contradictoires qui, tour à tour, divinisent ou rabaissent Pascal, nous essayerons de dégager quelle semble être la tendance dominante de nos contemporains. On sait quelle admiration éperdue le XIXe siècle presque tout entier a professée pour ce "romantique parmi les classiques." Un Pascal tourmenté par son "gouffre," et hardi jusqu'à devancer les poètes les plus fulgurants par ses "raccourcis d'atomes," un Pascal sceptique, pessimiste, puis pragmatiste et fidéiste, a enchanté successivement les contemporains de V. Cousin et de Vigny, de Schopenhauer et de Sully-Prudhomme, de Lachelier et de William James. A la fin du siècle dernier, il était courant de rencontrer des titres tels que "Pascal, Ibsen, Dostoieski," "Pascal et Nietzsche" ou "L'orientation pascalienne de la philosophie française."

Un examen attentif de la récente littérature pascalienne semble révéler une tout autre attitude. Certes, nous aimons encore Pascal, et l'auteur des *Pensées* n'est peut-être si durement traité que parce qu'on le sent si vivant et si fort. Mais lui accordons-nous toujours ce rang exceptionnel, cette adoration exclusive qui le rendait presque "tabou" et le préservait de toute réserve dans l'éloge? Depuis quelques années, des attaques, d'abord dispersées et timides, puis de plus en plus nombreuses et hardies, insistent sur les faiblesses de l'homme chez Pascal, sur les lacunes de sa philosophie et de sa critique. On examine plus froidement sa démonstration de la vérité du christianisme, et on en aperçoit les félures. Allons-nous voir la France du

[1] Nous donnons, à la fin de cet article, une liste des travaux de quelque importance parus sur Pascal depuis 1910. Nous renverrons, au cours de ces pages, aux numéros en chiffres romains de notre bibliographie.

XXe siècle revenir envers Pascal à l'attitude, naguère si honnie, d'un Voltaire,—d'un Voltaire élargi certes par deux siècles de réflexion sur l'expérience religieuse et de discussion sur le lyrisme et le poème en prose.[2]

* * *

Le premier point sur lequel de récentes études ont prétendu apporter du nouveau est la maladie de Pascal. Les médecins lettrés aiment à donner leur diagnostic rétrospectif sur la pierre de Montaigne, la toux de Molière ou la soi-disant folie de Pascal. La variété même de ces diagnostics permet de suivre l'évolution déconcertante des théories médicales. Après avoir reconnu dans la maladie de Pascal la tuberculose, qu'on déclarait avoir été héréditaire dans sa famille, voici que nos médecins modernes, se refusant à croire aussi aisément que la génération précédente à l'hérédité, voient en notre auteur une victime de la maladie à l'ordre du jour: le cancer (XCII). M. Léon Daudet, qui étudia autrefois la médecine, a prononcé une autre hypothèse, également invérifiable d'ailleurs: la syphilis. D'autres recherchent la cause des migraines de Pascal (XCI). Ce sont là jeux de savants, auxquels nous ne nous arrêterons guère. De même, les psychologues spécialistes de mysticisme religieux discutent pour savoir si Pascal, lorsqu'il écrivait en tête de son *Mémorial* le mot: FEU, avait effectivement aperçu dans un accès d'hallucination, une flamme, ou parlait d'un feu métaphorique. Tout ce que l'on saura jamais de certain sur la maladie de Pascal, c'est que, comme Rousseau, comme Nietzsche, comme Proust, Pascal n'était point absolument sain et normal; que sa philosophie—Aldous Huxley le lui reproche encore vivement aujourd'hui—est une philosophie de malade. Cette philosophie en est-elle moins valable pour cela? Nous ne le croyons pas. Une bonne partie de l'humanité n'est pas composée de gens bien portants et absolument normaux; et même pour les autres, la vision d'un Proust ou d'un Pascal reste plus révélatrice que celle d'un optimiste bien portant qui n'a jamais souffert de dyspepsie.

Les biographes récents de Pascal concentrent leur attention sur certains aspects de sa courte existence: la période dite mondaine de notre janséniste a été fouillée par Chamaillard dans un livre bien informé, mais touffu et quelquefois partial (XXIV; Cf. aussi CXI). M. Lanson, dans un magistral article qui est un modèle de méthode en histoire littéraire, a nettement prouvé que Pascal est l'auteur du *Discours sur les Passions de l'amour* (LXV). Le savant chez Pascal suscite en outre une vive curiosité chez nos contemporains: après Duhem et Strowski, MM. Brunschvicg (XXII), Caillat (XXIII), L. Fabre (XXXVII) ont examiné l'œuvre scientifique de Pascal et la profonde empreinte que ses études mathématiques et physiques ont laissée sur le philosophe des *Pensées*. M. Jovy a étalé sans merci la vanité et la dureté fort peu chrétiennes dont Pascal fit preuve dans sa querelle scientifique avec Saint Ange (LVI). —Les sources de Pascal présentent un autre ordre de problèmes aux chercheurs modernes: à côté des vieilles, et toujours actuelles, questions sur la dette de Pascal envers Montaigne et envers Méré, on a découvert les nombreux emprunts faits par le grand Janséniste aux apologistes de la Renaissance (XCIV), et en particulier aux Jésuites. M. Blanchet, dans un article fort original (IX) a prouvé en particulier que l'argument du pari venait à Pascal des Jésuites, et directement du père Sirmard, qu'il avait fort maltraité dans sa dix-huitième *Provinciale*.

[2] Cette orientation nouvelle de la critique pascalienne a déjà été notée par M. Milon dans un article récent (LXXVI). Mais M. Milon n'a envisagé que les deux adversaires les plus illustres des *Pensées*, l'abbé Bremond et Paul Valéry. Nous procèderons ici à un examen plus détaillé de la littérature pascalienne de ces dernières années.

Mais le point qui a soulevé les discussions les plus véhémentes et les passions les plus acharnées est le jansénisme de Pascal. La plupart d'entre nous, accoutumés à ne pas séparer de Port-Royal l'auteur des *Provinciales*, peuvent s'étonner qu'il puisse seulement exister à ce propos un problème. Toute une école de Pascalisants a néanmoins soutenu, dans ces dernières années, que leur auteur n'avait jamais fait partie de Port-Royal, ou qu'il s'en était séparé, qu'il était, dans tous les cas, mort catholique orthodoxe; un érudit, M. Jovy, a même prononcé: "C'est Port-Royal qui l'a tué."

"Je ne suis pas de Port-Royal," déclarait l'auteur de la dix-septième *Provinciale;* la phrase a fait couler beaucoup d'encre. Nous pouvons accorder dès l'abord que Pascal, en effet et dans un certain sens, n'a jamais appartenu à "l'inner circle," au saint des saints de Port-Royal. Mais a-t-il jamais renié ses amis? Une année avant sa mort survint la querelle du formulaire. Tous les ecclésiastiques de France étaient contraints de signer un formulaire condamnant les cinq propositions; les Messieurs de Port-Royal conseillèrent aux religieuses un moyen terme habile: elles signeraient sur le droit en réservant le fait. Pascal, plus bouillant et moins diplomate que les Solitaires, s'emporta contre ce compromis et blâma cette tiédeur dans la défense de la vérité. Des paroles un peu vives furent sans doute échangées de part et d'autre; il y eut froissement; est-ce à dire que Pascal s'écarta alors du jansénisme pour adopter un catholicisme plus orthodoxe? On ne saurait légitimement tirer cette conclusion de la querelle du formulaire, puisque le seul reproche que Pascal adressa à ses amis fut de ne pas être assez jansénistes.

Le 19 août 1662, Blaise Pascal mourait à Paris, après avoir reçu les sacrements de M. Beurrier, curé de Saint-Étienne du Mont. L'auteur des *Pensées* a-t-il modifié son attitude entre 1661 et 1662? Nous ne savons rien de positif sur cette mystérieuse année. On a pu supposer que des papiers désavouant le jansénisme avaient été détruits par la famille de Pascal; mais l'hypothèse est toute gratuite. Les innombrables discussions qui se sont élevées depuis vingt ans sur ce point ont toutes pour base les témoignages de Beurrier.

Au mois de janvier 1665, l'archevêque de Paris, l'ancien précepteur de Louis XIV, Hardouin de Péréfixe, fit appeler le curé de Saint-Étienne et lui demanda pourquoi il avait accordé l'absolution et les sacrements à Pascal, Janséniste notoire. Beurrier répondit que son paroissien lui avait paru d'une orthodoxie parfaite et détaché du jansénisme. Madame Périer et les amis de Pascal ne tardèrent pas à apprendre cette déclaration; ils protestèrent aussitôt, en reprochant à Beurrier d'avoir mal interprété les paroles de Pascal; tant et si bien que, lorsqu'on voulut se servir de son témoignage pour une édition des *Pensées* à tendances catholiques, Beurrier se rétracta formellement dans une lettre à Madame Périer (du 12 juin 1671; voir cette lettre dans Jovy, *Pascal Inédit*, vol. ii, p. 454). Cette lettre ne nous est connue, il est vrai, que par des sources jansénistes; mais il n'existe aucune raison sérieuse de douter de son authenticité. "J'ai bien reconnu," avouait le curé de Saint-Étienne, "que ces paroles pouvaient avoir un autre sens que celui que je leur avais donné," et il souhaitait de bon cœur n'avoir jamais fait sa première déclaration.

Tel était l'état de la question jusqu'à ces dernières années: On admettait que les dernières paroles de Pascal avaient été mal comprises par un prêtre peu subtil. Cependant M. Jovy, professeur au collège de Vitry-le-François, qui, plus que tout autre chercheur, a ajouté récemment à notre connaissance de Pascal (L à LX), découvrait en 1908, sous la poussière de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, à Paris, les *Mémoires* inédits de Beurrier. Dans une page révélatrice de ces *Mémoires*, ce prêtre revenait à sa première affirmation: il confirmait que Pascal, à son lit de mort, gémissait

de voir ces divisions entre les fidèles; qu'il avait reconnu son ignorance dans "ces questions si difficiles de la grâce et de la prédestination" (LI, p. 490), et qu'il avait déclaré sa parfaite soumission à Jésus-Christ et à son vicaire le pape.

La publication de ces *Mémoires* a déchaîné une véritable guerre entre les commentateurs de Pascal: et nous ne prétendons pas décider en quelques lignes d'une question infiniment complexe. MM. Jovy, Strowski (CIII), Chevalier, l'auteur du meilleur ouvrage d'ensemble récemment paru sur Pascal (XXVI), et même, avec plus de nuances et de fines réserves, l'abbé Bremond (XIV et XVIII), ont accepté comme valide et irréfutable le nouveau témoignage de Beurrier. Pour eux, Pascal aurait, à la fin de sa vie, désavoué ses erreurs jansénistes et serait docilement revenu au bercail catholique. Au contraire, M. Gazier, que son zèle a fait appeler le dernier Janséniste (XLI), M. Brunschvicg (XXII), M. Laporte (LXIII), ont rassemblé des arguments impressionnants contre cette interprétation. "Testis unus, testis nullus," ont-ils protesté tout d'abord, selon le vieil adage de la critique. Un seul témoin, en effet, et un témoin peu sûr. Ces *Mémoires*, écrits par le curé de Saint-Étienne à l'âge de 84 ans, bien des années après l'évènement, contiennent d'autres erreurs de fait, et leur validité est sujette à caution. Beurrier, d'ailleurs, n'y rapporte pas les paroles même de Pascal, et il a pu mal comprendre les confessions de son paroissien. Le profane se trouve d'autant plus embarrassé à se faire une opinion dans ces questions si enchevêtrées, que, de part et d'autre, le sentiment et l'esprit de parti paraissent l'avoir emporté sur la froide critique.

Le bon sens, toujours ami des solutions moyennes, nous semblerait pouvoir conclure ainsi: il est à peu près certain que, vers la fin de sa vie, Pascal dût s'éloigner, non pas de Port-Royal, mais de la polémique querelleuse de Port-Royal, et peut-être des controverses théologiques, dans lesquelles il reconnaissait son incompétence. Certaines des *Pensées* (par exemple, les numéros 781 et 865 de l'édition Brunschvicg) gardent la trace d'une attitude plus détachée envers les Jansénistes. Ceci accordé, nous croyons que M. Jovy et ses amis sont tombés dans l'erreur coutumière de nos érudits modernes, absorbés dans la poursuite de l'inédit. Nous avons tendance, aussitôt qu'un document nouveau vient au jour, à lui accorder une importance excessive, et à négliger aussitôt toutes les données antérieures du problème, au lieu d'interpréter l'inédit à la lumière des connaissances anciennes, et de lui accorder une valeur relative. Dans le cas de Pascal—et quelque importance que puisse avoir pour les catholiques cette confession *in extremis*—des déclarations obscures, faites par un malade dans les derniers jours de sa vie, ne sauraient prévaloir, nous semble-t-il, contre tout le reste d'une existence. La hardiesse, l'immoralité si l'on veut, des tragédies de Racine, n'est en rien atténuée par sa conversion postérieure. Quand bien même l'on prouverait que, de 1661 à 1662, Pascal se soit rapproché du catholicisme, il n'en reste pas moins qu'il est l'auteur des *Provinciales*, et que, dans les *Pensées* la psychologie de Pascal, sa philosophie, sa position comme sa solution du problème religieux, sont foncièrement jansénistes.

Les divergences entre ces deux groupes de Pascalisants se retrouvent sur toutes les questions que pose l'interprétation des *Pensées*. L'éternel et insoluble débat sur le plan de l'apologie pascalienne se poursuit parmi nos contemporains. La difficulté du problème, mieux reconnue, nous rend plus indulgents envers les Messieurs de Port-Royal qui éditèrent pour la première fois le livre. Il était trop aisé à un V. Cousin de les traiter de faussaires. Ils nous ont du moins conservé le manuscrit original, et c'est beaucoup (Voir XXXIX). Le texte de Pascal ne pouvait paraître à ses contemporains aussi sacro-saint qu'il est pour nous après deux siècles et demi.

Nos successeurs, sans doute, ne s'indigneront pas moins des libertés que prirent avec *Madame Bovary* ou avec le roman de Proust les premiers éditeurs de ces ouvrages.

Les éditions modernes des *Pensées* ne prétendent point reconstituer le plan perdu de Pascal. La plupart se contentent, avec M. Brunschvicg, de classer les fragments selon les sujets qu'ils traitent. Mais cette modestie même peut avoir ses inconvénients. M. Brunschvicg est obligé de séparer des pensées qui se ressemblent par plus d'un aspect, si elles diffèrent par d'autres; il établit au contraire entre d'autres pensées des rapprochements qui faussent peut-être l'intention de l'auteur. Pascal, ainsi morcelé, ne laisse pas de paraître flottant et incohérent. "Pascal incohérent!" s'écrie M. Stewart indigné; "Lui qui était d'une cohérence implacable" (C). Il est également certain que nos éditions modernes des *Pensées* nous donnent indistinctement tout un ensemble de notes prises par Pascal à des périodes très diverses de sa vie; certaines, semble-t-il, sont des passages notés par la plume de Pascal au temps où il préparait les *Provinciales*, que nous incorporons ainsi de force à l'Apologie, où ils n'ont que faire. D'autres peuvent être les réponses supposées de quelque incrédule, des fragments presque dramatiques, des dialogues, où Pascal prête à un personnage fictif telle idée qu'il est loin de prendre lui-même à son compte. Malheureusement, selon quel critère ferons-nous cette délicate discrimination? Nous risquons de retomber dans l'arbitraire des plans échafaudés au gré de chaque commentateur.

M. Stewart, professeur à l'université de Cambridge, auteur d'une suite de sermons fort originaux sur "la sainteté de Pascal" (XCIX), a offert, dans un curieux article du *French Quarterly* (C) une suggestion nouvelle. Il voudrait ne conserver dans les *Pensées* que les fragments destinés par Pascal à son apologie, et classer ces fragments selon le plan de Filleau de la Chaise. Les Pascalisants connaissent de longue date ce curieux *Discours*, auquel nous devons la restitution la plus exacte des intentions de Pascal. M. V. Giraud a donné en 1922 une nouvelle édition de ce précieux opuscule (XXXIX). Vers 1658, dans le poétique décor de Port-Royal, Pascal fit, pendant deux ou trois heures, une conférence à quelques jansénistes, sur cette apologie à laquelle il travaillait. Sa parole éloquente frappa fortement ses auditeurs, et l'un d'eux (probablement Filleau de la Chaise, bien que le Discours ait parfois été attribué à Goibaud-Dubois) rédigea, en 1666, les souvenirs que lui avait laissés la vibrante exposition de Pascal. Ces souvenirs, rédigés huit ans après l'évènement, ne peuvent nous inspirer une confiance aussi enthousiaste qu'à M. Stewart; entre 1658 et 1662, Pascal lui-même a pu changer plusieurs fois la disposition projetée de ses arguments. N'a-t-il pas déclaré lui-même: "La dernière chose qu'on trouve en faisant un ouvrage est de savoir celle qu'il faut mettre la première"? Mais nous accorderons volontiers que ces pages de Filleau de la Chaise sont probablement le meilleur, ou le moins mauvais, moyen que nous possédions de reconstituer le plan de Pascal. Souhaitons que M. Stewart nous donne quelque jour l'édition dont il a tracé le plan ingénieux.[3]

Quand tout est dit sur le plan que Pascal aurait adopté, sur l'ordre irréprochable que ce géomètre aurait pu apporter à sa démonstration, il n'en reste pas moins chez nos

[3] D'après Filleau de la Chaise, les grandes lignes de l'apologie auraient été: a) peinture psychologique de l'homme, composé inexplicable de faiblesse et de grandeur; b) tentatives des philosophes pour résoudre cette énigme: les uns ne voient que la grandeur, les autres que la faiblesse de l'homme; 3) la religion chrétienne seule donne la clef du problème. Histoire du peuple juif. Autorité des miracles et des prophéties. Filleau de la Chaise invoque nettement la grande place que Pascal voulait accorder au cœur dans son apologie, mais il ne mentionne point l'argument du pari, que Pascal n'y destinait peut-être pas.

contemporains ce doute alarmant qui faisait déjà dire à Sainte-Beuve: "Pascal, admirable écrivain quand il achève, est peut-être plus grand encore quand il est interrompu." La gloire de l'auteur des *Pensées* n'a assurément rien perdu à ce qu'il ait laissé son grand œuvre inachevé. Outre que les faiblesses de son exégèse et de sa métaphysique apparaîtraient plus criantes dans une apologie complète et ordonnée, qui sait si Pascal, en polissant son style, en unissant les uns aux autres ses jaillissements fulgurants, n'aurait pas détruit la poésie étrange qui nous attire aujourd'hui dans son livre? Nous n'irons pas jusqu'à dire avec un critique récent par trop iconoclaste: "Il y a tant de platitudes dans les *Pensées* qu'on frémit de songer à tout ce que Pascal allait y ajouter pour arriver au nombre requis de parties, de chapitres et de paragraphes" (XCIII), mais on ne peut s'empêcher de reconnaître que, si les *Pensées* étaient devenues l'apologie achevée que préparait leur auteur, elles ne seraient peut-être pas beaucoup plus lues de nos jours que le *Discours sur l'Histoire universelle*, *le Génie du Christianisme*, ou tout simplement les *Provinciales*.

Plus révélatrices que les discussions des érudits sont les études récentes sur Pascal où perce une attitude nouvelle envers ce génie que la critique, naguère encore, savait seulement déifier. Il est surtout curieux que cette "révolte" contre Pascal,—pour employer un mot un peu fort—ne vienne pas seulement du camp de la libre-pensée, les réserves formulées par les auteurs catholiques, leurs reproches quelquefois brutaux, sont plus inquiétants encore.

La première décade du XXe siècle, interprétant Pascal selon les doctrines alors à la mode, avait complaisamment retrouvé dans les *Pensées* son pragmatisme et son fidéisme. On louait l'apologiste de Port-Royal d'avoir bafoué la "raison impuissante," et d'avoir fondé la croyance sur la volonté et le cœur. "Tout notre raisonnement se réduit à céder au sentiment," avait déclaré Pascal, en précurseur, croyait-on, du volontairisme de W. James et de l'intuition bergsonienne. Son apologie paraissait d'autant plus convaincante qu'elle s'appuyait sur le cœur, et non sur la raison.

Admettre que la raison ne peut prouver l'existence de Dieu, c'est là cependant un aveu bien compromettant pour un défenseur de la religion. Les critiques catholiques d'aujourd'hui adoptent une tout autre attitude. Nos théologiens contemporains, férus de thomisme et de scolastique, préfèrent un docteur raisonnable ou raisonneur, tel que Saint Thomas, à un Pascal qui ne dissimule pas son mépris pour la pauvre raison humaine (LXIX). On ne saurait leur donner tort. Il faut avoir déjà réfléchi sur bien des sujets, il faut avoir quelque teinture d'histoire de la philosophie et d'histoire des sciences, pour reconnaître qu'il y a des choses qui échappent à toute démonstration. Les "primaires" et la masse des fidèles ne respecteront jamais beaucoup une religion, dont la raison se dit impuissante à démontrer la vérité. Leur demander de croire, d'accepter les dogmes et le culte uniquement pour les raisons du cœur, c'est pour l'Église travailler à sa perte assurée. Aussi voyons-nous aujourd'hui les critiques catholiques de Pascal concentrer leurs efforts sur ce problème troublant: le rôle de la raison dans l'apologie pascalienne. Les uns prétendent qu'on fausse la pensée de Pascal en insistant à l'excès sur sa peinture de la faiblesse humaine; c'est ainsi que l'édition la plus répandue, celle de M. Brunschvicg, rassemble dans la section II tous les fragments où est proclamée l'infirmité de l'homme et de son intelligence, tandis que l'autre aspect de l'antithèse pascalienne, la grandeur de l'homme, n'apparaît que dans des pensées dispersées çà et là dans le reste du livre. Il y a là une disposition qui, sans avoir été voulue peut-être par l'éditeur, peut vicier notre interprétation des *Pensées;* et, si l'on se rappelle la place que Pascal accordait dans son projet d'apologie aux miracles, aux prophéties, arguments historiques et "raisonnables," on

conviendra en effet que nos prédecesseurs de 1900–1910 ont fortement exagéré le "fidéisme" de Pascal (Voir LXVIII, et XXVI, XXVII).

Les catholiques orthodoxes vont plus loin. Pour eux, si l'on en juge par un article très important de l'abbé Bremond (XVI), cet abêtissement de la raison que demande Pascal est la marque d'une théologie janséniste; c'est pour les jansénistes seuls que la raison, irrémédiablement affaiblie par le péché originel, s'avoue incapable de prouver Dieu. Pour le catholicisme, la vérité de la religion ne se sent pas seulement, elle se démontre. Et d'ailleurs, si la raison est corrompue depuis la faute d'Adam, par quel prodige le cœur seul a-t-il pu échapper à cette condamnation et rester pour nous un instrument de connaissance plus fidèle? Pour l'abbé Bremond, historien et apôtre du mysticisme, si l'on sent le besoin de faire appel à autre chose qu'à l'intelligence, que l'on s'adresse à la connaissance mystique, qui ne vient, elle, ni du cœur, ni de l'esprit. Les mystiques, dit-il, nous transportent dans un autre ordre, ils possèdent une autre réalité, et ne nous demandent pas de ces tours de prestidigitation qu'exige de nous un Pascal. L'apologétique des *Pensées*, pour l'historien du sentiment religieux, est par là "vouée à la contradiction et à l'impuissance." Elle veut discipliner la volonté pour obtenir d'elle un "escamotage," faire paraître gris ce qui est rose. Elle fait, trop habilement, disparaître les raisons de ne pas croire, comme la prestidigitation d'un Voltaire fait disparaître les raisons de croire (XVI). C'est aussi chez l'abbé Bremond (en particulier, dans le quatrième volume de son *Histoire du Sentiment religieux*, XIV) qu'il faut chercher la plus rigoureuse mise en accusation de la théologie pascalienne qui ait encore été tentée. Jusqu'à lui, on peut dire que le jansénisme avait toujours eu la sympathie des historiens et des professeurs français. Grâce peut-être au merveilleux ouvrage de Sainte-Beuve, Port-Royal apparaissait comme l'unique foyer de vie religieuse au XVIIe siècle. Le nouveau critique ne ménage pas son admiration à la souplesse et à la fine psychologie de Sainte-Beuve, mais, théologien de profession, ancien jésuite lui-même, il veut remettre l'hérésie janséniste à sa vraie place; contrairement à l'opinion encore aujourd'hui répandue, il soutient que Port-Royal n'était pas du tout nécessaire dans l'histoire religieuse de la France; que l'œuvre de réaction rigide et austère que symbolise le jansénisme avait déjà été accomplie par la contre-réforme au sein même de l'église catholique; et que les mystiques du XVIIe siècle nous offrent l'exemple d'une vie religieuse autrement riche, autrement fraîche et jaillissante, que les Saint-Cyran et les Arnauld.

Résumons brièvement les reproches qu'adresse à Port-Royal et à Pascal leur plus récent historien. Nous ne pouvons le faire d'ailleurs qu'en sacrifiant les fines nuances et les aperçus ingénieux que sème dans ses pages un critique aussi averti:

1. Dans le jansénisme, et même chez le divin Pascal, l'abbé Bremond décèle tout d'abord de l'égoïsme. Les jansénistes, en effet, n'étaient pas, comme on le croirait, des gens tristes; ils étaient joyeux; et joyeux parce qu'ils croyaient en vertu d'un signe et se disaient intérieurement: Le Christ, certes, n'est pas mort pour *tous* les hommes, mais il est mort pour nous. Alors que les catholiques orthodoxes, plus modestes, raisonnent ainsi: Puisque le Christ est mort pour tous les hommes, il est mort *aussi* pour moi. L'abbé Bremond, s'efforçant après tant d'autres de pénétrer le sens du *Mémorial* griffonné par Pascal dans la nuit mystérieuse du 23 novembre 1654, est arrêté par les mots: Certitude, Joie. Est-ce la certitude joyeuse que Dieu est? Pascal ne niait point l'existence de Dieu avant sa vision. Ce dont il est désormais convaincu, c'est que Dieu lui est présent à lui. "Je pensais à toi dans mon agonie, j'ai versé telles gouttes de sang pour toi," dira encore Jésus-Christ à Pascal dans le fragment le plus sublime des *Pensées*. C'est à cause de sa vision du 23 novembre, c'est à cause de ces gouttes de sang, que Pascal se consacre à démontrer "les voies de Dieu aux hommes." Le signe, que tout janséniste attend ou désire, Pascal l'a reçu.

Il sait qu'il ne sera pas confondu avec le commun de l'humanité dans la masse de perdition promise à l'enfer.[4]

2. "Tu ne me chercherais pas, si tu ne m'avais trouvé," dit un autre verset célèbre du Mystère de Jésus, que l'abbé Bremond retourne aussi contre Pascal. Car cette angoisse célèbre de l'auteur des *Pensées*, cette angoisse dans laquelle les romantiques ont reconnu leur éternel tourment de l'infini, elle n'est pas douloureuse; elle aussi est, pour Pascal, un signe, le signe qu'il est du nombre des élus, que, s'il cherche, c'est qu'il est prédestiné à trouver. Or, s'il est prédestiné à trouver, Pascal admet donc (avec les jansénistes, mais non avec les catholiques) qu'il est de ces créatures que Dieu met à l'avance dans l'impossibilité de chercher.

3. L'abbé Bremond ne traite pas avec plus d'indulgence la théologie de Pascal—"un primaire de la théologie," l'appelle-t-il. Dans la religion de Pascal, en effet, le premier rôle est sans cesse réservé au Christ. Jésus-Christ est presque, pour Pascal, le Dieu unique, alors qu'il ne devrait être là que comme médiateur, pour mener le croyant vers Dieu. Est-ce à dire que Pascal magnifie le rôle du Sauveur aux dépens de Dieu? Non pas même; le Christ de Pascal et des jansénistes est plutôt un Christ diminué: envoyé par son Père pour racheter le monde, il n'a pas su réussir dans sa tâche, puisque le monde (toujours pour le janséniste), par la misère de ses créatures, par le règne de l'erreur et du mal, crie encore son besoin d'un rédempteur. Nous sommes aussi malades qu'avant la venue du Sauveur. Qu'est-ce à dire? ou donc le Sauveur n'est pas venu—et Pascal retomberait dans cet odieux pyrrhonisme ou athéisme qu'il combat—ou il n'a pas réussi dans sa mission; voilà le pénible dilemme où l'abbé Bremond enferme Pascal.

4. Enfin, le Christ de Pascal semble uniquement destiné à l'homme; ici encore, l'abbé Bremond prend à parti la théologie hâtive et ignorante des *Pensées*, car le premier soin du Christ est d'adorer son Père; il devrait aimer Dieu avant de s'intéresser à l'homme.

Des reproches aussi accablants ne laissent pas grand'chose debout de tout l'édifice apologétique des *Pensées*. Les différences entre le jansénisme de Pascal et l'attitude orthodoxe des catholiques sont impitoyablement soulignées. L'abbé Bremond ne peut s'empêcher pourtant d'admirer la prière de Pascal, qu'il trouve plus proche du catholicisme que sa théologie. Et il lui reste toujours la consolation d'admettre, avec M. Jovy, que Pascal a abjuré à la fin de sa vie ses erreurs ou du moins ses imprudences de théologien (XVIII). Mais ce Pascal converti, hypothétique après tout, le seul auquel aille l'admiration sans réserves de nos catholiques, est-ce le vrai Pascal? Ce n'est en tous cas ni l'auteur des *Provinciales*, ni celui des *Pensées* telles qu'elles nous sont parvenues; ce n'est donc point le Pascal traditionnel que nous étions accoutumés à admirer dans ses ouvrages et dans sa vie, plus encore que dans sa mort. On mesure à cela toute la distance qui sépare l'attitude catholique d'aujourd'hui et le culte autrefois quasi-unanime de Pascal.

Le contraste n'est pas aussi vif chez les incroyants qui, de Voltaire à E. Havet et à Renan, n'ont jamais manqué de souligner les faiblesses philosophiques des *Pensées;* mais le nombre et la hardiesse des reproches qu'ils adressent aujourd'hui à Pascal tranche avec la timidité qui fut de mise chez les commentateurs de la génération précédente. On n'hésite plus aujourd'hui à déclarer que cette apologie, si elle pouvait suffire aux gens du XVIIe siècle, ne saurait plus de nos jours convertir personne. Quelle idée étroite Pascal se faisait des infidèles, qu'il assimile tous sans distinction aux libertins de son époque! Il eût probablement été saintement effaré s'il avait pu connaître un Spinoza, un Littré, un Taine, ou tel autre "saint laïque" dont la moralité

[4] On pourrait étudier de ce même point de vue l'attitude religieuse d'un de nos contemporains, angoissé comme Pascal et désireux comme lui de recevoir quelque signe, quelque preuve manifeste et personnelle avant de se donner tout entier à Dieu: Jacques Rivière, dont les lettres à Paul Claudel fourniraient les éléments d'une curieuse comparaison avec Pascal.

ne le cède en rien à celle des dévots (Cf. VIII). Et comme ses laborieux développements sur le livre de Moïse et sur les prophéties sonnent creux aux oreilles d'un savant moderne, familier avec les récents travaux d'exégèse biblique! L'année même où paraissait l'édition de Port-Royal, un humble juif de Hollande, grand philosophe aussi celui-là, publiait son *Tractatus theologicus-politicus*, où les textes bibliques étaient envisagés dans un esprit autrement moderne. Il serait d'ailleurs puéril de reprocher à Pascal son ignorance de l'exégèse; il ne pouvait deviner par avance Strauss et Loisy, la découverte des livres sacrés de l'Inde et nos recherches sur le bouddhisme. Mais il aurait pu mieux connaître l'histoire de la philosophie, et même l'histoire tout court, qu'il ne semble guère apercevoir qu'à travers Montaigne. L'anticlérical de nos jours imagine complaisamment un Pacal étudiant la guerre des Albigeois, lisant le récit authentique des Croisades, des persécutions dont les Chrétiens triomphants se rendirent quelquefois coupables. S'il n'y a point là une raison de rabaisser Pascal, il y a un fort argument contre ceux qui voudraient nous faire accepter les *Pensées* comme un livre moderne, satisfaisant à tous nos besoins actuels. "L'admiration absolue est toujours superficielle," s'écriait le jeune Renan dans *l'Avenir de la Science*. "Nul plus que moi n'admire les *Pensées* de Pascal, les *Sermons* de Bossuet, mais je les admire comme œuvres du XVIIe siècle. Si ces œuvres paraissaient de nos jours, elles mériteraient à peine d'être remarquées." [5] L'expression est un peu vive, mais c'est bien cette admiration, toute relative, que plusieurs de nos contemporains veulent aujourd'hui accorder à Pascal.

Les arguments les plus saisissants que certains de nos critiques rassemblent pour réfuter Pascal ne sont point nouveaux. La plupart se trouvent déjà dans Voltaire, l'adversaire le plus acharné sans doute qu'ait encore rencontré le "misanthrope sublime." [6] Les remarques de l'"anti-Pascal" étaient parfois puériles et étroites, mais, parfois aussi, elles frappaient droit au cœur de l'apologie janséniste. Voltaire avait devancé l'opinion de bien des lecteurs modernes, en notant que la base psychologique de la démonstration pascalienne est une base fragile. L'homme est un composé de grandeur et d'infirmité, prétend le poète des Deux Infinis; mais est-il pour cela une énigme plus déroutante que l'arbre qui se dépouille de ses feuilles et revêt un nouveau feuillage, que le chien qui mord et qui caresse ensuite? C'est peut-être se forger des énigmes pour les résoudre ensuite à peu de frais. La religion chrétienne peut rendre compte de ces prétendues contradictions de la nature humaine, mais cela ne prouve en rien qu'elle soit une religion révélée.

"Les misères de la vie," raillait Voltaire, "ne prouvent pas plus la chute de l'homme que les misères d'un cheval de fiacre ne prouvent que les chevaux étaient tous autrefois gros et gras, et ne recevaient jamais de coups de fouet; et que, depuis que l'un d'eux s'avisa de manger trop d'avoine, tous ses descendants furent condamnés à trainer des fiacres." [7]

Si l'incroyant refuse de suivre Pascal dans sa présentation dramatique de nos contradictions intimes, se laissera-t-il convaincre par cet appel plus direct à son intérêt qu'est le célèbre pari? Voltaire, ici encore, avait esquissé la réfutation qu'adoptent plusieurs de nos contemporains: L'intérêt que nous avons à croire qu'une chose (en l'occurrence, Dieu et la vie future) soit, ne prouve nullement que cette chose existe. M. J. Prévost entre autres (LXXXVII) a entrepris de se débarrasser de cette hantise

[5] *L'Avenir de la Science*, C. Lévy, in-8, p. 192–3.

[6] "Je veux prendre le parti de l'humanité contre ce misanthrope sublime," *Lettres Anglaises*, XXV.

[7] Lettre à M. de la Condamine, 22 juin 1774 (éd. F. Didot, 1877, vol. 11, p. 137–8).

du pari; et le rationaliste P. Souday aimait à répéter contre Pascal que cet argument ne peut convaincre le juste et le sage qui refusent en toute bonne foi de croire en Dieu; car ce Dieu ne peut manquer d'être clément et de pardonner à l'erreur, si elle est sincère (XCVI). Et puis, que de peine s'est imposée Pascal pour nous communiquer une foi, qui, nous déclare-t-on par ailleurs, ne dépend que de la grâce! et pourquoi s'efforcer de convertir l'univers entier au christianisme, alors qu'on ajoute ensuite que Dieu lui-même n'a pas voulu permettre une seule religion, parce qu'elle eût été trop aisément reconnaissable (*Pensées*, No. 578). Une seule religion—tel serait cependant le résultat de l'apologie pascalienne, si le monde entier prêtait l'oreille aux arguments du philosophe janséniste.

En face d'écrivains catholiques, tels que P. Claudel (XXIX) ou Fr. Mauriac (LXXII), qui continuent à témoigner à Pascal une admiration émue et sans réserve, les deux auteurs d'aujourd'hui à qui vont de préférence les hommages de la jeunesse française n'hésitent pas à marquer franchement les faiblesses de Pascal. André Gide, que sa souple et large intelligence désigne à l'étranger comme le plus "catholique" des prosateurs français contemporains, répondait récemment à la sotte, mais tradionnelle question: "Quel est le Dante, le Shakespeare, le Goethe de la France?"—"C'est Montaigne." Et, derrière les commentaires qu'il vient de publier sur les *Essais* (dans *Commerce*), on sent qu'il oppose Montaigne à Pascal et rabaisse le second aux dépens du premier.

"Pour moi aujourd'hui," déclarait-il encore à son ami le "pascalien" Charles Du Bos[8] "la valeur suprême de Pascal gît dans le pathétique, et ne gît que dans le pathétique; oh, je sais bien que je ne puis relire certaines de ses phrases sans être pris d'un sanglot; mais voilà! plus j'avance et moins je goûte, moins j'approuve pour ainsi dire que l'on me prenne ainsi aux entrailles"; et ailleurs:[9] "Ce n'est pas lui (Pascal) qui, à mes yeux, grandit; c'est Montaigne d'une part et Bossuet de l'autre."

A côté de ces réserves du protestant A. Gide, les pages de l'intellectualiste Paul Valéry (CIX) apparaissent comme une offensive en règle contre la doctrine, la méthode, et, ce qui est plus grave peut-être, le style des *Pensées*. En fait, toute l'œuvre de Valéry, glorification de son héros de prédilection, Léonard, n'est qu'un Anti-Pascal, plus serein, mais non moins mordant que celui de Voltaire.

Comme Voltaire, Valéry trouve en Pascal un ennemi du genre humain. Il lui répugne de voir cette grande intelligence se consacrer tout entière à convaincre les hommes de leur néant, c'est-à-dire à leur démontrer ce qu'ils savent si bien. A un Pascal, qu'effraie "le silence éternel de ces espaces infinis," l'auteur d'*Eupalinos* oppose l'harmonieuse musique des sphères qui ravissait les Grecs devant le spectacle d'une nuit étoilée; il oppose même les Psaumes bibliques, pour qui les astres innombrables chantent la gloire de Jéhovah. Pascal ne ressent que terreur et désolation devant ce firmament magnifique; ce savant, ce philosophe, que dis-je? ce chrétien, ne trouve même pas Dieu son Père dans les cieux. Il tremble, comme un chien qui aboirait à la lune. Paul Valéry, comme tant d'autres critiques, ne peut évidemment tolérer que Pascal soit ce qu'il est, c'est-à-dire, soit si différent de Valéry lui-même. Mais, si dur qu'il soit, le reproche est significatif, car il exprime avec netteté ce que plusieurs de nos contemporains n'osaient qu'à demi s'avouer; P. Valéry a évidemment été agacé par le sort qu'a fait la postérité à ce cri de Pascal sur les "espaces infinis." Pascal lui-même aurait sans doute été indigné s'il avait pu entendre, comme nous

[8] Aujourd'hui converti au catholicisme. Cf. Ch. Du Bos, *Extraits d'un Journal*, (Schiffrin, 1928), p. 161.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

dans ces dernières années, tous les Joseph Prudhomme français qui avaient dû lire les *Pensées* au collège, contemplant la nuit étoilée et muette de la terrasse de leur villa ou du pont d'un transatlantique, citer son trop célèbre vers blanc.

Mais il y a plus que de l'agacement dans les pages de Valéry. Il y a une attaque en règle contre le "romantisme" de Pascal. On nous a trop répété au XIXe siècle que Pascal était notre Shakespeare, aussi riche en images, aussi suggestif et profond que le dramaturge anglais. Les romantiques ont transformé l'apologiste des *Pensées* en un des leurs,—et ceci irrite encore le poète savant et calculé que nos contemporains acclament comme un nouveau classique. "L'usage a fait de lui (de Pascal) une manière d'Hamlet français et janséniste, qui soupèse son propre crâne, crâne de grand géomètre, et qui frissonne et songe, sur une terrasse opposée à l'univers. Il est saisi par le vent âpre de l'infini, il se parle sur la marge du néant, où il paraît exactement comme sur le rebord d'un théâtre, et il raisonne devant le monde avec le spectre de soi-même" (CIX, p. 164–5). On nous présente donc en acteur tragique, ou tragi-comique, celui d'entre les écrivains français qu'on louait jusqu'ici pour son entière et déchirante sincérité. Car tel est bien le reproche de Valéry: il voit chez Pascal de l'artifice. Au lieu de la compréhension vaste et nuancée du Léonard italien, le janséniste réduit le monde et les choses en de grossières antithèses: géométrie-finesse; grandeur-misère; Epictète-Montaigne. De tels raisonnements sont peut-être d'un bon mathématicien, mais ils ne sont pas d'un grand philosophe.

Sont-ils du moins d'un grand artiste?—le style même de Pascal, ces phrases tourmentées et fiévreuses que nous présentent les manuscrits des *Pensées*, ne trouvent pas grâce devant la critique de Valéry. Il y a de l'art chez Pascal, et nul ne songerait à le lui reprocher—mais alors est-il aussi absolument sincère qu'on veut bien le dire? S'il pouvait s'exprimer avec ces images sublimes, ces versets harmonieux, n'est-ce point que sa détresse n'était pas complète?

"Une phrase bien accordée exclut la renonciation totale . . . Quand je vois l'écrivain reprendre et empirer la véritable sensation de l'homme, y ajouter des forces recherchées et vouloir toutefois que l'on prenne son industrie pour son émotion, je trouve que cela est impur et ambigu . . . Si tu veux me séduire ou me surprendre, prends garde que je ne voie ta main plus distinctement que ce qu'elle trace.—Je vois trop la main de Pascal" (CIX, p. 164).

Un savant et un artiste de génie qui a gaspillé ses magnifiques dons pour se consacrer à des travaux de philosophie et d'apologétique pour lesquels il n'était pas fait, voilà quel serait donc le Pascal de Valéry. Et l'auteur de la *Jeune Parque*—qui n'est revenu lui-même à la poésie qu'après de longues années passées à l'étude des sciences (d'aucuns insinuent méchamment—pour le malheur de la poésie) se prend à regretter la dévotion aveugle de ce savant. Il allait, avant Leibnitz et Newton, découvrir le calcul infinitésimal; hélas! "il se perd à coudre des papiers dans ses poches," et à disserter sur le péché originel et les prophéties de l'Ancien Testament. Ni la philosophie, ni l'exégèse, ni la religion même n'y ont gagné; on ne déplorera jamais assez ce que la science y a perdu.

Ce sont aussi des arguments voltairiens que vient de reprendre contre Pascal l'ironique et sceptique Aldous Huxley. Dans une brillante série d'articles, où le neveu du célèbre naturaliste agnostique a exposé, à propos de Pascal, toute sa philosophie de relativisme (XLVI), A. Huxley a rompu avec la tradition de la critique anglaise qui, imbue de puritanisme, s'était jusqu'ici montrée fort sympathique au jansénisme français et au mysticisme pascalien. Ni l'austérité de la morale janséniste, ni l'"expérience religieuse" de Pascal, n'émeuvent plus A. Huxley; les bouddhistes, les mahométans, ont eux aussi leur expérience religieuse, répond l'auteur de *Jesting*

*Pilate*; en quoi Pascal leur est-il supérieur? C'est un enfant, ou plutôt "an intellectual adult who deliberately forced himself to think like a Christian philosopher, that is to say, like an unstably balanced compound of child and adolescent." Sa philosophie est celle d'un malade; elle était sans doute vraie pour lui, et elle est bonne pour ceux qui, comme lui, sont malades. Certes, il est fort beau de se proclamer satisfait de son mal de tête et de sa "chaleur dans les entrailles," comme le faisait notre Janséniste, mais pourquoi vouloir imposer aux autres sa maladie? "I admit Pascal's worship of death; what I object to is his claim to dictate to the world at large." Huxley, qui ne néglige point pour sa part de se divertir du spectacle ironique de la vie, attaque avec un acharnement fort peu "dilettante" les pensées où Pascal a condamné le "divertissement"; tous les efforts de ce philosophe n'aboutiraient donc qu'à nous vouloir réduire à l'état de l'escargot ou du mollusque qui, peu inquiets en effet de l'avenir ou du passé, sans curiosité scientifique ni vain souci du monde, ne semblent pas cependant méditer beaucoup plus que l'homme sur un Dieu vengeur et rémunérateur. Il y a eu des hommes aussi intelligents que Pascal qui ont tout de même trouvé quelque joie à vivre: Rabelais, Marlowe, Shakespeare, et . . . Jésus-Christ. Oui! Jésus-Christ, nous affirme A. Huxley, "had no patience with the people who imagined that they had something better to do than to live"; et, s'il revenait sur notre globe, qui sait si, tout le premier, il ne condamnerait pas Pascal?

Nous ne nous hasarderons pas à répondre à une telle question, et nous avouons qu'A. Huxley ne nous paraît pas tout désigné pour donner des leçons d'orthodoxie et d'humilité chrétienne à Pascal. Mais ce serait commettre une bien lourde erreur que de prendre au pied de la lettre, et de considérer comme définitives, toutes ces attaques contre les *Pensées*. Il y a là un ensemble de témoignages, imposants par leur nombre, et par la personnalité des auteurs que nous avons cités; mais on ne saurait conclure que Pascal n'est plus désormais qu'un pauvre philosophe et qu'un écrivain de second rang. "Il n'y a qu'une seule loi en littérature," disait un jour un homme d'esprit; "la loi de réaction des enfants contre leurs parents." Pascal, après avoir été porté aux nues par la génération précédente, est aujourd'hui la victime de cette réaction.

Deux siècles et demi se sont d'ailleurs écoulés depuis la mort de Pascal. Notre époque s'enorgueillit d'avoir découvert depuis lors bien des mondes nouveaux: le mysticisme hindou, la sagesse tolérante du confucianisme, l'étude anthropologique des sauvages polynésiens ou l'histoire de l'art pré-colombien. Que de domaines à peine explorés auprès desquels le dogmatisme de Pascal nous paraît forcément étroit. L'univers du XXe siècle est plus large que le ciel pascalien, et beaucoup d'entre nous, convaincus que vérité et erreur ne sont séparées que par des nuances "aussi indiscernables que celles du cou de la colombe," ont renoncé à jamais à l'espoir d'atteindre cette certitude que Pascal obtint joyeusement dans la nuit du 23 novembre 1654. Ce n'est point servir la cause des *Pensées* que de les présenter à nos contemporains comme un livre qui résout tous nos problèmes et calme toutes nos inquiétudes. Si les critiques que nous avons analysés ici se montrent parfois trop sévères, ils nous ont du moins aidé à admirer Pascal plus "relativement," c'est-à-dire plus intelligemment, que nos prédecesseurs.

Il est cependant un point sur lequel notre compréhension des *Pensées* a gagné en intensité et en profondeur, un point où les *Pensées* n'ont plus guère à craindre les vicissitudes de la mode ou l'indifférence de la postérité: la poésie de Pascal. Une génération comme la nôtre, qui s'est prise d'admiration pour le verset lyrique de *Also sprach Zarathustra*, pour le splendide jaillissement des *Illuminations* de Rimbaud et de certains poèmes claudeliens, ne pouvait rester froide devant la fulgurante poésie

du *Mystère de Jésus* ou du fragment des trois ordres (Voir I et XIX). Tout le travail d'analyse et de purification de l'essence poétique, auquel s'attachent nos contemporains à la suite de Poe et de Baudelaire, a contribué à nous faire mieux comprendre le poète chez Pascal. Poète éloquent, et, puisque son but est toujours de convaincre, poète didactique, n'en déplaise à nos jeunes docteurs en poésie qui prétendent bannir du sanctuaire tout didactisme et tout lyrisme tant soit peu oratoire. Telle pensée, où Voltaire, ici bien peu perspicace, ne voulait voir que "galimatias," [10] nous apparaît aujourd'hui comme l'un des sommets de la poésie française—poésie d'autant plus aimée qu'elle est en prose,—car nos contemporains, on le sait, réservent jalousement le nom de poètes à ceux qui n'écrivent pas en vers. La pensée pascalienne aura sans doute à subir de nouvelles attaques de la part des philosophes religieux ou "libertins"; mais il restera toujours à Pascal ce que Sainte-Beuve appelait le "sceptre d'or du style"; cela seul suffirait à assurer à ce nom une gloire dont nulle critique ne saurait ternir l'éclat.

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[10] "Il est à croire que M. Pascal n'aurait pas employé ce galimatias dans son ouvrage, s'il avait eu le temps de le revoir," écrivait Voltaire à propos de l'admirable fragment 793 sur les trois ordres.

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Isabel Leavenworth, *The Physics of Pascal.* Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, New York, 1930, 164 pp.

Commentators of Pascal have recently been paying much more attention to his work as a scientist, than did their predecessors of the last century, who had not taken the trouble to explore a field where the average literary or philosophical student naturally feels shy and diffident. Strowski and Chevalier have made every effort to give a full account of Pascal's scientific researches, while scientists such as Duhem, P. Boutroux and E. Picard (the latter overlooked in Mrs. Leavenworth's bibliography, although he treated the subject in a brief, but remarkable article in the *Revue de France*, 15 juillet 1923) have claimed for this mathematician and physicist of genius a high rank in the history of sciences. Mrs. Leavenworth has undertaken to examine the physics of Pascal in a very painstaking and exhaustive fashion. Her book constitutes the fullest and clearest treatment of that aspect of a many-sided genius. The author is not only well-versed in physics; she is also well acquainted with the history of sciences in the seventeenth century, and with the fierce quarrels of the savants of that period, which are not always easy to unravel.

In a preliminary chapter, Mrs. Leavenworth provides her readers with the necessary historical background: she sums up the problems of hydrostatics as left by Archimedes and as they confronted the seventeenth century. The second chapter tells the detailed story of Pascal's experiments; his long meditations and discussions

on the void in nature, his debt to Torricelli, possibly to Descartes, and the contents and value of his important treatises on *L'Équilibre des liqueurs* and *La Pesanteur de la masse de l'air*. Everywhere, Pascal appears strikingly as a pioneer of the tendencies of modern science, free from all the scholastic habits of thought which were still noticeable in many of his contemporaries, and careful to avoid all metaphysical explanations and uncalled for hypotheses. The moderation of the modern physicist, anxious not to draw unjustified conclusions from his observations, and refraining from proclaiming his discoveries until he has performed an absolutely convincing and "crucial" experiment, were already the qualities of Pascal. His detractors might even regret that he did not display the same care in gathering his documentation against the Jesuits in the *Provinciales*, or in examining the biblical texts about miracles and prophecies for his *Apologie*.—In the last chapter, Pascal's scientific method is summarised, with reference to his well-known fragments on *L'Esprit géométrique* and *L'Art de persuader*. The conclusion seems to be that Pascal, if he was entirely and remarkably free from all subservience to authority, was perhaps a better physicist than most of his contemporaries, thanks to his religious mysticism. For, if faith alone can reach an absolute knowledge of reality, "science must be modest in the aims which it sets itself. It must concern itself with concrete physical, rather than with metaphysical, problems" (p. 145).

There is nothing startlingly new in Mrs. Leavenworth's study. Strowski, in the second volume of *Pascal et son temps*, had already covered the same ground, with less detailed scientific knowledge, but with a graceful nonchalance which one misses in this rather austere dissertation. The style is dry and monotonous, while the subject, with all the picturesque quarrels about the void and the curious vanity of the scientists of the time, was susceptible of a more humorous and lighter treatment. Mrs. Leavenworth seems to have purposely refrained from adding any pleasing touches to a purely objective study. The ordinary reader, who comes to Pascal through the *Pensées*, will probably feel that she might have drawn more frequent *rapprochements* between Pascal's work in physics and his philosophical or religious ideas. The story of Pascal's researches and experiments is told with hardly any reference to Pascal's psychology and inner life. (Yet Pascal's so-called "first conversion," for instance, had taken place before he wrote his treatise on *L'Équilibre des liqueurs*). The very solid qualities of this little book make one wish that the author had made it even better, by bringing more psychological insight and presenting the whole in a more lively form.

Henri Peyre

Yale University

Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes*, texte établi et présenté par Elie Carcassonne. Editions Fernand Roches, Paris, 1929, 2 vols., xxxvi + 171 pp. and 234 pp.

These volumes belong to the new series of fundamental modern texts in French literature issued as *Les Textes français* under the auspices of the "Association Guillaume Budé." They are not elaborate "critical" editions in which not only the significant changes of the text, but every misprint, every misplaced comma or semicolon, every error of three generations of bad printers, are laboriously listed. Only those variants have been retained that bring either on the language of the author or on the evolution of his thought, information of undoubted value. There is much wisdom in this elimination of useless and meaningless critical apparatus which, for modern texts, should be relegated as much as possible to the unprinted notes of the editor. An edition of a modern text is not made "definite" by the inclusion of a

number of insignificant variations taken from defective editions, or by reprinting, in footnotes or otherwise, all the misspellings of the author or the unavoidable mistakes of the printer's devil. This collection reprints, in principle, the last edition corrected by the author himself, unless the editor, for reasons of importance, decides to replace it by another earlier text. In other words, in principle the best and most complete edition is reprinted as a basic text, and all really important variants are added as footnotes. The text selected is not changed except for a slight modernization which remains mainly typographical in character. The letters *v* and *j*, for instance, replace the old letters *u* and *i* wherever necessary. These changes should be generally adopted. Why carry respect for a rather recent sixteenth or seventeenth century text, to the point of reproducing superstitiously the shortcomings of contemporary printing? It is to be regretted that old printers had only the letter *u* in their boxes to represent both *u* and *v*,—but nothing compels us to imitate them in this respect. Texts gain nothing by being reproduced with all the typographical shortcomings and errors of the period. Nor should we fear to commit a crime of *lèse-érudition* by supplying an accent, here and there, when it makes the text more readable.

Each volume in this series of well-known texts is to be preceded by an introduction which surveys the present state of knowledge about it, a short view of the investigations which have revealed its sources, its method of composition, its influence and significance. E. Carcassonne, in his introduction, discusses the history of the publication of the *Lettres Persanes* and Montesquieu's precursors, and reprints the text established by M. Barckhausen (*Soc. des Textes mod.*, 1897). Among the precursors he singles out,—as already Voltaire had done,—Marana's *L'Espion du grand Seigneur; . . .* better known as *L'Espion dans les Cours des Princes Chrétiens*, and Dufresny's *Amusements sérieux et comiques*, as well as Addison's letter of four Indian chiefs travelling in London, in the *Spectator* of 1711. However, I believe that he exaggerates the direct influence of Marana. He bases himself not only on a time-honored tradition, but on the article of P. Toldo in the *Giornale Storico della lett. ital.* (1897). Yet, the parallels adduced by P. Toldo, as I have tried to point out in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (1925), are of a general and inconclusive nature and must be ascribed to the similarity of the subject. Although Marana produced the first important sample of the pseudo-Oriental letter, he mainly chronicles political events, interspersed with very scarce critical remarks. He remains untouched by the *esprit philosophique* and the value of the *Lettres Persanes* consists exactly in the junction of the critical and philosophic tendencies of the early eighteenth century with the pseudo-foreign letter.

On the other hand, the travel relations had been used, before Marana, as a vehicle for even socialist and deist propaganda. Fictitious narratives, disguised as true accounts of the discovery of unknown lands, were the pretext for the construction of an Ideal State, in which, of course, the evils of European civilization were obviated or suppressed. Gabriel de Foigny's *La Terre Australe connue*, 1676, Denis Varasse's *Histoire des Sévarambes*, 1677, or Tyssot de Patot's *Voyages et Avantures de Jacques Massé*, 1710, are the best known examples of this philosophic pseudo-travel genre, which helped to create a general background for the *Lettres Persanes*, and to which at least passing reference should have been made. In these fictitious travel relations, as well as in a number of actual ones, a critical contrast between foreign and Western ideas, customs and social life, was evidently implied. And it is exactly in that critical contrast that the main "originality" of the *Lettres Persanes* consists, rather than in the pseudo-foreign letter formula, of which Marana is an early example.

But even the distinctive characteristic of Montesquieu's *Letters*,—the combination of philosophic criticism with letters, written by pseudo-Persians who had surveyed Western civilization with a critical eye,—had been clearly and abundantly illustrated, ten years before Montesquieu, in a volume which E. Carcassonne has neglected. In 1711, J. F. Bernard, a French exile in Holland who became a publisher, issued his *Réflexions morales, satiriques et comiques sur les mœurs de notre siècle*, in which occur eight lengthy "Persian letters," written by "un philosophe Persan" to a friend in the East. They show exactly the same critical spirit as Montesquieu's letters and attack ironically and by contrast Western ideas, prejudices, religious fanaticism, fashions, moral conventions, or politics. In fact, they are Montesquieu,—minus the genius. J. F. Bernard's book was successful. Three editions appeared before the *Lettres Persanes*,—1711, 1713, 1716,—so that it is reasonable to assume that Montesquieu read it.

The most important fact which, I believe, E. Carcassonne has failed to bring out in his otherwise well documented Introduction is that the pseudo-foreign letter genre underwent an evolution, especially from Marana to Montesquieu; that, during the thirty intervening years, the pseudo-foreign letter became a disguise through which critical and "philosophic" theories were uttered; that Montesquieu found ready-made and full-fledged the minor genre which he was going to intensify. The "Persian Letters" of 1711 by J. F. Bernard and those of J. Bonnet of 1716, are signs of that evolution. There is no reason for supposing, as E. Carcassonne does, that Montesquieu may have written his *Lettres Persanes*, "possibly on the margins" of his copy of Marana's book, (p. XX).

G. L. van Roosbroeck

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Fausto Nicolini, *La Signora D'Epinay e l'Abate Galiani: Lettere inedite (1769–1772) con introduzione e note*, Bari, Laterza, 1929.

It has long been known that there were serious lacunae in the correspondence of Mme D'Épinay. When, in 1881, Lucien Perey and Gaston Maugras published the letters of Galiani it was noticed that about two hundred and sixty-seven were addressed to Mme D'Épinay, while her letters to the Abbé, published by the same editors in 1887, amounted to only seventeen in number. "Exiled" from his beloved Paris, Galiani wrote constantly to his numerous friends in France in order to keep in touch with the activities and interests of that "société irréparable" that was the Paris he had known; and it was Mme D'Épinay who responded to his requests for news. "Je vous écris régulièrement toutes les semaines toute affaire cessante," she wrote to him in 1770. What has become of this hebdomadal correspondence? Sig. Nicolini answers the question. In his testament Galiani willed his library and manuscripts to his nephew, Francisco Azzariti; this collection was acquired in 1810 by a forebear of the present editor who inherited it from his father and presented it to the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria. As early as 1908 Sig. Nicolini described the contents of the collection (*I manoscritti dell'abate Galiani, catalogo sistematico*, Napoli, Ricciardi) and was on the point of publishing it when the War broke out, which made the costly enterprise impossible. The letters which are now made public, and which the editor says have never before been published, represent only a portion of material in the Società's archives. It is hoped that Sig. Nicolini will be able to realize his long cherished project of printing the remaining letters.

The first letters in the volume before us date from 1769, that is immediately following Galiani's disgrace and his unwilling departure from Paris. He had arrived

in that city in 1759, appointed by his friend Tanucci, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Naples, to act as Secretary to the Embassy in Paris, but in reality to guide the incompetent ambassador, the conte di Cantillana. His numerous talents well qualified Galiani to fulfill his charge with distinction. Before leaving Italy he had already achieved a reputation as a scholar and as a wit, while his books on geology, economics, archaeology, and especially a squib on academic necrologies, composed on the occasion of the death of the public hangman, had attracted the attention of King and Pope. The rarest opportunities were at his hand to acquire an excellent education and he did not neglect them. At the episcopal palace of his uncle, Celestino Galiani, he met the flower of the intellectual world of Italy and discussed questions with such minds as Serao, Vico and Mazzochi. All the fairies seemed to have presided at his birth to bestow upon him their gifts, but one was to place a step-mother's curse upon him. The Abbé was short, a mere dwarf of four feet. Moreover Galiani was sensitive to this slight to his dignity—a hypersensitiveness which he tried to conceal under a mask of comic buffooneries. An incident marked his presentation at the Court of Versailles which is characteristic. The risibility of the courtiers was greatly excited by the exiguity of the Abbé, but he recovered his composure sufficiently to salute the king: "Sire voici l'échantillon du secrétaire de Naples, le secrétaire vient après." He was not happy at first in Paris, but soon his wit and intelligence marked him out in the diplomatic circles which he frequented and at which he later made the acquaintance of Baron Grimm, who, like Galiani, was a foreigner in France. Grimm was attracted by the Southerner, and having succeeded de Francueil as the titular lover of Mme D'Épinay, presented Galiani to his mistress. Thus began a friendship that lasted during twenty years.

It is not difficult to imagine why Mme D'Épinay immediately struck up a friendship with the Abbé. Her life had been a long struggle to forget her unhappiness: Her unfaithful husband, her unhappy affair with de Francueil who had left her for the charms of one of the Verrières upon whom her husband was squandering their fortune, and finally, her poor health. Galiani amused her as he amused everybody. "Une mauvaise santé," she said later in life, "et des chagrins vifs et répétés, ont déterminé au sérieux mon caractère naturellement très gai." The amusing Italian helped her to recover a part of that lost and distant past which she felt was her real self. But what was more, and infinitely nearer her temperament at the moment, her charming Abbé made her think, for he could be as profound as her most philosophical friends. She became interested in economics—was not the Abbé preparing a book on the commerce of wheat? She read pamphlets so that she might discuss with him their contents. Then the Abbé left Paris.

Why, she did not know, as the letters in this volume prove. She had heard vague rumors about his having been recalled by Tanucci. The truth of the matter was that a letter had been intercepted by the agents of the Duke of Choiseul showing that Galiani had tried to dissuade Denmark from entering the Family Pact and Choiseul had demanded the recall of Galiani. Before leaving Paris forever Galiani gave Mme D'Épinay the manuscript of the *Dialogues sur le commerce des blés*, which he had not been able to revise for publication. The first fifty pages or more of the volume before us deal with the difficulties encountered during the printing of this work which Grimm and Mme D'Épinay were seeing through the press and through the censor's office.

There is in these letters something of the associate editor of the "Correspondance littéraire" of which Mme D'Épinay took charge, with the aid of Diderot, during the

absence of Grimm from France. The Baron undoubtedly had a great ascendancy over the mind of Mme D'Épinay in whom there was a deal of the blue stocking, particularly at this period when it was the fashion for women to be able to discuss the latest brochure on the financial question; and the nature of Galiani's own preoccupations accounts in a large measure for the tone of this correspondence, which it must be owned, is entirely lacking in those personal revelations one hopes for in such documents. Something is to be learned here about the headaches of Mme D'Épinay, about the *chaise de paille* (Grimm), about the literary questions and social gossip of the day, anecdotes, etc., much of which rings familiar as having been read in other *mémorialistes* of the time. The caducity, as they said in the 18th century, of this valetudenarian is manifest in every letter. Nor was the Abbé, the fabric of whose mind was made of such different stuff, unaware of the languor, the mental apathy of which we speak. "Il y a," he writes to her, "trois ou quatre semaines que vos lettres ne m'électrissent point." Indeed her letters do not electrify. The epistles of Mme D'Épinay here and elsewhere published should rightly be brought together with those of Galiani. The juxtaposition would serve to make a comparison easy and would obviate the necessity of many notes. Moreover, it was the express wish of the two correspondents that this be done. "Vous savez; ma belle dame, que votre correspondance, après notre mort commune, sera imprimée. Quel plaisir pour nous. Comme cela nous divertira. Or je travaille de toute ma force de faire en sorte que mes lettres l'emportent sur les vôtres et je commence à me flatter d'y réussir." And she answers: "Et comme on intercalera mes lettres avec les vôtres, cela fera, à tout prendre, une collection parfaite." Galiani, "prototype de tous les charmants abbés, passés, présents et à venir," as Grimm calls him, would certainly offset the sadness of his French correspondent.

Sig. Nicolini, who is without question the first authority on everything that concerns the Abbé Galiani, states in his introduction that the letters here published are inedited. Although the present writer has not made a thorough collation he has recognised two or three as having appeared in the Perey-Maugras volumes. This may be an oversight of the editor, or it may be that the letters quoted in the earlier publication were taken from other sources. As Sig. Nicolini points out, some of the letters printed by Perey and Maugras were apocryphal, or at least reconstructed (*ricostuite*) or rewritten by Mme D'Épinay after they were posted. The letters in question (nos. XLIV and XLIX) may be of this category. The notes have been made with scrupulous attention to accuracy. May Sig. Nicolini find the moment propitious to give the remaining portions of the collection to the public, which, if it does not show Mme D'Épinay in a brilliant light, at least redounds to the glory of that fascinating man that was Abbé Galiani.

A. E. A. Naughton

Yale University

Louis Roule, *Bernardin de Saint-Pierre et l'Harmonie de la Nature*, Paris, Flammarion, 1930, 242 pp.

This study of the contribution of Saint-Pierre to scientific knowledge, by Professor Roule, is the fifth volume in a series intitled *L'Histoire de la Nature Vivante d'après l'Œuvre des Grands Naturalistes Français*. The preceeding volumes devoted to Buffon, Daubenton, Cuvier and Lamarck are also from the pen of M. Roule who is, as were the scientists about whom he writes, a member of the faculty of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle. In a sense, then, M. Roule is writing the history of the directors of that institution.

It has been a moot question whether Bernardin de Saint-Pierre can rightly be considered a scientist in the modern acceptation of that term. Until now the author of *Paul et Virginie* has found a place only in the manuals of French literature, and the work upon which his claims as a naturalist are based, *Études de la Nature*, while more interesting and even more characteristic than his famous novels, has been neglected by the general reader. It is only fitting that a scientist by profession should call our attention to and appraise the work of Saint-Pierre the naturalist. Professor Roule has divided his study into three parts: The life of Saint-Pierre, his work as a scientist and a reconsideration of the ethical code which Bernardin draws from his studies of nature and which he calls "l'Harmonie de la Nature."

The average reader of *Paul et Virginie* forms a very definite conception of its author: a rather melancholy, lonely sort of person finding solace in quiet virtue and in the solitude of nature. In reality there was little that was lovable about Saint-Pierre as a man. Selfish, cantankerous and ambitious, he shunned society less because of any profound love of nature than because he was unable to get along with his fellowmen. Professor Roule leaves it to be understood that the rôle that Bernardin played in the Poivre *ménage* was far from laudable. While profiting by the learning and admiring the humanitarian philosophy of his host he was secretly trying to steal the affections of his young wife. His career in the army is one long series of petty differences with his superiors and later in life, as director of the Muséum, his irascibility (as well as his incompetency, which M. Roule tries to minimize) aroused against him the entire school. As an old man he married the daughter of his publisher, Didot. At the death of Didot *père* his will was contested by the heirs, and Saint-Pierre, who represented the interests of his wife in court, brought to her defence such acrimony that he completely estranged his wife from her family. It is difficult to square this personality with the beatific gentleness which permeates the works of Saint-Pierre. And in fairness to M. Roule it should be said that he makes no consistent effort to interpret Bernardin's work in terms of his life.

His work as a scientist, as has been said, is embodied in the *Études de la Nature*. What is there in this work which has added to the sum of our scientific information? Was Saint-Pierre imbued with the true scientific spirit? Professor Roule shows that Bernardin was a sedulous observer of the habits of nature, that he described many objects unknown at his time; he even claims for the naturalist the distinction of having first noticed "les importants phénomènes vitaux de l'adaption" (p. 136), an honor which is usually given to Lamarck. His explanation of the formation of volcanoes and his observations on submarine life are likewise considered. But Saint-Pierre was wrong as often as he was right, and as much is to be ascribed to happy guess work as to careful investigation guided by scientific principles. It is true of course, as in the case of Goethe, that a perspicacious imagination frequently forestalls, or better prophesies, discoveries that are later confirmed by controlled science. But a guess is only important when it is proven true. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre lacked a quality of mind which is axiomatic to the scientific spirit: Disinterestedness, freedom from *parti pris*. It was for this reason that the most revolutionizing of modern scientific discoveries, evolution, escaped him. He set out to prove something by studying nature. As he puts it: "Rien n'est si lumineux dans l'étude de la Nature que de référer tout ce qui existe à la bonté de Dieu et aux besoins de l'homme." His conception of nature as a static, fixed force and, as a consequence, his ingenuously optimistic morality blinded him to many manifestations of nature which were patent to his coevals, Buffon, Bonnet and others. This anthropocentric teleology, in terms of which

he explains everything, is the formula of a mind that sees only one side of a question. It is interesting to note with Professor Osborn that "the basis of our modern methods of studying the evolution problem was established, not by the early naturalists, nor speculative writers, but by the philosophers." [1]

The question which M. Roule considers in essay form in the last part of his book is: Does nature conform to an ethic? Does it follow necessarily certain laws which constitute a moral code? Saint-Pierre believed that it did. What has modern science to say? The most natural answer is that modern science does not concern itself with the question. It proposes only to study the "how" and not the "why" of the workings of natural phenomena. One conception of modern science is, however, in complete opposition to Saint-Pierre's idea of "l'Harmonie de la Nature": That is the struggle for existence. It may not preclude the possibility of a more embracing harmony but it clearly nullifies the limited synthesis of the French naturalist. Professor Roule tries to bring the position of Bernardin up to date in the light of more recent discoveries, and those who are interested in this question will read his book with profit. The author has not loaded down his pages with references and footnotes, and writes in an easy, agreeable essay style, carrying on a French tradition, followed by Henri Fabre and others, that a scientist should be a good writer.

A. E. A. Naughton

Yale University

Alexander Lacey, *Pixérécourt and the French Romantic Drama*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1928, 88 pp.

This book is a somewhat abridged edition of a dissertation on the same subject. In his preface, Mr. Lacey states that the purpose of the work is to establish the relationship between the Romantic drama of the period 1829–1843, and the melodrama which flourished in the second-class theatres during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. He has selected as typical of the two *genres* the plays of Hugo written during the years 1829–1843, the dramas of Dumas *père* produced in that same period, the original dramas of Vigny, and the best-known melodramas of Pixérécourt, recognized *roi du mélodrame*. His method of comparison is analytical rather than historical. He first analyzes the characteristic elements of melodrama, dramatic, tragic, pathetic, sentimental, sensational, and such minor elements as the use of stock characters and of stage conventions such as the stage-whisper, the aside, eavesdropping, secret passages and the voice of the blood. The same method of analysis is then applied to Romantic drama. From the comparison of the two *genres* Mr. Lacey concludes: "In all matters of form and technique, and even in matters of sentiment and emotion, the Romantic drama is but treading in the steps of its humble predecessor" (p. 83). Because the Romantics, with the exception of Dumas *père*, did not possess the *vocation théâtrale*, they were unable to create a dramatic form to harmonize with the new Romantic principles. So they adopted the form whose breadth, complexity, freedom from restraint, and popularity made it seem best fitted for their use. Into this "old bottle" they tried to pour the wine of their energetic, lyrical style, and their new ideas of pessimism, of revolt against convention, of passionate individualism.

In the brief historical portion of the work, Mr. Lacey touches on such subjects as the personal and literary relationships between the Romantics and the playwrights of

[1] Quoted after J. Arthur Thomson in *Darwin's Predecessors* in *Evolution in Modern Thought*, New York, n.d.

the boulevards, the influence of Walter Scott, the importance of the Porte-Saint-Martin and of certain Romantic actors who received their training in melodrama, and the appearance of Romantic elements in certain early melodramas. The history of melodrama is a vast field as yet little known to students of the theatre in France. Mr. Lacey shows himself so familiar with it, and writes with such logic and fairness, that one wishes he had presented it more fully.

EDITH MELCHER

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André Thérive, *Le Parnasse*, Les Œuvres Représentatives, Paris, 1929. 330 pp.

This is a distinguished piece of literary criticism, one that contributes a large measure of appreciative understanding to the history and philosophy of an artistic creed. Writing with ease and charm, the eminent critic of *Le Temps* uncovers in an old literary landscape new vistas that are truly winning. Here is erudition tempered with artistry; sympathy verging on lucidity; criticism stealing a lap on humanism. His critique is free from those ugliest of all critical sins: pedantic arrogance and moralism. M. Thérive is not certain which, of literary taste and public morality in any epoch, fashions the other. He leaves that problem where it belongs.

M. Thérive starts by establishing a useful distinction. The classic ideal of life by setting art on a comparatively lower sphere of social value than the concept of morality, allowed it a degree of artistic freedom whose judicious use ennobled art. The Romantic ideal by inverting the standards, turned art into a priestess of life, first, and into its slave, in the end. What art gained in social prestige and power, it lost in æsthetic disinterestedness and purity. The Parnassian movement was an attempt to turn back the current of art toward the artistic puritanism of the classic ages. This legitimate child of the Romantic school abjured its mother, and deliberately wrapped itself in an Olympian cloak. But blood-ties, even artistic ones, are hard to dissolve; and the folds of the Olympian cloak were, this time, dragging through the market-place. Therein lies the tragedy, and also the mock-heroism, in the renaissance of what M. Thérive likes to consider as a new classic era in French poetry.

The Parnasse was pessimistic *à rebours*—through excessive faith in its "rêve hellénique." Its break with plebeian utilitarianism isolated it from its positivistic milieu, and compelled it to seek its æsthetic manna in a Platonic civilization: legendary Greece. In this it was following, though for different reasons, on the footsteps of a Ronsard or a Racine. But whereas the latter, by being entirely detached from social or utilitarian concerns, were strictly true to the spirit of their arts and the social codes which governed them, the Parnassians, some of them, thanks to their Romantic parenthood, were committed to what was to be an artistic anachronism. They were to be considered impassive, anti-social, nihilists, for holding to the same artistic creed. But it was their environment that was at fault, or that had changed, not they.

The Parnasse's jealous defense of the ideal of a disinterested art, its refusal in a positivistic age to open a stall for literature in the market-place may be the heritage of the classic ideal, as M. Thérive wants it. But he might well have stressed a little less the traditional side of this revival, and spoken a little of Germanic influences upon it. Schlegel's glorification of Greek tragedy, the essential Hellenism of Schopenhauer's pessimism, works like Goethe's *Bride of Corinth*, the second part of *Faust*, were not lost on Leconte de Lisle. He might have also emphasized the effect of the fiasco of 1848 on this poet's æsthetics. Moreover the Parnassian's thirst for artistic martyrdom in the midst of materialistic and plebeian supremacy was no more genuine or

admirable than was that of many Romantics, or than was that of Gérard de Nerval, Baudelaire, or of the later Symbolists. The true poet has always defended not only the prerogatives of art, the unimpeachability of its ideal quest, but also the very notion of an intellectual supremacy. He has never lowered his æsthetic standard by one iota (I am thinking of Lecont de Lisle, Mallarmé, Valéry) to court public favor. Cast into the jaws of an industrial, arrogant monster, he has held firmly to his spiritual function. Not to him can be addressed the reproach of M. Julien Benda.

The wisdom of applying the term "classic" to the Parnasse may be questioned on another ground. For its supposed reaction to the weeping sentimentalism of some of the Romantics was only external. Its individualism was no less vibrant than theirs. It reached even a higher degree of subjectivism. It wrapped itself up within the cloak of a futile impersonality. It wore a mask which did not, however, conceal the heart, or silence it. For it is no less evident than is, for example, Vigny's, who was no less impassive, though more emotional. In their expression the Parnassians reverted to the formalism of pre-Romantic literature. In this they mark a distinct deviation from the general trend of artistic expression since 1820. "Or, pour disculper les Parnassiens du grief qui pèse sur eux," says M. Thérive, "il est encore bon de les rattacher au classicisme proprement dit, c'est-à-dire de les dissocier sur ce point du romantisme." This, indeed, has been the accepted attitude up to now. But it must be a dissociation for convenience's sake only. For if Leconte de Lisle recalls Racine, it is only to fix the attention on the immense gulf that divides their respective views of life. M. Thérive seems to forget that the artistic integrity and sobriety which characterize classic art were a result of an inner spiritual harmony and serenity in life. How different is the "classicism" of the Parnassians, inwardly tortured and disrupted, and outwardly passionless and frigid. If classicism in literature is to mean a perfect coordination between matter and form, between inward travail and outer expression, between the soul and its visible symbol, then we must look for it in an art in which the search for form is an effort to express a secret soul, not to mask it, not to conceal it, or to congeal it, as the Parnassians aimed to do. M. Thérive turns to Paul Valéry as a living justification of the Parnassian cult of form over substance. "Pour parler clair, s'il n'y avait eu Gautier, il n'y eût pas eu Mallarmé, et sans celui-ci nous ne possèderions point M. Valéry . . . ." But that is confusing the issue. Valéry's almost inhuman effort, the same as Mallarmé's, to express in its ultimate and immutable form the most evanescent and fugitive elements of a secret thought or soul, is indeed an heroic effort to capture in its ultimate and otherwise ineffable essence that thought or that soul. How can we associate such an æsthetic martyrdom with the grandiloquence of the Parnassians? If we must find ancestors to Valéry and Mallarmé, instead of extracting them from the ribs of the Parnassians, we might go further back to Nerval and Baudelaire, or more recently, to Rimbaud, all of whom were like them trying to catch Pegasssus not by its tail, in the manner of the Parnassians, but by its mane; not to follow it, but to lead it.

But comparisons between schools are often fruitless. The Parnassians are great enough on their own score. With André Chénier leading their procession, Sainte-Beuve would serve as a link between it and Ronsard. Hugo, being at the crossroads of the century, belongs to all schools, or rather, all schools belong to him. Parnassians, and of the first water, are Gautier, Banville, delightful Pagan, in his life as in his art, Louis Bouilhet, Louis Ménard, the truest Hellenist of them all, a bit unreal and ridiculous. But there is nothing ridiculous in the impeccable, studio artistry of Anatole France, in the philosophic pessimism of Jean Lahor, a poet for poets. Albeit,

some of its figures are shadowy: Armand Silvestre, Albert Glatigny, Albert Mérat, scores of others. But there is nothing shadowy about J.-M. Heredia and Léon Dierx, about both of whom M. Thérive is somewhat doubtfully complimentary; nor about François Coppée and Sully Prudhomme, for these are substantial enough; in fact too much so. They have the substantiality of the good bourgeois of their epoch. The change in the critical point of view from the positivistic '80s to these relativistic post-war times is no more strikingly illustrated than by M. Thérive's attitude toward these two poets. For the critic of the semi-official *Le Temps* to write: "there is no more moral poetry, no more psychological poetry, no more didactic poetry," an æsthetic revolution must have occurred which must make the shades of Brunetière and Scherer hide in shame. But perhaps Messrs. Babbitt, Foerster, More, have still something to say about the matter here in America, at least. Finally Leconte de Lisle stands somewhat apart from that procession; for he walks alone, and his shadow lengthens with the years.

M. Thérive's admiring partisanship of the Parnasse makes of him an ideal champion of its creed, but also an unjust critic of other creeds. For him "l'art suprême" describes "de façon impeccable la beauté extérieure des choses." From that to stating, or misstating, the ideal of the Symbolists there is but a step. Witness, to begin with, his treatment of Verlaine whom, by the way, he does not include as a Parnassian, and of whom he says that his verses have fallen into an "oubli profond." Witness also his discussion of the problem of "pure poetry" "qui réside souvent, paraît-il, dans les syllabes," he remarks. But where else does poetry reside except within the inevitable "syllabes", like a soul within a body? His misunderstanding of the central function of Mallarmé's symbolism beclouds his ordinary lucidity. He sees in the Parnassians the ineluctable ancestors of the "poésie pure." "L'art inutile, l'art supérieur à la vie, l'art autonome . . . " But what has that got to do with the problem? All that leads neither away from nor toward pure poetry, although it may do both. It isn't the substance that makes "pure poetry" nor the form alone, although both may contribute toward it, or prevent it. It is the poet, and in him something which we shall call "inspiration," or "poetic insight," or "artistic vision" and leave it at that for the moment. But Thérive, adding that given François Coppée and "un degré de plus et vous avez Mallarmé," is merely shouting to the four winds his own essential incomprehension of symbolism or of "pure poetry." For him "pure poetry" is equivalent to objectivity, to impersonality, to richness of idea, or concept, or form in a verse. The poetry of Verlaine, by this criterion, seems to him less "pure," "puisque l'auteur se permet de vous inspirer sa réaction propre . . ." And he concludes: "Bref, sans paradoxe aucun, c'est bien à l'esthétique parnassienne qu'il faut faire remonter la plus moderne des idées, et, semble-t-il, la plus subversive." That leaves in the cold all the Romantics—Lamartine, Musset, Vigny—and Nerval, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Valéry. But no! So far as the last two at least are concerned, their "badinages" are accepted as "pure poetry," with this reservation, however, that it seems to him made often "de clinquant et de verroterie." That calls for a challenge from M. Henri Bremond.

This same hostility toward anything not Parnassian makes M. Thérive write: "L'alexandrinisme, le byzantinisme, c'est encore de la littérature," but "le futurisme ce n'en est plus." If the effort to reestablish traditional forms is commendable, why is the effort to create the future not so, however?

All these reserves must not invalidate in the least my judgment of the book already expressed at the beginning of this review. It is an engaging, instructive,

and diverting introduction to one of the most fertile of the poetic movements in the nineteenth century, and in M. Thérive the school has found its most eloquent and "classic" champion.[1]

S. A. Rhodes

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Louis Reynaud, *La Crise de Notre Littérature*, Paris, Hachette, 1930.

M. Reynaud writes only for those who are concerned for the future of "our dear Literature, that visible soul of France." And so the book is serious, or at any rate there is every indication that M. Reynaud is serious. He is widely-known as one of the most earnest and diligent critics of Romanticism, of which he has succeeded in isolating two varieties, the High and the Low: i.e. the noble idealism of 1830 and the vulgar dilettantism of our contemporaries. These are the Romanticism of Faith and the Romanticism of Play. Certain of M. Reynaud's fellow-Crusaders will perhaps regret his apparent departure from the accepted classification of Romantic writers into the Satanic, the Fiendish and the Diabolical. But this would be mere quibbling, and a peculiarly dangerous sort of quibbling to indulge in, at a time when French Literature is threatened by the Huns, and, even worse, by the Anglo-Saxons. Surely in such an hour as this, all who would be lovers of social righteousness must stand back-to-back in defense of the fundamentally moral nature of literary criticism. We are to distinguish between the generation of Victor Hugo, a generation that *believed* things (quite lofty things, it would appear) and, on the other hand, the Dilettanti, all of whom come after Hugo's time, and who only write books for the fun of it. These latter include Baudelaire, Renan, Anatole France, Proust, Gide and Valéry. They are uniformly insincere. It is only the *great* Romantics who were really honest, the "great" being those who are possessed of the "allure oratoire" and that "tendency to the universal" that are not only the essential traits of the classic temper, but also the indispensable qualities of good literary morals. Examples are Lamartine, Musset, Sand, Michelet and Alfred de Vigny.

M. Reynaud has discovered in the Anglo-Saxons an extraordinary capacity for fraud. Their disconcerting self-mastery enables them to blow hot and cold at the same time, and even "to portray in the most convincing terms any number of facts that are entirely fictitious." The French have learned recently from the English novelists that it is possible to adorn a tale without taking the trouble to point a moral, with the result that "lying" has been substituted for "true emotion." This "lying," of course, is simply Romanticism, and hence (except when it is oratorical) is a very wicked thing indeed, having come from Germany and England. A really French writer is always "classic," and he "writes from the heart," but these Moderns are a pleasure-loving lot and they go on gaily writing poems and stories and histories while France totters at the edge of the Abyss, because of the lack of adequate police methods in literary criticism.

If Mr. Mencken should ever come across such stuff as this in a book by an American professor! But perhaps there is an explanation of M. Louis Reynaud: He is one of the chiefs of the new French movement toward Nationalism in Esthetics. He enjoys a considerable reputation, and his support will certainly be appreciated by the

[1] This review was already written when appeared Professor Maurice Souriau's vast *Histoire du Parnasse*. We shall have occasion to say all the good we think of this important work.

American Humanists. In fact, the French are even more active today in this Crusade than Mr. Babbitt himself, and they are actually getting better results. For whereas Mr. Babbitt has traced Romanticism only as far back as Francis Bacon, M. Ernest Seillière has shown that it was already getting under way with Plato; and the latest researches of M. Reynaud are such as to give promise that he will soon be able to ascribe the whole business to the Devil himself. The point needs to be settled, for there is Something that must be Saved, and that shortly, (one doesn't know precisely what) before Modern Literature can be permitted to go on like this.

Paul C. Snodgress

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Montague Summers, *The Vampire in Europe*, N. Y., Dutton Co., 1929, 330 pp.

Mr. Montague Summers specializes in Vampires. His specialty is somewhat gruesome, but it is vastly interesting for the study of literary legend and motive, as well as for the survival of prehistoric civilization under the varnish of our vaunted modernity. Needless to stress that I shall discuss here only the literary aspects of this *leyenda negra*, and that I shall carefully avoid Mr. Summers' main contention,—the actual existence of the Vampire. For he firmly believes in the reality of these voracious ghosts, who in the dark of night suck man's lifeblood, who can be conjured only by garlic, and have to be decapitated and impaled before giving up their nightly rovings.

For this belief in the semi-bodily existence of vampires, Mr. Summers argues that he has in his favor the "Universal Consent of Mankind." From prehistoric times until quite recently the vast majority of men have cowered before these phantoms under one name or another. Sceptics may suggest that this tends rather to discredit the argument of "Universal Consent" than to prove the actual existence of blood-sucking ghosts. But Mr. Summers has no pity for sceptics: "To the feather-fool and lobcock, the pseudo-scientist and materialist, these deeper and more obscure things must, of course, appear a grandam's tale" (p. 9). In a previous study, *The Vampire: His Kith and Kin*, he has traced the tradition of these man-killing ghouls through dateless antiquity into the vague mists of prehistoric origins. The present volume supplements the previous one by collecting a number of cases of vampirism from European history and literature since Greece and Rome. He has patiently gathered them from the Church Fathers, from the *Occult Review*, from folklore and old popular books, from newspapers as well as from novels, and he stresses the latest outburst of vampirism in Hungary and Moravia, which occurred about 1725–30, as well as the traces of these beliefs in modern Greece and in the Orient.

When he comes to the more Western nations, the author complains of an increasing lack of cases (p. 122): "As in England and in Ireland, in France the records of vampirism are few: one might perhaps not untruthfully say *designedly few*." And to explain this astounding paucity of record about vampires in nations where education has had its influence, he suggests that some sinister group,—possibly the Freemasons, or the Jesuits, or the Bolsheviki, or the Intellectuals, I surmise,—are conspiring with Organized Vampirism itself to suppress the news of its unceasing activities. It is rather sad to reflect that here one may be slowly devoured by a vampire without even having the consolation of seeing one's name emblazoned upon the front pages of the popular papers, and without posing for the news-reels in the Movies! And I do not even mention the financial loss to the victim, which will be obvious when one remembers that a play based on Bram Stoker's *Dracula* has been for two years a constant Broadway attraction for hard-headed business men!

Because of this criminal suppression of Vampire-news,—which we here bring to the attention of Press-Syndicates,—Mr. Summers has been obliged to rely largely on printed records—of more than doubtful value. One is rather astonished, for instance, to find long quotations from Thomas Preskett Prest's *Varney the Vampire or the Feast of Blood*, 1847,—a "penny dreadful" of 868 pp.,—which is not any more a historical document than his *Sawny Bean, the Man-Eater of Midlothian*, or his *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street.* Who would dare to claim that these terrifying tales are truthful reports of the ravages of actual vampires, instead of merely poor collections of threadbare commonplaces from the Gothic novel?

And, if Mr. Summers considers such "novels" as *Varney the Vampire* as valuable record, why did he not even mention the superior work of Charles Nodier, in his *Contes fantastiques* and especially his *Lord Ruthwen ou les Vampires* (also attributed to Cyprien Bérard)? Why did he omit the most important among the literary works dealing with this ghastly theme,—Goethe's *Die Braut von Corinth?* And *The Giaour* by Polidori but attributed to Byron, which was translated early into French (1819) and had a European influence?

Mr. Summers is evidently mistaken in believing that in France there was any lack of interest in the Vampire. On the contrary these delightful ghouls were much in fashion under the Restoration. They were seriously studied, for instance, in the *Histoire des vampires et des spectres malfaisants avec un examen du vampirisme* (1820); Scribe and Mélesville made merry with it in their *Le Vampire*, which was preceded or followed by at least seven other plays or parodies on the same theme (Cf. E. Estève, *Byron et le Romantisme français*, pp. 77–78). For German literature Mr. Summers could have used to advantage Stefan Hock's well-known study, *Die Vampyrsagen und ihre Verwertung in der deutschen Literatur* (1900). Numerous "authentic cases" of vampirism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, described with dates and names, are found in Johannes Pretorio's curious volume, *Anthropodemus Plutonicu. Das ist eine Neue Weltbeschreibung von allerley Wunderbahren Menschen* (Madgeburg, 1666, chapter VII, *Von gestorbenen Leute oder Larvis*) where a number of other sources are indicated. These few indications of the omission of document could be readily multiplied; they disprove the author's statement about the recent ravages of vampires: "One thing is plain:—not that they do not occur, but *that they are carefully hushed up and stifled*" (pp. X–XI). The sensation-seeking press has been and is hankering for the new thrill and the increased sales one single authentic, demonstrable case of vampirism would bring. But, alas, these hellish lovers of blood are becoming as rare as the legendary sea-serpent or the unicorn of medieval fame!

While neglecting important literary sources, Mr. Summers narrates a number of stories that are open to grave doubt on quite different grounds than unbelief in vampirism. The "authentic" story of an eighteenth century French Viscount de Moriève who was a vampire living secretly on human blood, sounds much like one of the popular thrillers of a century ago. "After the final discovery of the ghoul the family archives were searched and it was found that the old viscount had come originally from Persia, where he married an Indian wife, and afterwards took up his residence in France, where he became a naturalized subject. The vampiric taint was in his blood" (pp. 125–126, from J. A. Middleton, *Another Grey Ghost Book*). Any one in possession of even the most elementary notions of French history knows that under the reign of Louis XVI it was impossible for a Persian to become a French subject and a "naturalized" French viscount to boot! Such stories are evidently poor inventions of semi-literate hackwriters,—a truth for which all demonstration was superfluous from the start.

This study seems to rest on a vague notion of the meaning of Vampirism. It is impossible to explain, for instance, the inclusion (with an illustration) of Huysmans' Black Mass from *À Rebours* among vampire lore, when it is evidently a case of devil-worship; the illustrations from Goya's *Los Caprichos* deal with the Sabbath and witchcraft, and not with vampires; and it is strange to find a description of popular superstition from D'Annunzio's *Trionfo della Morte* in this miscellaneous collection. With this lack of discrimination, the author could have included the entire history of witchcraft and half of folklore.

In modern literature the Vampire has never been anything more than an artificial revival of a past forever dead and buried in the lower layers of our racial remembrance. Many among us can still be fascinated, when in a more or less esthetic frame of mind, by the mysteries, however horrible, that gleam in these dark recesses of a primitive past; few can, in their awe, relive the actual experience of our remote and credulous ancestors. Mr. Summers is one of these; he deserves fully our admiration for his persistent gathering of materials in a ghostly no-man's-land "where scholars fear to tread," and from which sporadically a glimmer from the beyond has illuminated literature. Our main regret is that all this supernatural interference has never produced a work even remotely resembling a masterpiece. The esthetics of Hell have remained decidedly mediocre!

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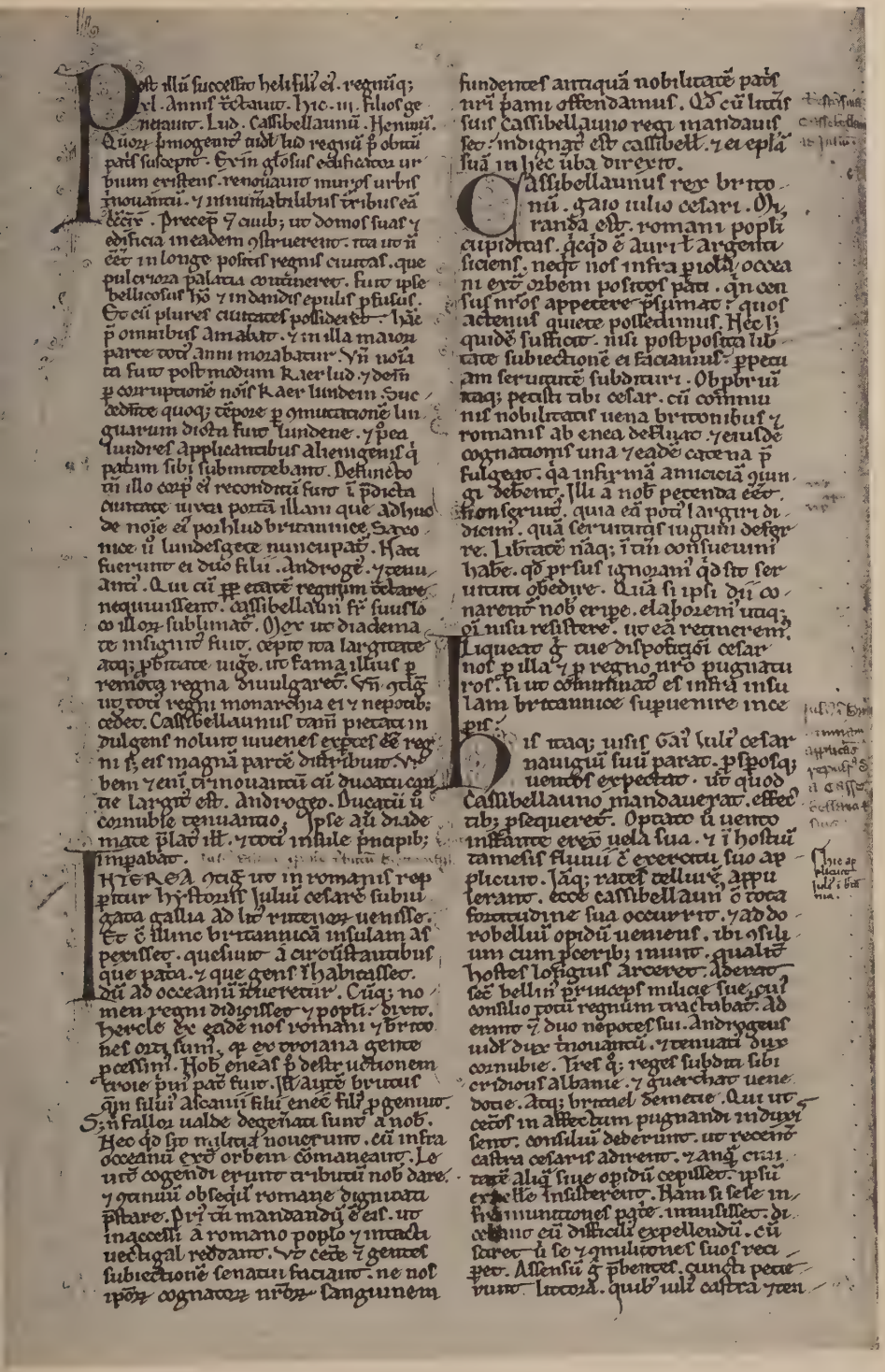
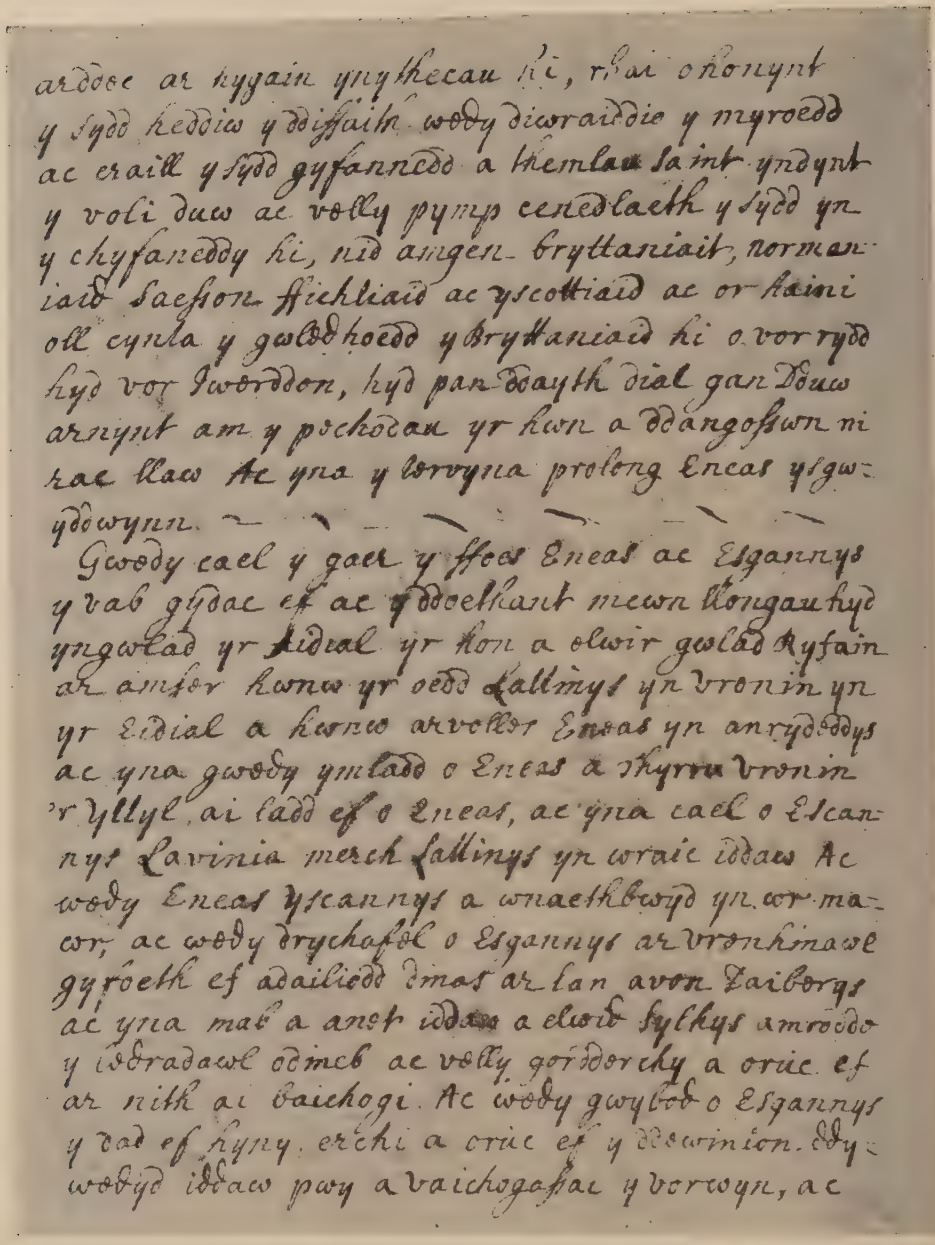
Acton Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, with Contributions to the Study of its Place in Early British History . . . Together with a Literal Translation of the Welsh Manuscript No. LXI of Jesus College, Oxford, by Robert Ellis Jones, . . .* N. Y., Longmans, Green, 1929, xiv + 672 pp.

Ever since the twelfth century, when William of Newburgh denounced him as an impostor, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia* has been considered as a collection of pseudo-historical fairy tales. "Of all that I have been able to read in the course of my laborious career, I know nothing more filled with lies and insanity; and what this book contains surpasses the divagations of drunkenness and fever . . ." wrote a certain Le Blond in the fifteenth century. Yet it is exactly these "divagations" which scholars have studied with admirable patience. Gaston Paris called the *Historia* "une audacieuse mystification," and in a recent issue of the *Revue des Cours et Conférences* a deep and widely informed student of his work, E. Faral, repeats: "On est fondé à lui reprocher de n'avoir eu aucun respect de la vérité, d'avoir altéré les témoignages authentiques, d'avoir invoqué des textes qui n'ont jamais existé, et toutes sortes de mensonges. Les âmes droites ne l'aiment pas et la plupart de ceux qui n'ont pas été ses dupes ont porté sur lui des jugements rigoureux." It has become a scholarly tradition to decry Geoffrey of Monmouth as an early example of a historical Baron von Munchausen: He invented the entire marvelous scenario of legendary British history and, by lying, originated unknowingly the *matière de Bretagne,* the glory of medieval literature, which lingers on until this day. . . . Especially his mention of a certain *vetustissimus liber,* a chronicle "in the British language," which Geoffrey indicated as his source, was adduced as a proof of his shameless romancing. The critics have almost unanimously declared that such a Welsh source never existed and that Geoffrey's statement that it was given to him by Walter, the Archdeacon of Oxford, was but an additional



*Folio 16 Verso, greatly reduced, of a twelfth century MS. of the* HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIAE, *belonging to the collection of the Rev. Acton Griscom, New York.* (Courtesy of Longmans, Green & Co.)



*Page 45, actual size of MS. Jesus College, Oxford, No. XXVIII, called the "Tysilio" MS. A copy of MS. Jesus College LXI, made in 1695, a Welsh version of early British history.* (Courtesy of Longmans, Green & Co.)

embellishment, intended to cover up more securely his "invention" of the whole early British history, a poetical achievement of which he would seem to have been unduly ashamed. It was but a fictitious reference such as one may find in the introduction of any recent historical novel.

This very decided and well-established estimate of Geoffrey's veracity and reliability the Rev. Acton Griscom's book contradicts:

"In view of Geoffrey's explicit statements, the question of the actual existence of a 'vetustissimus liber,' embodying written memory of early British history, should still be regarded as an outstanding problem. I believe that this problem should not only be reopened, but that its solution can be approached in a new way. This new way is, to put it briefly, a critical examination of *all* the surviving Welsh manuscript Chronicles; and a careful comparison of all of them with the *Historia,* with other histories (notably Irish and Scotch), and with purely literary remains. Strange as it may seem, this has not heretofore been done. Three Welsh manuscripts only, out of fifty-eight known to me, have been published,—two of them, uncritically, one hundred and twenty-five years ago; while one only of these last two has been translated into English—and that most misleadingly—one hundred and fifteen years ago. Without due examination, these three, together with all the rest, whether examined or not, have been sweepingly declared Welsh translations of Geoffrey's *Historia,* thus closing the issue by begging the question. Furthermore, those who have ventured to support this thesis have in most cases (and admittedly) been unable to read medieval Welsh, and have perforce worked at second or third hand, with unreliable translations. Nevertheless, because they were expert Latinists, or recognized historians, or special students of the *Nennius* compilation, their *dicta* have been accepted as authoritative" (pp. 102–103).

The Rev. Acton Griscom believes that in the Welsh field scholars have been working on altogether insufficient materials and with unreliable tools. The main point at issue is, however, not only the collation of the Welsh texts and their translation, but the value which scholars will be willing to attribute to these rather late manuscripts: it will be a laborious task to distinguish in them exactly which parts are the remains of a very early Welsh tradition, and which parts are derived either from Geoffrey or his sources, all of which may not have been identified.

Although no one of the known Welsh manuscripts can be identified as the "lost" *vetustissimus liber* of Geoffrey, the Rev. Acton Griscom argues that actual manuscript evidence proves that this book was no hoax and no invention, but that such a native record really existed. Traces of such a Welsh tradition, he says, are to be detected in several Welsh Chronicles which contain statements of fact and names which are found neither in the *Historia* nor in its recognized Latin sources. As an example of such material a literal translation of the Welsh manuscript LXI of Jesus College, Oxford, has been compared with Geoffrey's text. This interesting translation is due to the collaboration of the late Canon R. E. Jones. As to Geoffrey's "veracity" the Rev. Acton Griscom points out that slowly evidence is accumulating that tends to give a historical value to at least a part of his work. Archeological and anthropological discoveries tend to corroborate his statements. He certainly could not have "invented" correctly in the twelfth century a number of historical facts about Roman England which recent discoveries have confirmed as historically true. Such is, for instance, the story of the massacre of the Romans confirmed by the discovery of skulls at the Walbrook in London. And, if some of his stories are more or less demonstrated by recent research to have a basis in historical fact, it seems wise, the Rev. Acton Griscom argues, to suspend judgment about a number of his other tales as yet unsubstantiated,—instead of rejecting them all.

It may remain forever difficult to disentangle truth from fiction in Geoffrey's *Historia,* but the Rev. Acton Griscom has made a strong plea for the necessity of a careful collation of all the MSS. of the *Historia,* and the study of all the Welsh texts. He has started in a very promising way this immense task. He has compared three twelfth century versions, and he has added to his work a new list of manuscripts extant,—which is of fundamental importance for this work. He has added forty-three MSS. to Hardy's list, which has been, at the same time, corrected and improved. His book will arouse still greater interest when compared with the recent monumental work of E. Faral in the same field, *La Légende Arthurienne: Études et Documents* of which the second volume is devoted to Geoffrey of Monmouth and his sources. The *Romanic Review* hopes to discuss this important publication in a forthcoming issue.

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## French Book Notes

Jacques Lombard, *Cocktails après Minuit*, Paris, Lemerre, 1929, 284 pp.; *Bagheera*, Paris, Lemerre, 1930, 228 pp.

*Cocktails après Minuit,* a fantastic, almost visionary novel, reminds one of Lombard's earlier *Confession Nocturne* in that it is also a "nocturnal confession,"—the sudden revelation of the mad and broken life of a stranger slumping on the bench of a bar after several sulphuric Devil's cocktails. In a hypnotic trance he dreams again his adventures; precise and yet unreal they pass before his closed eyes, as under glaucous water or behind greenish glass. On the borderland of madness, in the twilight of consciousness, anomalous personages enact complicated dramas of division of the personality. The stranger's sister is a *Diabolique,* although in a different sense from Barbey d'Aurevilly's. An attack in a darkened train and the sudden murder of the attacker who is strangled by a hunch-backed violinist with enormous vise-like fingers, has thrown her into hysterical madness. The claw of the murderer has left a devilish imprint upon her mind and her body. And the novel describes the vain struggle of her brother to save her from these obsessions, from this slow disintegration. . . . Slumped on the bench of a bar he rehearses in a vision the soul-racking drama of her mental death, and her diabolical possession, while daybreak glimmers milky-green like an absinthe and blueish like the eyes of drowned sailors who saw the Northern Lights.

This dramatic presentation of a "maladie de la personnalité" is in line with the studies of the subconcious "vie secrète" which are growing more numerous in French letters since Pirandello, Estaunié and Lenormand. In several of their works the illusory psychological unity of human consciousness is shown broken up into its component fragments. "Un être vit en vous dont vous ne connaissez ni la ruse, ni la puissance, ni les désirs." And this dislocation of the personality liberates a hidden being which at times overpowers the conscious ego. But in Lombard's studies of feminine psychology this hidden "self" takes on the overtones of the fatal women of Romanticism, of the *Diaboliques.* His Bagheera is a heartless and irresistible vampire who fascinates women and men alike, and who, to take revenge on a man who despised her, seduces his wife into illicit love. This difficult theme is handled in an unreal setting, bathed in a greenish shimmer of dream which softens the too realistic features of the plot and the characters, and concentrates its phosphoric gleams on the

sudden and mysterious gestures of the hidden ego. J. Lombard has understood that in a too realistic setting and in cold every-day light his personages would be either flatly vicious, or helplessly ill, or mere irresponsible caricatures. He concentrates on the internal drama of the personality, and thus avoids largely what would be the main shortcoming and danger of his type of art,—the pseudo-scientific melodrama.

Raymond Radiguet, *The Count's Ball*, translated by Malcolm Cowley. N. Y. (1929) W. W. Norton Co., xiv + 243 pp.

Malcolm Cowley, who has translated several of the most outstanding works of the post-war period, has here presented another meritorious rendering of a novel around which the younger generation rallies as around a standard. This first great work of the post-Proustian literature opened new roads because of its precise and sober technique, its acute psychological analysis, and its direct grappling with life, from which the Dada generation of 1918–24 had sheltered itself in an art at the same time abstract and unhuman. It is a commonplace of recent criticism to call *The Count's Ball* a classic work in the sense of *La Princesse de Clèves*. The regret, inspired by the too early decease of this twenty year old boy-poet of genius, may have led us to an overestimate of his actual achievement, but his work will remain as one of the turning points in French literary history.

J. de la Bruyère, *The Characters* . . . . Translated by Henri van Laun, N. Y. Brentano, 1929, 31 + v + 499 pp.

During the eighteenth century there appeared six or seven English translations of *Les Caractères* as well as several imitations and they seem to have satisfied the curiosity of the English public during the next century. Mr. Van Laun has issued a new translation which should be called very successful. He candidly confesses that he has made use of the labors of his predecessors. "Many faults may be found in the old translations, but I have endeavored to amend them: and I never scrupled to adopt any expressions, turn of thought, or even page of any or every translation of my predecessors, whenever I found I could not improve upon them" (p. 21). This is only good sense, and it does not at all detract from the value of his rendering which contrasts very favorably with the many incompetent "translations" of French literature recently issued by American publishers.

H. F. Amiel, *Philine. From the unpublished Journals of* . . . . Translated by Van Wyck Brooks. With an Introduction by Edmond Jaloux. N. Y., Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930, xxxviii + 401 pp.

In the July–September, 1928, issue of the Romanic Review I predicted that the publication of unknown extracts from Amiel's *Journal* under the title of *Philine* would be the signal of a deeply modified view of his psychology and that he might even become the prey of the ever watchful psycho-analysts. In the introduction which E. Jaloux has written for the American translation of *Philine*, he steers clear from that danger, which many other critics have been unable to avoid. No doubt, he rejects the now antiquated view that Amiel was suffering from a "diseased will" and a "scattered ego," but he does not attempt to explain him by the means of a rather meaningless jargon from the pathological laboratory. He points out very convincingly that, however much Amiel may have complained about his inability to act, to decide, to take a stand,—he did lead, in reality, a most active life. Not only was he a laborious professor, the director of an Academy of Music, but an indefatigable author. His *Journal* of almost seventeen thousand pages, would, if printed entirely, fill no less

than forty-eight bulky volumes. His indecision overmastered him only at certain moments and in certain clearly defined situations; it was only when confronted with a decision about love and marriage that he became a man without a will, lamed by fear neurosis,—but nowhere else. Rather than a moralist, broken down by over-intellectuality and self-analysis, E. Jaloux depicts Amiel as a new Abélard with a father confessor's complex, as a kind of Calvinist lay-saint who thought it his "duty" to eradicate every too human desire from the hearts of his numerous "spiritual daughters." His insufficiency was not of the will, not of the intellect, not of the emotions,—it consisted almost exclusively in a certain over-femininity of disposition, and in a too seriously puritanical point of view on his own conduct. This insufficiency of the masculine instincts he transformed into high idealism: he depicted his fear as infinite delicacy, his coolness as purity, and his neurosis as the blossoming of a refined Platonic attitude. *Philine* is the narration of his only real love affair, and even here he played but a passive rôle. He was contented with observing his "love." He toyed with it, he analyzed it, he admired its refined purity, he wept over its inherent sadness,—but always it stayed outside of his real being as if it were an esthetic vision. It never took possession of him as a dark and irresistible force. It never was a passion, but merely a form of the sentimental self-adoration of a very pure, a very nice, a very reliable,—but a very exasperating,—old bachelor.

It is significant that Van Wyck Brooks has translated this interesting document. We may be sure that in the mind of the author of *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, the case of Amiel serves as a further indictment of certain Calvinistic attitudes and as a substantiation of his thesis on the ravages of an exaggerated puritanism.

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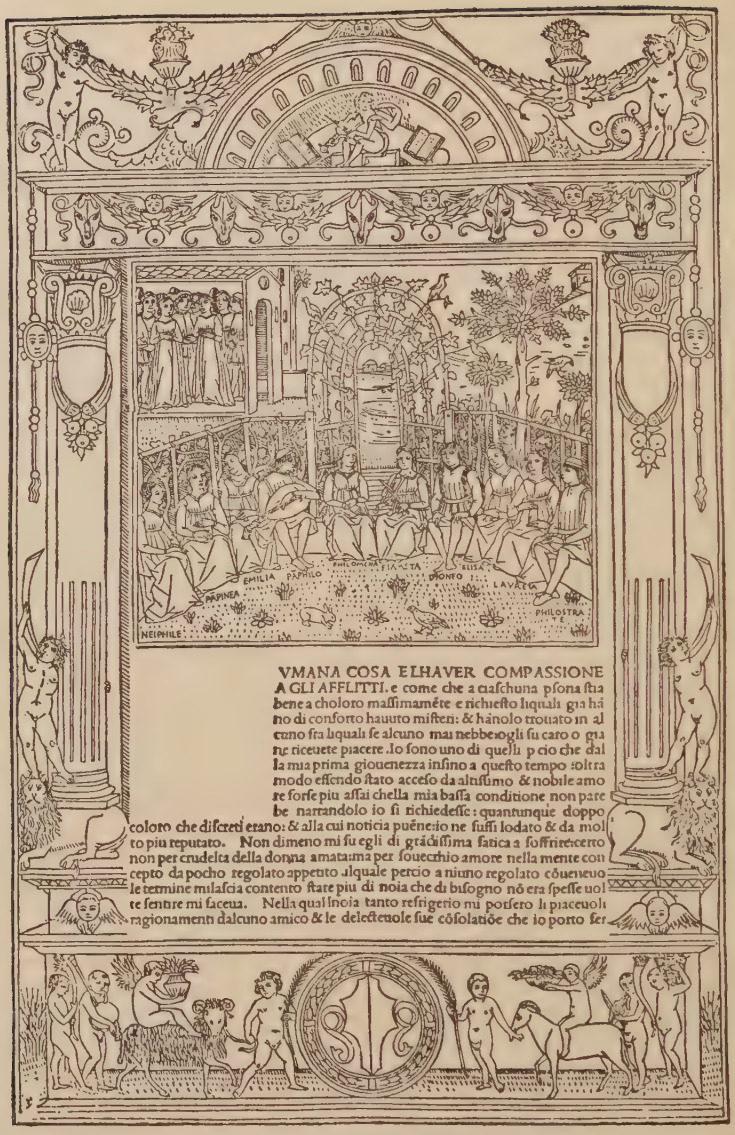
J. B. Besançon, *Essai sur le Théâtre d'Henry Bataille*, Groningue, La Haye, Librairie J. B. Wolters, 1928.

This study entitled *Essai*, in the French acceptation of this term, is Dr. Besançon's thesis presented before the Faculty of Letters of the University of Amsterdam. It is especially interesting in that it does not follow the rut of so many unread so-called 'factual' doctoral dissertations. One cannot help wishing for more studies of this kind in the United States, honest, disinterested, and useful.

The book places Bataille's most productive period between the years 1900 and 1914. This is justifiable since after the War, in spite of his efforts, he could never regain the place that he had held. The short sketch of Bataille's life might have been made more interesting had Dr. Besançon dared to go a little deeper into the life of the playwright and Berthe Bady's influence on his work. Of course, as he says rightly, the time has not come perhaps to do this, but just the same he has aroused enough curiosity in us to make us want to know more about outside influences. In different chapters Dr. Besançon studies at length Bataille's plays from all angles and uses as far as we can see a fair judgment: he neither overestimates the playwright nor underestimates him, as M. Lucien Dubech, for instance, has done.

Bataille's reputation will always rest on plays like *Maman Colibri*, *La Femme Nue*, and *La Vierge Folle*, and, we fear, not on any of his later ones. One of the greatest mistakes of the playwright in his eternal studies on love is the falsity of his idea that the only pleasure that man finds in love is the satisfaction of his senses. Most of Bataille's love cases are "des erreurs de saison," the "démon de midi" for the men as well as for the women. According to him the mysterious force of Instinct, in which is found the power of Life and Nature, destroys all the barriers of intelligence,




VMANA COSA E LHAVER COMPASSIONE A GLI AFFLITTI. e come che a ciaſchuna pſona ſtia bene a choloro maſſimamẽte e richieſto liquali gia hã no di conforto hauuto miſteri: & hãnolo trouato in al cuno fra liquali ſe alcuno mai nebbe:ogli fu caro o gra ne riceuete piacere .Io ſono uno di queſti p cio che dal la mia prima giouenezza inſino a queſto tempo :oltra modo eſſendo ſtato acceſo da altiſſimo & nobile amo re forſe piu aſſai chella mia baſſa conditione non pare be narrandolo io ſi richiedeſſe: quantunque doppo coloro che diſcreti erano: & alla cui noticia puẽuto ne ſuſſi lodato & da mol to piu reputato. Non dimeno mi fu egli di grãdiſſima fatica a ſoffrire:certo non per crudelta della donna amatami per ſouecchio amore nella mente con cepto da pocho regolato appetito .alquale pcio a niuno regolato cõueneuo le termine miſaſcia contento ſtare piu di noia che di biſogno nõ era ſpeſſe uol te ſentire mi faceua. Nella qual noia tanto refrigerio mi porſero li piaceuoli ragionamenti dalcuno amico & le delecteuole ſue cõſolatiõe che io porto ſer

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE DECAMERON

From the Edition of 1492

(Courtesy of Albert and Charles Boni, publishers of T. C. Chubb's *The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio*)

of milieu, the parents and the family which are so predominant in the shaping of the human being. Bataille thinks thus that, since life is an incessant evolution, we must live intensely and surrender ourselves freely to our instincts, which, being the direct manifestation of life, will lead us for our own good.

The work of Dr. Besançon ends with a bibliography in which we would have liked to see listed some of the studies done on French drama in England as well as in the United States.

Adolphe-Jacques Dickman

State University of Iowa

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Thomas Caldecot Chubb, *The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio*, New York, Albert & Charles Boni, 1930, pp. 286 ($4.00).

Six hundred years thereabouts have elapsed since the death of Giovanni Boccaccio, but not without a constant flux of notices, studies, monographs, and biographies on the illustrious Florentine. It would take (permit a wild speculation) some multiple of the six hundred odd to represent adequately the maze of Boccaccesque studies extant. And now to the point! It must have taken great love on the part of the author, not to mention courage, to compose this biography. Justification? —Here it is verbatim from the biographer:

"In writing this life of Boccaccio, I have tried to accomplish two things. In the first place to assemble as much of the existing knowledge in regard to the author of the *Decameron*, and in regard to his works, as seems necessary for an adequate understanding of this illustrious Florentine, and having assembled it, to present it—I believe for the first time by an American author—to American readers. In the second place, to recreate—as far as is humanly possible—the complex personality of an extremely interesting and extremely human man of letters who died nearly six centuries ago.

"The first of these two tasks has been largely a matter of patience. It has been necessary—merely—to absorb, and then collate sizable masses of critical information. For quite candidly, in my essay at delineating this man, it has been only in matters of interpretation that I have tried to add anything new. . . .

"It is, therefore, with very actual humility that I have set down what attempts to be a portrait in full length of this serious-minded and yet gay-writing begetter of Italian prose, who looked shrewdly and intently at the multifarious scene around him, and with wit and beauty and urbanity—and with roguish and robustious humor—set down that which he saw.

". . . My method has been, I think, though with few modifications—the modern one. . . . Moreover, as it has been remarked, the writer of a biography is but a novelist whose plot has already been drawn for him. This aphorism I have tried to keep constantly in mind as the various chapters were being written."

This auto-criticism saves the reviewer from falling into the error of strained condemnation; and perhaps spares the author some few palinodes.

Let us pass on to the book. We find that the first seven chapters the author devotes to the youth Giovanni—Giovanni, himself, treated subordinately in the background of Florence, of the world, which Mr. Chubb paints in broad strokes on large canvas, and colorfully, too. That epochal Florence that throbbed with intense intellectuality and commercial activity: "The criterion was money. 'He who today has none is rated as an animal,' declared one of the early novel writers. 'And he who has most is acknowledged the most worthy. Therefore it is wise for every man not only to save what he has but to add to it what he can.'" That is how Florence is depicted. Our epoch and that of Boccaccio have curiously some common denominator. Mr. Chubb struck the right key in making that colorful period revolve about Boccaccio. Mr. Chubb scores and incidently adds more interest to his book.

Centuries have fairly well established literary-evaluation on Boccaccio. There was little hope of changing it or adding anything new. Mr. Chubb has looked elsewhere for his high points. Let us turn to a few features. Novel fashion he injects rapidity and excitement in the episode of the wooing of Fiammetta. The episode on that "terrifying calamity" (1346–1350), that awful plague "spreading disaster like an advancing horde of Mongols," is masterfully handled. The timely insertion of Boccaccio's own account of the plague as he saw it not only adds greater pitch but actually conjures up a ghastly picture:

"On men and women alike, there appeared, at the beginning of the malady, certain swellings either on the groin or under the armpit, some of which grew large as a common apple, some larger and some smaller, and this the people called plague-boils. From these two parts the above mentioned plague-boils proceeded, until in a short time they had appeared on every part of the body, and these after a while, the course of the contagion changed into black or livid blotches, which showed themselves first on the arms and about the thighs, and later on every part of the body. . . . Whether it was that the nature of the disease did not permit it, or the ignorance of physicians, not only did few recover but very nearly all died within the third day from the appearance of the above symptoms, some sooner and some later, but generally without fever or other complications."

Separately, the account of the friendship of Petrarch and Boccaccio deserves special mention and commendation. In addition to being humanly treated, it points out phases of the friendship hitherto untouched,—it is indeed an intellectual friendship and, for us, an intellectual heritage! It is curious to note that Boccaccio considers Petrarch an equal of Dante and puts both on a par with the ancient masters. Time has eliminated one from this estimate!

Another phase the biographer has treated at length is the one relative to Boccaccio's research on the life and works of Dante. Whatever Mr. Chubb's opinions may be in regard to the ultimate value of this research, it still remains in the realms of conjecture. As the first historical Dantist, however, Boccaccio takes a place of great importance for having been the first official exponent of the cult.

And now, turning to a few observations made at random, first in order comes the biographer's style. It is mature, maintaining robustness throughout. There is no fear of mixing fine idiom with colloquialism. The short sentences worked in give pause and rhythm. In matter of scholarship the book gives ample evidence of the biographer's exhaustive readings. The bibliographic list is impressive.

In nature of a *postscriptum* only, we hope that on the next printing of the book the typographical errors will all be eliminated. Among these "slips" we note the misspelling of the name of the distinguished Dantist, Dr. Paget Toynbee.

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Antonio Beltramelli, *Le strade verdi*, Milan, Fratelli Treves, 1930, pp. 234 (L. 12).

Here is a collection of short stories that marks off the last contribution of Antonio Beltramelli, whose premature death last season (he was fifty) deprives contemporary Italian literature of perhaps greater creations from him, for his has been a varied and fruitful literary career. By way of mention only, let it be noted that he was a *romagnolo* (born at Forlì). In matters of patriotism and politics he had a moral code parallel with that of his compatriots of Romagna of which the Duce is the leader and the most intense exponent. Beltramelli volunteered in the World War. Becoming later an ardent Fascist he extolled the party's policies, and in

admiration of the Duce's character and personality he wrote *L'uomo nuovo*. A complex personalist, Beltramelli combined, all in one, firm convictions, activity, changeability, volatility, fantasy—and yes, one more thing, a touch of poetry. Any further comment on him would fall under the premise of an obituary notice. Consequently this introductory foreword, though in nature of a digression, is meant to serve as a keynote in understanding the complex treatment of his creations.

The stories in the present volume are arranged in three parts. Part I, of which the first story, *Le strade verdi*, serves as title to the book and also as thematic material, comprises seven stories. In these we find reality disguised under fantasy, irony tempered by humor, nostalgia suggested under a touch of the poetic. In the *Favole al principe ignoto*, four stories making up Part II, the author finds greater peace, restlessness giving way to an increase of lyricism. "The poetic mood reaches consummation" in the six stories of Part III under title of *Viaggi strampalati*. Beltramelli seems to have reached a state of tranquility heretofore not evidenced in his other creations. He was ever restless in quest of the ultimate. If ever there were moments of happiness about him, those were moments lived in the realm of fantasy: "lui che non vide la poesia e la vita se non come una sola favola bella." This collection of stories teems with poetry delicately worked out. Take this passage as an illustration:

"Una sera ritornò sulla terra con l'aprile. E l'indugio era nei cuori e nel cielo, come si attardava il sole nelle più lunghe giornate e prima di morire. . . . L'indugio nella sera senza nubi, nostalgica di tutto l'amore e di ciò che può essere. I fiori degli orti e le vesti di primavera; ogni chiara giovinezza passava nel tumulto con la speranza sua senza parole, e negli occhi eran le anime alla ricerca della loro gioia sconosciuta."

It has been said time and again that no work of Beltramelli has ever touched upon perfection. He lacked the consummate genius necessary to soar the heights. Yet subtract from his creations imperfections of style such as verbosity, over-emphasis, belabored research; subtract lack of great conceptions, feverishness, volatility, and you have still as a balance, his versatility, his sincerity, his originality, and, very last but important, his humanity tinged with emotion and poetry.

It seems that irony of which he was a master has willed this last creation as marker and epithet: in this book (permit the repetition) the note of tranquility is more in evidence than elsewhere in the poet's writing. It seems fit to close the discussion by recalling the fact that death has vacated Beltramelli's chair in the Royal Italian Academy. Time only can decide as to the effacement of the tradition left by him.

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## Italian Book Notes

Giuseppe Lipparini, *Racconti di Cutigliano*, Milan, A. Mondadori, 1930, pp. 258 (L. 10).

Giuseppe Lipparini offers in this volume a batch of stories moulded from the art of story telling. Language or style becomes here merely a vehicle to portray, to focus, to build up enthusiasm, to excite! Truly a few of the stories have excitement run wild. To wit, take the situation in *La carbonara* where Matteo falls off a donkey, and saves himself from plunging down a precipice by clutching at a root. The torrent below clamors for him. He dangles there during what he thinks is an eternity.

Then follows rescue by Nina, the *carbonara*. Marriage to Nina comes two months later. A touch of humor commemorates the final episode: "Due mesi dopo la mia mamma era contenta! La Nina era diventata mia moglie. E fu una fortuna. Le assicuro, signore, che se non l'avessi presa, la riprenderei." And speaking of humor here is another passage among many: "La bestia dunque non voleva camminare, neppure con le bastonate. Ci doveva essere la sua ragione, perchè, anche un mulo, più che un mulo non può essere." These fifteen stories make up a rather large book. Lipparini busies himself with telling stories, the literary vein taking care of itself. As a result we have directness of style and originality of plots. The simplicity and terseness of expression give certain charm to the book which otherwise might have been lost. See what timely device the author uses to check himself, as it were, in matter of style: "Dunque senta. . . . Masino ed io si era amici fin da ragazzi. Amici? Potrei dire fratelli. Mi ricordo, anzi, una volta. . . . Ma no, voglio raccontare subito il fatto, nudo e crudo." As for a general description of the book the editor's note sums up appropriately, and without exaggeration, the facts that the stories are characteristically Tuscan without artificiality of style, rich in characters, as pleasing as they are human and interesting. The stories are worthy to be mentioned along with the *Veglie* of Fucini.

Italo Siciliano, *Il teatro di L. Pirandello* (ovvero Dei fasti dell'artificio), Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1929, pp. 86 (L. 8).

In view of the rather exhaustive critical evaluation already published on Pirandello the justification of the present monograph bears but little weight, were it not that it presents point to point recapitulation plus further interesting observations on the Pirandellian theories. No other comment need be given here except to call attention to the booklet and to say that the studies succeed, if in nothing else, in attaching some necessary foot-notes to the existent criticism on the famous Sicilian. Here are the titles of the essays: *Il caso Pirandello*, *La materia* (Fatti e persone), *La costruzione esteriore* (La tecnica), *La costruzione interiore* (La logica), *L'umanità*, *La morale*, *La filosofia*, *Conclusione*.

Paolo Arcari, *Parini*, Milan, Edizioni Agnelli, 1929, pp. 262 (L. 12).

" 'Twixt eighteenth century minuets, violin trills and accords of clavicembali a cry of despair resounds:

" La mia povera madre non ha pane
Se non da me, ed io non ho danaro
Da mantenerla almeno per domane.

" It is the cry of a son and mendicant. The cry of a man pinched between the blades of a most cruel poverty,—a man, desolate and terrified before hunger, the insupportable spectre. . . . It is the cry of a man's soul in anguish for a cherished and troubled creature: the mother!" These, translated freely, are the opening lines that furnish an emotional foreword to Arcari's essays on Giuseppe Parini. Nor is the emotional strain ever abandoned in the treatment of the topics. But, of course, it is artistically handled. Arcari presents Parini in an equation where the human element exceeds the critical. Discount the book's values in research and criticism and you still have the literary mood, the interest, the warmth. Briefly, the three essays offsetting Parini as the man, the poet, offer also interesting sidelights on the *milieu* in which the Lombard poet lived. Arcari, too, is of Lombard origin and his book was a timely tribute in commemoration of the Parini bicentenary (1729–1929).

Domenico Petrini, *La poesia e l'arte di Giuseppe Parini*, Bari, Laterza & Figli, 1930, pp. 188 (L. 12).

Domenico Petrini's book published by Laterza in the series of the *Biblioteca di cultura moderna* is not to be construed in any way with the bicentennial celebration of the poet. In point of fact the author makes specific mention in the preface that his studies appeared posthumously to the celebration and meant to take up several problems relative to the art and poetry *per se* of Giuseppe Parini. Of the four essays the one on *Moralità e arte nuova* is worthy of separate mention. The book is scholarly and carefully assembled. The footnotes and references should be of great help to any one examining the volume.

Franco Liberati, *Venti anni di vita di palcoscenico*, Rome, Paolo Cremonese, 1930, pp. 242 (L. 12).

We have in these memoirs an amusing account of the wavering fortunes of actors, stock companies, and strolling players in those remote times of transition into the twentieth century and upwards a decade or so. Treated anecdotically the author mitigates the vicissitudes of those venerable old actors who played for the joy of playing. Poverty, the treacherous "breaks," and whatnot, are subordinately suggested in an otherwise cheerful book. There is useful information, too, in the chapters dealing with, among others, Eleonora Duse, Tommaso Salvini, Ermete Novelli.

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## Instituto de las Españas

On Monday, April 7, in order to celebrate the "Fiesta de la Lengua Española" (Cervantes Day), a program of Spanish folk-songs was given by the Instituto Chorus under the direction of the Spanish composer, Sta. Emiliana Zubeldia, who also played some of her own compositions, ably assisted by the Argentinian singer Sta. Edith Keene. The well-known poet León Felipe Camino read delightful poems, befitting the occasion, from his last book *Oraciones de Caminante*. Prof. Federico de Onís spoke about Spanish music and dances and introduced the guest of honor, the distinguished Spanish dancer, La Argentinita, who graciously entertained the audience with a number of recitations, dances, and songs. Ernesto Vilches, the famous Spanish actor, also recited some of the most popular Spanish selections. At the close of the program refreshments were served, and the members enjoyed a most delightful social evening. On May 4 a committee composed of Prof. Lawrence A. Wilkins, the Consul of Spain, Sr. Jiménez, Vice-President of *La Prensa*, Sr. Torres Perona, with Prof. de Onís presiding, met at Columbia University to decide on the awarding of the annual Scholarship for the Summer Session in Spain given by the Instituto. The committee found the candidates very worthy and with difficulty finally awarded the Scholarship to Miss Florence Moritz of Hunter College. The Scholarship covers the passage and stay of four weeks in Madrid to attend the Summer Session in the Centro de Estudios Históricos under the direction of Prof. Menéndez Pidal. On May 28 the Institute of International Education gave a luncheon in honor of the Argentinian writer, Victoria Ocampo, at the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University. Dr. G. L. Berry, Vice-President of the Institute, welcomed the writer; Prof. de Onís spoke of the intellectual Hispanic-American movement; and Mr. Waldo Frank discussed the

United States and Hispanic-America's intellectual evolution. A selected group was present. Victoria Ocampo appeared highly pleased by this demonstration. Under the auspices of the Summer Session of Columbia University and the Instituto the following lectures were given: July 9, Prof. de Onís, "La nueva poesía hispanoamericana"; July 16, Sr. G. Arciniegas, "La vida universitaria en Hispanoamérica" July 23, Sr. León Felipe Camino, "La poesía mística castellana"; July 30, Prof. F. Callcott, "How to Teach Spanish by Mail"; August 13, Sr. F. Pérez de Vega, "Apuntes sobre filosofía española." Tea was served after all the lectures and all enjoyed the delightful social afternoons. Over one hundred members of the Spanish Department were entertained on July 27 by the officers of SS. Alfonso XIII of the Spanish Royal Mail Line. On July 31 members of the faculty and students of the Spanish Department attended the annual summer banquet given by the Department. The guest of honor was the Consul General of Spain, Sr. Emilio Zapico. As toast master Professor de Onís introduced the Consul. The poet León Felipe Camino read some of his poems, and the Ecuadorian duo Ibáñez Safadi sang and played the guitar. The audience enjoyed Sr. Safadi's own compositions. On August 6 at the Casa Italiana an evening of Spanish music was presented. The Instituto Chorus under the direction of the Spanish composer, Sr. Emilio de Torre, offered a most complete selection of typical regional folk-songs of Spain. Sr. Luis A. Delgadillo, well-known composer and pianista, was greatly applauded for his own compositions.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY R. A. BECERRA

## RUMANIAN BOOK NOTES

Jean Boutière, *La Vie et l'Œuvre de Ion Creangă (1837–1889)*, Paris, Librairie Universitaire J. Gamber, 1930, xxxi + 254 pp.

This is a tribute by French scholarship to Rumanian letters, and the authoritative recognition of one of its most autochthonous representatives.

At the instance of Professor Mario Roques, Dr. Jean Boutière, *Diplomé* of the *École des Langues Orientales*, consecrated one of his theses to the life and works of Ion Creangă, the popular story teller, "dont la vie était encore mal connue, dont la langue est difficile pour les Roumains eux-mêmes, et qui passe dans son pays pour 'intraduisible.' "

Yet in spite of these handicaps Dr. Boutière has succeeded in rendering the best monograph in the field. He had familiarized himself with the language and visited the home of Creangă and his heroes. To the biographic part he contributes fresh material, and he subjects Creangă's tales and other writings to a scrutinizing analysis. Upon the vast background of local and universal folk-lore he projects the world of the Moldavian master's characters and plots. He studies Creangă's language and style, taking up vocabulary, morphology and syntax, and publishes also a Rumanian-French glossary. Twenty-five illustrations and reproductions of documents are included.

Creangă is a narrator who uses the native lore and speech to such an extent that

"On ne relève guère dans l'œuvre de Creangă qu'une douzaine de néologismes, (Par exemple: *afront, carantină, corect, cristal, dezgust, de formă; pedestru* 'à pied,' relevé par G. Weigand, n'est pas un néologisme: il figure déjà chez Varlaam et Dosofteiu) nombre infime, qui n'est aussi faible chez aucun autre conteur roumain."

Creangă is more of the soil than any other Rumanian author. And due to this fact he was considered by his countrymen as "intraduisible," as Dr. Boutière remarks

in his preface. One can imagine the surprise when translations into foreign languages of these "untranslatable" tales began to appear.

Mite Kremnitz gave three of his stories in *Rumänische Märchen* published in Leipzig, 1882. Jules Brun contributed *le Conte du Porc*, with an introduction by Leo Bachelin, to the Ghent *Magasin littéraire* of 1893. Brun and Bachelin published in Paris, 1894, in their *Sept contes roumains*, two of Creangă's: *le Conte du Porc* and *Stan l'Échaudé*. Professor Weigand translated and edited, with notes, *Harap Alb* (White-Negro), Leipzig, 1910. Miss Lucy Byng's *Rumanian Stories* includes *Moş Nichifor* (Old Nichifor), London–New York, 1921. There are also several other translations in the Ruthenian, and Dr. Boutière announces his French versions, *Contes* and *Souvenirs d'Enfance*.

The explanation of Creangă's universal appeal lies in the modest but genuine life of the villagers that we find not only in his *Childhood Reminiscences*, but also in his *Tales*. It is this profound simplicity which characterizes the great art of the Moldavian. We quote Dr. Boutière:

". . . Il a eu le talent d'introduire dans les contes populaires un élément essentiel qui leur faisait défaut: la vie; et c'est là ce qui constitue sa profonde originalité."

And further:

"Creangă n'est ni un moraliste, comme le chanoine Schmid, ni un poète ou un philosophe, comme Andersen; c'est sans le vouloir qu'il est, comme les frères Grimm, un folkloriste. Creangă est avant tout un artiste, comme Ch. Perrault. On trouve, dans l'œuvre des deux conteurs, la même reproduction fidèle des vieilles fictions et du simple langage populaire, la même vie, la même évocation des petites gens d'une certaine époque, le même esprit de bon aloi. Creangă ne se distingue de son prédécesseur que par un réalisme parfois un peu plus poussé et, surtout, par la riche collection d'expressions, de dictons et de proverbes populaires qu'il offre à ses lecteurs, collection dont l'équivalent n'existe, à notre connaissance, chez aucun autre conteur européen. Ce n'est pas pour Creangă une mince gloire que de pouvoir être mis en parallèle avec Ch. Perrault, dont le recueil, si proche de la perfection, fait aujourd'hui encore le régal des lettrés les plus délicats."

I. L. Caragiale, *Opere, Vol. I, Nuvele şi Schiţe, Ediţie îngrijită de Paul Zarifopol*, Bucureşti, Editura "Cultura Naţională," 1930, xliv + 352 pp. + 3 planşe.

Ion Luca Caragiale (1852–1911) would have loved to see this edition brought out by Paul Zarifopol; he, who was so careful about his texts and who once even telegraphed to the printers to change the position of a comma. *Se non è vero, è ben trovato. . . .*

There are few masters of humor in any literature. Rumanian letters are the richer because of Caragiale. Although now historical, his comedy characters still live and shall exist as long as politics will be politics. For instance, take his heroes uttering those famous sayings: "Let it be treason, but we should know it, too!" or "True violation of domicile, but hold him!" or "If it's anonymous, I will sign it." Take Conu Leonida, who, to appease his excited wife, reassures her: "It cannot be the revolution, because the police do not allow shooting on the streets." Or behold the only honest man in *Scrisoarea Pierdută* (The Lost Letter) who, between hiccoughs, asks: "For whom do I vote?"

Among the short stories and sketches of this first volume is his *O Făclie de Paşte* (An Easter Candle), translated into several languages and offered in collections as one of the world's best stories. With the exception of this powerful piece, his novelette *Păcat* (Sin), his drama *Năpasta* (Calamity), and a few other shorter works, his chief contributions are sarcasm and satire. In his comedies which are now in the *répertoire*

of the Bucharest National Theatre as well as in the sketches now given in this scholarly edition, Caragiale has created characters and emphasized customs and conditions packed with laughter, bitter laughter perhaps, yet irresistible.

Mr. Zarifopol has followed the chronological order in the first volume, and he intends to continue it in the succeeding ones. There are notes and differences of texts conscientiously prepared, and three fine illustrations, of which one is a portrait of the author and two are reproductions of pages from Caragiale's last manuscript *Poveste* (Tale).

Long Island University Leon Feraru

## Romance Language Class-Texts

Claude Farrère, *L'Homme qui assassina.* Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by Thomas Rossman Palfrey, The Century Co., New York and London, 1930, 263 pp.

Stamboul, with its haunting corners and fascinating manners and customs, evokes the far distant oriental rhythmic and scintillating tones of Mozart's *Alla Turca* or of Beethoven's *Marche à la turque*,—works that recall Claude Farrère's exotic and mysterious novel, *L'Homme qui assassina.*

In an introduction, which is both scholarly and well written, Professor T. R. Palfrey concretely describes Claude Farrère and his background, which is quite reminiscent of that of Pierre Loti. It is a fitting presentation to the first American edition of an interesting tale. Loti's love and inherent predilection for exoticism have left the imprint of his art upon certain contemporary novelists, the brothers Jérôme and Jean Tharaud and Claude Farrère,—an art in which are blended realism, romanticism, pessimism and humanitarianism. In *L'Homme qui assassina* one may perceive delicate romantic touches, glaring patches of realism and at times certain Baudelairian allurements. The action is planned like that of a melodrama; the descriptions reveal a penetrating comprehension of the foreign milieu and Eastern psychology. A restless soul torments the hero. His lassitude is not of a dreamy nature —it is that of an ardent being imprisoned in mediocre life.

This edition will undoubtedly appeal to both students and teachers of French. The lively dialogue with its conversational phrases and sentences, the elucidating notes on Turkish data, the carefully arranged vocabulary, and the eternal charm of the orient should be of both practical and esthetic value.

*Phèdre*, tragédie par Jean Racine. Edited by Charles H. Hunkins, The Century Co., New York and London, 1930, 110 pp.

In this age, when the study of psychic phenomena is being pursued with avidity, Racine's *Phèdre* might be styled a splendid document of psycho-analysis. One may argue that this seventeenth century tragedy is a "chart" of Phèdre's unconscious motives and desires as shown in her various nervous disturbances.

One of the most widely read psychologists of the early seventeenth century in France, Saint François de Sales, taught that the soul was not simple in its reactions but complex; that it was filled with a "fourmilière," a swarm of confused movements, sensations, obscure ideas, desires and passions, which the light of reason did not observe and which escaped attention. This "fourmilière" we now call the subconscious, the unruly prop of life and of the soul. As these confused movements rose to the surface, one's consciousness began to recognize them, reason arranged

them according to its laws and the will strove to govern them. The Jansenists, disciples of the psychology of Saint François de Sales, added that the principal of the primary movements of the soul was concupiscence. Racine, who felt the influence of Saint François through that of his Jansenist teachers, has produced in *Phèdre* not only his most celebrated and perfect play but a splendid model of our modern conception of the neuroses. Her love, once formulated, seems to take possession of her body; it dominates her. But, within a short time, as circumstances develop and change, this love is transformed into its contrary: hatred. Then Phèdre ceases to exist, for the "monstre naissant" gnaws and devours her soul. Racine has left us a powerful picture of "une maladie morale."

Professor C. H. Hunkins has greatly enhanced the appearance of his book, and has aroused additional interest by illustrating it with the classical paintings of Girodet. The notes and the vocabulary have been carefully arranged, whereas the introduction is perhaps too succinct. A little more detail concerning the "grâce janséniste," and the affair of the sonnets would not have been amiss.

Romain Rolland, *Jean-Christophe* (*Antoinette*). Edited by Henry Ward Church, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1930, 147 pp.

Rolland, musician, novelist and idealist together, has woven the texture of this beautiful tapestry which depicts mankind struggling against the hypocrisies, banalities and abuses of life, and against art "à la mode." Romain Rolland, whose soul has been profoundly touched by Beethoven, about whom he has written in his two studies: *Beethoven* (1903); *Beethoven, Les grandes époques créatrices* (1928), has created ten "symphonic" novels, strangely coincidental in number and perhaps in sentiment with the great musician's ten immortal symphonies. Jean-Christophe is, in a sense, a Beethoven,—a musician in whom we perceive suffering, renunciation, love and exaltation.

*Antoinette*, one of the "symphonic poems," consists of "tableaux de mœurs, mœurs de petites villes, de petites gens, mœurs mondaines, gens d'affaires . . . tableaux souvent vivants et pittoresques" (Mornet). Mr. H. W. Church gives an interesting account of Romain Rolland's life and works. In his Introduction he pointedly notes that "in shaping the life and ideals of Rolland were certain favorite heroes whom he knew through his books and his music, Beethoven and Shakespeare, the gods of his youth, and after his arrival in Paris, Wagner and Tolstoi." He describes Rolland's membership and rôle in the *Cahier de la quinzaine;* he reveals his attitude toward the war (or it might be said toward any war) when "Rolland refused to let his intellect and his principles be distorted by the prevalent war hysteria." He succinctly discusses "Rolland the Musician," "Rolland the Dramatist," "The Heroic Biographies," "Jean-Christophe" and "Antoinette." Mr. Church aptly states that "if *Jean-Christophe* is to be regarded as a symphony in words, *Antoinette* is a sort of intermezzo, an adagio movement in a different mode and tempo from the rest of the work."

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## Tendances Nouvelles en Histoire Littéraire

M. Philippe Van Tieghem published on June 1, 1930, as the 22d *cahier* of *Études Françaises*, a very stimulating pamphlet entitled *Tendances Nouvelles en Histoire*

*Littéraire* (Paris, "Les Belles Lettres," 68 pp.). In his *Avant-Propos* he states: "On se propose, dans cette étude, de présenter les diverses thèses qui s'offrent actuellement en ce qui concerne la manière d'étudier l'œuvre littéraire du passé. L'occasion de cette mise au point a été fournie par le débat qui s'est engagé dans la revue américaine THE ROMANIC REVIEW de 1926 à 1929." M. Van Tieghem devotes, therefore, his first chapter (pp. 3–22) to a résumé of this "importante discussion" between Professors Spingarn, Mornet, Paul Van Tieghem, and Faÿ. Then follows a chapter headed "Diverses Théories" (pp. 23–49) in which he compares the theories of the above-mentioned scholars with the methods introduced or proposed by Professors Lanson, Baldensperger, René Bray, Farinelli, Veselovski, Potebnia, Peretz, Eichenbaum, Vinogradov, Dragomirescou, Cysarz, etc., leaving aside "les idées personnelles de B. Croce" because "leur examen nous entraînerait trop loin de notre sujet précis." But, he adds, "on ne doit pas oublier leur profonde influence toujours efficace." Finally, M. Van Tieghem's volume closes with a chapter entitled "Proposition et Conclusion" (pp. 51–61). This résumé of M. Van Tieghem's interesting study is purposely brief and incomplete in view of the fact that Prof. Van Roosbroeck is preparing a detailed review of it for a later issue of THE ROMANIC REVIEW. At present, however, mention may be made of a title which escaped the attention of M. Van Tieghem in his "Essai de Bibliographie chronologique" (pp. 63–66), and that is Comte A. de Luppé's discussion of Professor Faÿ's "Doutes et Réflexions sur l'Étude de la Littérature" (ROMANIC REVIEW, XIX, 1928, pp. 99–114), which appeared in *Le Correspondant* of Paris (Sept. 10, 1928, pp. 739–743).

J. L. G.

## IN MEMORIAM:
## CHARLES ALFRED DOWNER

Professor Charles Alfred Downer, head of the Department of Romance Languages at the College of the City of New York, died suddenly at Samaden, Switzerland, on August 14.

Professor Downer, who was one of the most successful and best beloved of modern language teachers in the United States, was born at Jersey City on May 3, 1866. His parents, Alfred Sayre and Carolyn de La Vere Downer, were descended from old New England stock, the Downer family especially being very widely known.

Professor Downer was educated at the College of the City of New York, from which he was graduated with the A.B. degree in 1886. He continued his studies at Columbia University and was the first student to be awarded the Ph.D. degree in Romance languages (1901) on a dissertation entitled *Frédéric Mistral, Poet and Leader in Provence* (New York, 1900). He began to teach French in the College of the City of New York in 1891, and in 1904 he was advanced to the Professorship in French. In 1909 he was made Professor of Romance Languages and head of the Department, which position he still filled at the time of his death.

But it was especially as a teacher of French and director of French cultural activities that Professor Downer made his benevolent influence so widely felt in American educational circles. He not only published *A First Book in French* in 1910 and *A First Course in French* in 1922, but from 1915 to 1924 he was President of the Alliance Française of New York and from 1926 to 1929 President of the recently created American Association of Teachers of French. Under his able direction

these two societies enjoyed unusual prosperity. In recognition of the noteworthy services he rendered to these two societies as well as to the Société Nationale des Professeurs Français, he was decorated by the French Government Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur in 1913, and was promoted to Officier in 1926. Other organizations of which he had served as President are the New York Academy of Public Education, New York Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and the Alumni Association of Graduate Schools of Columbia University. At one time he had also been Vice-President of the Alumni Federation of Columbia University and Treasurer of the Alumni Association of the College of the City of New York. He was furthermore member of the Modern Language Association of America, the American Association of Teachers of Italian, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and of the France-America and Italy-America Societies. In 1919 the Italian Government awarded him the decoration of Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia.

Professor Downer was never married and is survived by several cousins. He will be remembered by hosts of former students, colleagues and admirers as a gifted teacher, a brilliant lecturer and conversationalist, and, above all, as a sincere and loyal friend.

J. L. G.

## Varia

Educational and Bibliographic.—The Romanic Review has been invited by the Government of the Soviet Republic to exhibit its files in the Permanent Exhibition of Learned Publications to be organized in Moscow. This exhibition will also serve as a clearing house for Russian subscriptions.—The article of Prof. Henry G. Bayer on "French Names in Our Geography" published in the last issue of the Romanic Review (pp. 195–203) was discussed in detail in many American newspapers on Sept. 14. The *New York Times* of that date contained a large special box on the first page of its second News Section with the heading "150 Places in America Named After Lafayette; 5,000 With Names of French Origin Are Listed."—Ludwig Pfandl, in his *Geschichte der Spanischen Nationalliteratur in ihrer Blütezeit* (Freiburg, 1929), lists in his bibliography of significant contributions to the study of the period from about 1550 to 1700, with which he deals, no less than 32 articles published in the Romanic Review.—Prof. C. R. D. Miller, who contributed the article on "American Notes in the Odes of Labindo" to the last issue of the Romanic Review (pp. 204–8) was voted, during the Summer, the *laurea in lettere* by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Padua. He has also been requested to contribute to the new Italian Encyclopaedia.—The Linguistic Society of America published recently a *Record of the Linguistic Institute* of which the third session was held, from July 7 to Aug. 15, 1930, at the College of the City of New York. The only courses of the thirty-two offered in which there were no registrants were Old Spanish and Turkish. Members of the staff from the Romance field included Jules Marouzeau, Professor of Latin Language and Literature in the University of Paris, who was the Albert Blum French Lecturer; Henri F. Muller, Professor of French, Columbia (Vulgar Latin); Henry B. Richardson, Assistant Professor of French, Yale (Classical Element in English and Old Spanish); Dr. Winifred Sturdevant, Lecturer in French, Barnard College (Old French); and J. L. Gerig (Old and Middle Irish). As the course in Old Spanish is the only one that has not had any registrants in the three Sessions of the Linguistic Institute, it is

probable that hereafter it will be withdrawn.—FOREIGN SCHOLARS, who are now lecturing in American universities, include André Maurois, who is giving a course at Princeton on "Our Age of Romantic Fiction, Beginning with the Princesse de Clèves and Ending with Marcel Proust"; Fortunat Strowski, recently appointed to the Chair of Contemporary Literature in the University of Paris, and Edmond Faral, who are lecturing at Columbia; Paul Hazard, of the Collège de France, who is lecturing at Bryn Mawr College; and Emilio Cecchi, Italian art critic and correspondent in Rome for the *Corriere della Sera* of Milan, who is lecturing on Italian art at the University of California.—THE FIFTH SESSION of the Summer School of Perugia, Italy, founded for the purpose of spreading Italian language and culture among foreigners, was opened on July 16 last. At the 1929 session students from the British empire outnumbered all other contingents. The major course scheduled in the 1930 offering was on "The Nineteenth Century in Italy."—SPAIN, says the *New York Times* of Aug. 31, "has terraced 1,000 acres of hillside on the western edge of Madrid and among trees left standing has begun foundations for the most extensive university city the world has known. It will cost at least $70,000,000 and, surpassing in grandeur the Escurial of Philip II, is intended to be a souvenir of Alfonso's reign." The project was arranged by the late Primo de Rivera, who sanctioned an annual lottery for raising the funds necessary to construct the Ciudad Universitaria. After a visit to universities in Europe and the United States, the commission divided the enterprise into zones: Philosophy, Science, Letters and Law, Medicine, Fine Arts, International Hostels and Sport. Institutes that are already in operation on the campus are those for cancer, hygiene, French art and boys' instruction. The Casa de Velázquez (for which see the ROMANIC REVIEW, XVIII, 1927, p. 182) has been open for some time, and recently there was dedicated the Fundación del Amo, a splendid dormitory for 150 American students, donated by Dr. Gregorio del Amo of Los Angeles, California. The Institute of Physics and Chemistry, to which the Rockefeller Foundation gave $500,000, will likewise be erected in the great group. Finally, all Spanish-speaking countries are planning to erect houses for their own students.—THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME, which has for its main purpose the creation of a $250,000 fund for the construction of an American section of the Casa dello Studente in the new University City of the University of Rome, was incorporated on Aug. 12 last. At the first meeting of the directors, held in the offices of Philip Le Boutillier, President of Best and Co., 372 Fifth Ave., New York, on Sept. 9, the following officers were elected: President, John J. Freschi, Justice of the Court of Special Sessions of New York; First Vice-President, John L. Gerig; Second Vice-President, Dean Archibald Bouton of New York University; Chairman of the National Executive Committee, Dr. John H. Finley, former President of the College of the City of New York and editor of the *New York Times;* Treasurer, Philip Le Boutillier, who, it may be added, was decorated Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur by the French Government on Aug. 20; Assistant Secretaries, Luigi Dionisi, of New York, son of Senator Professor Dionisi of the University of Rome, who is also a member of the Italian Academy; and James S. Hauck, of Princeton University. The Founders include the above and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University; Dr. John Grier Hibben, President of Princeton University; Robert Underwood Johnson, President of the Hall of Fame, former Ambassador to Rome; Henry P. Fletcher, Chairman of the Tariff Commission, former Ambassador to Rome; Jerome S. Hess, well-known lawyer of New York; Irving L. Goldsmith, Chairman of the State Parole

Board, former Supreme Court Justice of New York; Frederic Kernochan, Chief Justice of the Court of Special Sessions of New York; Guy Van Amringe, attorney of New York; Sam A. Lewisohn, Chairman of the Prison Investigating Commission; and William Guggenheim, capitalist of New York. Annual membership dues are $5.00.—Former Ambassador Hugh C. Wallace has donated to the new American Embassy that is to be built in Paris on the Avenue Gabriel the remarkable library that he has collected on the history of Franco-American relations. "This library," says the *New York Times* of Sept. 21, "numbering several thousand books, pamphlets and reports, is the best proof of the fact that the friendly relations of the two republics are based on a fundamental affinity developed by a long series of events in history." Mr. Wallace, who was inspired to form his collection as a consequence of the difficulty he experienced in locating such works, states that his aim "was to get a copy of every important work or report by a Frenchman on America and every interesting book or paper by an American on France and put them together to form a record that would be valued by both nations." That the library was gathered with painstaking care is obvious from the fact that many of the works are original manuscripts, including many letters and reports written by diplomats of the two countries. Among the interesting items are documents recounting the celebrations that were held in front of the Paris Hôtel de Ville when the news arrived of the victories of the American colonies; the first treaty of friendship signed between France and the United States in 1778; correspondence of de Vergennes, who realizing the approaching collapse of French finances under Louis XVI, sought "to recoup on the loans that had been made to the American colonies"; letters of Hector Saint-Jean de Crèvecœur, consul in America, who was aiming to develop French exports to the American colonies; observations on France made by the Revolutionary Minister Gouverneur Morris and the difficulties encountered by Charles Pinckney, American Minister, in being received by the Directorate; a complete series of pamphlets written by Tom Paine from 1775 to 1800; Dominique de Blackford's *Report on Present Conditions in American Colonies* written in 1771; and finally "the frank and robust work of Bartholdi on the French jury at Philadelphia in 1876." As a whole these works, according to the *Times*, "form a fascinating record of a friendship. They tell completely, with abundant detail and entire frankness, the story of that friendship, its ups and downs, its enthusiasms, its coolnesses and its regenerations." The library was catalogued by Prof. Bernard Faÿ.—The American Library in Paris (10, rue de l'Élysée) has, according to its *1930 Year Book*, increased its collection from 25,000 volumes in 1926 to 45,800 volumes in 1930. Books may not only be borrowed by those interested in American research, but they are also sent on long term loans to libraries anywhere in Europe. If a book is out of print, the Library seeks to procure it, as a last resort, by borrowing it from the Library of Congress or some other American library. During the past year the International Reference Department has been completely reorganized; a finding list of books on American law in private and public collections in Paris has been published; the Children's Department has been enlarged; and a special library on American music is being created. Though its present financial condition is sound, due to a gift of $35,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Library must be assured of increased funds in the years to come, if it is to reach its ultimate goal of possessing "an adequate building in Paris, housing a strong and well-organized library, with branches in every capital of Europe."—Ambassador John W. Garrett states, in a long letter published in the *New York Times* of July 29, that unless an

endowment of at least $100,000 can be assured, "the existence of the Library for American Studies in Italy, located at Rome, must cease." This free public library founded by American citizens and opened in 1918 is the oldest American Library in Europe excepting the one in Paris which was founded in the same year. It contains about 20,000 carefully selected volumes and pamphlets, of which about 18,000 are American; and over 100 American periodicals are found in its reading room. Attendance at the American Library last year was 5,000, of which two-thirds were Italians, being principally university students and professors, journalists and authors. The assets of the Library are conservatively estimated at $40,000, of which $9,000 are invested in bonds, and $31,000 are represented by books and equipment. The low cost of administration of the Library—less than $4,000 a year including all expenditures—"has been made possible," says the Ambassador, "by the constant work and attention of the Americans connected with the management." Additional funds are needed to pay the higher rental demanded for the present premises, to provide for more floor space, additional stacks, etc. It is hoped that the Ambassador's urgent appeal will receive the cordial support of all teachers of Italian in America as well as of all patriotic Americans interested in making our country better known to present-day Italians.—MANY WELL-KNOWN AMERICANS are taking active interest in the creation of the Pasteur Memorial Library at the University of Strasbourg, of which M. Roland-Marcel, formerly Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale and now Prefect of the Lower Rhine, is the principal sponsor. On the Executive Board of the Library are Hamlin Garland, the novelist, and Prof. Raymond Weeks, retired, of Columbia University. "As the undertaking is intended," according to the *New York Times* of Aug. 8, "not only as a monument to the illustrious scientist, but also to strengthen the bonds of friendship between France and the United States," the honorary presidents include President Hoover, former President Poincaré, Ambassadors Claudel and Dawes, while the supporters include Ambassador Edge, former Ambassadors Jusserand and Whitlock, Professors C. D. Hazen, Paul Van Dyke, H. C. Chatfield-Taylor and R. A. Millikan. The Executive Board has sent out an appeal for both books and funds.—DR. HERBERT PUTNAM, Librarian of Congress, announced on Sept. 13 the arrival of "the finest of the three surviving copies of the 1462 Gutenberg Bible on vellum, the gem of the Vollbehr collection, for the purchase of which Congress last session appropriated $1,500,000." This is one of the three perfect 42-line copies on vellum, the other two being in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale. The American copy, which is in three volumes, will soon be placed on exhibition in the Library of Congress near the portrait of Gutenberg painted by an unknown artist. The work was purchased by Mr. Vollbehr from the monastery of St. Blasius, in the village of St. Paul, Province of Carinthia, Austria, where it was brought from Paris to conceal it from Napoleon's troups.—THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS HISTORICAL MISSION has renounced the photostat method of reproducing rare manuscripts and is now engaged in filming them. As in motion pictures an indefinite number of positive films can be made from the film negatives. According to the *New York Times* of July 10, "the pictures appear on non-perforated strips of film 1⅜ inches wide and about 15 feet long, with 100 to 150 pictured manuscripts on each strip. The film negatives vary in size, according to the form of the manuscript, from that of a postage stamp to 1¼ by 1¾ inches." The aim, of course, is to secure as large a negative as the width of the film will permit, because prints from large negatives are naturally more legible. The Library of Congress has now on file 150 boxes containing each 25 cans of films,

or in all about 400,000 negative prints. By this process the cost of reproducing manuscripts has been reduced from 25 cents per each photostat to 1½ cents per each film negative, or $1.50 a roll. These films may be enlarged, and pictures may be printed from them at the usual photostat cost. The only expense involved therein by college libraries would be the purchase of a projector—about $40—to throw on a screen these miniature films, which may be borrowed or bought from the Congressional Library. This work has been rendered possible by a gift of $450,000 made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1927.—J. T. Gerould, Librarian of Princeton University, announced on Sept. 27 that important additions had been made to the Benjamin Strong collection of foreign public finance in the Princeton Library. "The collection," he stated, "now includes French documents which go as far back as 1807, while the British collection is complete after 1870."—The St. Louis, Mo., Law Library announced recently that the oldest book in its 40,000-volume collection, which was begun in 1837, is a treatise on Norman-French law published in 1480.—Maggs Catalogue (no. 540, pp. 68–69) announces the discovery of an unknown English translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* dating from about 1600. Hitherto the earliest known translation was the one by Dacres, issued in 1640. The newly discovered translation remained in manuscript. The editors of the catalogue are inclined to attribute it to Thomas Bedingfield.—The Columbus Controversy received new impetus during the Summer by the arrival in America on June 30 of the manuscript biography of the navigator written about 1508–10 by Andres Bernaldez who was born about 1450 at Fuentes-de-León, Spain, and was made after 1492 chaplain to the Archbishop Diego de Deza, friend of Columbus. This codex of 600 pages begins, according to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach's description of it, as follows: "In the name of God Almighty, there was a man in the land of Milan who was a merchant in books and who traveled in Andalusia who was called Christopher Columbus, a man of high genius, who was not a man of letters, but was very shrewd in the art of the cosmography of the world, who following what he had read from Ptolomy and other books regarding the world in which we navigate and walk . . ." Then after stating that what first interested Columbus in a westward voyage of discovery was the rumor of gold in lands to be found beyond the Cape Verde Islands, Bernaldez gives an account of the celebrated voyage as related to him by the great discoverer himself. In an address delivered before the Americanist Congress at Hamburg on Sept. 12, Prof. Luis Ulloa, Director of the National Library at Lima, Peru, advanced the thesis (which, he claimed, resulted from exhaustive researches in archives in Madrid) that Columbus was not an Italian, but a Catalonian corsair who had rebelled against King Juan II of Aragon and was related to Casanova-Couillon, who entered the service of Louis of France. Prof. Ulloa maintained also that, with the aid of Danish corsairs, Columbus had made a voyage to America before 1492 by traversing the North Atlantic via Greenland and Newfoundland, and sailing down to Florida. To all of which the Spanish Academy of History replied that its extensive investigations made more than a year ago failed to reveal anything to show that Columbus was a Spaniard. Furthermore attention was called to the fact that the Madrid newspaper *A B C*, which recently offered a prize of 25,000 pesetas for the best work proving that Columbus was a Spaniard, abandoned its contest when no suitable compositions were received absolutely proving the point. In a long article in the *New York Times* of Sept. 21, Rudolph Schuller, formerly Professor in the National University of Mexico, discusses in detail the claims of Prof. Ulloa and points out "that they are in conflict

with the main known facts of the discoverer's life."—Édouard Herriot, former Premier of France, submitted on August 4 a proposal for the creation of a chair of peace in the University of Lyons to the Lyons Municipal Council.—Fifty-nine Students from thirty-two colleges and universities throughout the country who are to study a year in France under the "Junior Year in France" plan, inaugurated by the University of Delaware in 1923, sailed for Europe on July 18 last. The students spent the first twelve weeks at the University of Nancy, going thence to Paris where they will pass eight months at the Sorbonne, living in carefully selected French families, not more than two students being assigned to one household. During the vacation periods organized trips will be taken to various parts of France, Spain and England. Institutions represented by more than one student include Wellesley (10), Vassar and Bryn Mawr (5 each), Cornell and Brown (3 each), Mount Holyoke, Principia Junior College, Dartmouth, and University of Delaware (2 each). The party is in charge of Prof. Geo. H. Brinton and Miss Louise Dillingham, Directors of the Delaware Foreign Study Department. In the *New York Times* of July 6, Dr. S. P. Duggan devoted a long article to the work of the University of Delaware and Smith College groups in France.—Marymount College announced on July 19 that five students attending its Paris branch, founded in 1923, had received the Sorbonne's diploma with distinction. Three of the young women were from the Central States.—Miss Ruth Sedgwick, of New Haven, Conn., was awarded on July 5 one of the two fellowships established by the Government of Chile for study in its national University. Miss Sedgwick, who received the A.M. degree from Yale in 1924, is a secretary in the division of education at the Pan-American Union at Washington.—Ambassador Morrow received on July 16 at the embassy in Mexico City a group of teachers attending the fifth annual seminar in Mexico.

Necrology.—Professor Jean J. Labat, head of the Department of Foreign Languages at Georgetown University and formerly on the staff of the French Embassy, died at Washington on June 30 in the 41st year of his age. He was born at Avignon and was educated at the Collège de l'Assomption at Nîmes. He was decorated with the Croix de Guerre for bravery in various engagements of the World War, where he was gassed and wounded several times. He also received the Polish War Cross and the Order of the Star of Rumania, with the rank of officer. Joining the staff of Georgetown University eight years ago, Professor Labat made of the French Department one of the major departments of the University. He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Marie Labat, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Wm. M. Stewart of Washington, and a 12-year-old son.—A. Gelo Conti, Italian poet and friend of D'Annunzio, died at Naples on July 7 at the age of 70.—Rev. J. P. De Bevers Kaye, formerly for twenty-one years Dean of Grace Cathedral in Topeka, Kan., died at Bayshore, L. I., on July 10 in his 71st year. From 1923 to 1926 Dean Kaye was Rector of the American Church in Florence, Italy, where he was closely associated with many of the leading Italian literati. Returning to America in 1926 as Rector of Emanuel Church at Great River, L. I., he lectured extensively, for the Italian Historical Society and other associations, on Italian literature and culture. He is survived by a widow, two daughters and a son.—Auguste Florian Jaccaci, well-known Franco-American artist and author, died at Chauteau-Neuf-de-Grasse, France, on July 22. He was born at Fontainebleau, Jan. 28, 1856, and, after traveling in Africa, Cuba and Mexico, he settled in the United States in the early '80's, and became a naturalized American citizen. After doing mural paintings

in various public buildings in the Middle West, such as the Capitol at St. Paul, he moved to New York where he was successively art editor of McClure's and Scribner's magazines. In order to enable the Spanish-born artist Vierge to make as his "crowning achievement" the illustrations of Cervantes's immortal romance, he furnished the text for a book entitled *On the Trail of Don Quixote*, written around the pictures of Vierge. And when the continuance of his monumental work, *Noteworthy Paintings in American Private Collections*, was halted by the World War, he went back to France where he raised money, chiefly from his American friends, to care for the homeless children of the invaded districts. With these funds he also established at Berck, France, a model hospital for the treatment of tuberculosis of the bones which afflicted so many of these children. "America has reason to be proud of this adopted son," says a *New York Times* editorial of July 25, "who brought varied talents out of many strains and cultures to the enrichment of her life."—André Rivoire, noted French poet, dramatist and critic, died in Paris on Aug. 19. He was born at Vienne (Isère) in 1872 and was educated at the Lycée de Lyon, and the Lycée Henri IV. He has been characterized, according to the *New York Times* of Aug. 20, as "one of the few poets who at the end of the nineteenth century was not influenced by the Symbolists." Among his works are *Les Vierges*, *Le Songe d'Amour* and *Le Chemin d'Oubli*, which was crowned by the Académie Française in 1904. His dramas include *Il était une bergère*, produced in English as *The Little Shepherdess* in 1915, *Mon Ami Teddy* and *Pardon, Madame*, written in collaboration with Romain Coolus and produced in Paris early in 1930. From 1897 to 1912 he was associated with the *Revue de Paris* and was later dramatic critic of *L'Écho de Paris* and *Le Temps*.—Louis Jean Bourgeois, famous Franco-American architect and sculptor, died at Chicago on Aug. 19, when, according to the *New York Times* of Aug. 21, "about to have his fondest dream fulfilled," i.e., the completion of the long delayed Bahai Temple. In 1919, Bourgeois, then a struggling architect of New York, entered an international competition for a design of the great Temple to be erected in Chicago. His devoted wife opened a candy store in New York in order to provide living expenses for the household while her husband was engaged with his plans. The design of Bourgeois, which was accepted by the committee of award, "combined the essence of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Arabic, Gothic, Renaissance and modern architecture." Following the symbolism of perfection attached by the Bahaists to the figure nine as the highest single integral, the Temple will have nine sides, nine doors approached by eighteen steps, nine fountains, and nine ribs in the dome. As the Temple is to represent the principles of the Bahai religion, i.e., universal religion, universal brotherhood, universal education, union of science and religion, Bourgeois interwove in his decorative motif symbolism of all leading religions, giving emphasis to the tree of life and the place of the earth in the universe. The cornerstone of the Temple was laid by Abdul Baba, son of the founder of the Bahai movement, in 1921, but the following year work was suspended for lack of funds. As the Bahai followers are against debt, mortgages and solicitations, only recently were enough voluntary contributions made to continue the $2,000,000 building.—Eugène Sylvain, honorary dean of the Comédie Française, known as one of the greatest actors of the last half century, died at Marseilles on Aug. 21. He was born Jan. 17, 1857, at Bourg-en-Bresse and made his début at the Comédie Française in 1878 as Theseus in *Phèdre*. During his long career he scored many triumphs in *Le Cid*, *Polyeucte*, *Le Misanthrope*, *Louis XI*, and *Le Père Lebonnard*. He was a veteran of the War of 1870, and an

intimate friend of some of the greatest literary and political figures of the Third Republic. He is survived by his widow, Mme. Louise Sylvain, who is one of the leading artists of the Comédie Française.—GEORGES DE PORTO-RICHE, one of the greatest of contemporary French dramatists, died at Paris on Sept. 5 in his 81st year. For an appreciation of Porto-Riche's dramatic work, see under section DRAMA.

LITERATURE.—GUGLIELMO MARCONI, Italy's most famous scientist, was elected to the Italian Academy as the sole representative of the science section at its meeting on Sept. 18. After his induction as a member of that body, he was at once chosen as its president, to succeed Senator Tittoni, who had resigned because of ill health. —KING ALFONSO of Spain signed a royal decree on Sept. 10, designating April 23, the anniversary of the death of Cervantes, as the festival of the Spanish novel. Universities, academies and schools of Spain will take part in the celebration on that day.—THE PUBLIC WORK'S COMMISSION of Barcelona voted on Aug. 6 to name a plaza after Vicente Blasco Ibañez, the author.—F. FUNCK-BRENTANO asserted on July 19, before the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of Paris, that he had proof that the well-known *Souvenirs de Mme. de Caylus*, which has hitherto been considered an authoritative work on Louis XIV and Mme de Maintenon, was invented and written entirely by Voltaire. The book was published in 1770, with an introduction by Voltaire, and was believed to have been written by a niece of Mme de Maintenon.—THE ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE failed to award its prize for poetry in 1930 because of the lack of outstanding merit in the poems submitted. *Le Figaro* explains this apparent lack of inspiration as probably due to the fact that many leading poets neglected to take part in the competition, fearing that if they had done so and won the laurels, the public might think that the judges were prejudiced in their favor.—THE LATE ANATOLE LE BRAZ was commemorated by a ceremony held at Saint Brieuc on Sept. 12, at which a monument to him was unveiled. Americans will remember Le Braz not only for the numerous interesting lectures on Celtic that he delivered in our academic halls, but especially for his poems, stories and miscellaneous articles in which he sought to revive the ancient folklore of Brittany.—PROFESSOR W. H. F. LAMONT, of the English Department of Rutgers University, has relieved literary critics of needless worry by his selection of the "sixty great novels of all time," the complete list of which was duly published in many newspapers of July 16. They are divided among the following languages: English (31), French (12), Russian (6), German (5), Italian (1), and the remainder in Scandinavian. No Spanish author figures in his list, not even Cervantes. The sole Italian novel mentioned is, of course, Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi*. The French novels selected are Hugo's *Notre Dame* (1830) and *Les Misérables* (1862), Balzac's *Père Goriot* (1834) and *Cousine Bette* (1846), Stendhal's *Rouge et Noir* (1830), Dumas' *Trois Mousquetaires* (1844), Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1856) and *Salammbo* (1864), Zola's *Nana* (1880), France's *Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* (1881), Rolland's *Jean Christophe* (vol. 1, 1904) and Proust's *Du Côté de chez Swann* (1913).—DEAN INGE, in what he characterizes as his "last considerable work," steals the thunder of the modern adversaries of Rousseau, by asserting that without Jean-Jacques "there might have been no Karl Marx and no Bolshevism." Not satisfied with this rather devastating condemnation, he adds that in a certain remark by Rousseau, which probably inspired a similar one by Danton, "surely we have the genesis of Bolshevism and of the 2,000,000 executions by the Cheka"!—DR. PAGET TOYNBEE relates, in a recent letter to the *London Times*, some amusing anecdotes regarding the French cook Clouet, known to many Englishmen as "Chloe," who figures prominently in

the recently published *Private Correspondence of Chesterfield and Newcastle (1744–46)*. Newcastle took advantage of the superior art of his cook, Clouet, to win visiting diplomats to the support of his designs. Sometimes, however, Clouet was the unwilling victim of misfortune. When Dr. Shawe, Newcastle's physician, became violently ill as a consequence of having eaten some mushrooms, prepared not by Clouet himself but according to his recipe, "a voice of lamentation was heard at Ramah in Claremont," said Horace Walpole, "*Chloe* weeping for *her* mushrooms, and they are not."—J. Howard Willard, writing on "English and the Need of an Academy" in *The Quarterly Review* bases his arguments in favor of an English Academy of Letters on the "excellent French spoken by all and sundry" in France, which he claims to be due to the existence of an official standard created by the French Academy.—Eugène Marsan is a phlegmatic man, but when he found that the Académie Française had admitted into the French language the word "interview" with its English spelling he could no longer restrain his feelings. So in a letter to *L'Action Française* he enters a vehement protest against the introduction of foreign words into French without first changing their spelling to conform to the French language. Not only is the word "interview" one that can be easily dispensed with in French, since it can be replaced by *conversation*, *déclaration*, *entretien* or *entrevue*, but if it must be used let it follow the precedent established by *redingote*, *caporal*, *halte*, *abricot*, *boulingrin* and the like, and become *interviouve* or *intervioue* as Marcel Boulenger has proposed. After all one cannot help but sympathize with M. Marsan, when one reads page after page of contemporary French prose littered with unnecessary and unassimilated foreign words which only serve to mar the beauty of its rhythm.—Richard le Gallienne is contributing to the *New York Sun*, under the heading "From a Paris Garret," a series of historico-literary articles on the city of Paris. As his garret is located in the Rue Servandoni, near St. Sulpice, his contribution to the *Sun* of Sept. 20 on D'Artagnan, who inhabited the same quarter, is most vivid and interesting. He takes as his source the same biography of the famous Musketeer used by Dumas in creating his popular romance, the *Mémoires de Mr. D'Artagnan, Capitaine Lieutenant de la première Compagnie des Mousquetaires du Roi*, published by Gatien Courtilz de Sandras at Cologne in 1700.

Drama and Music.—Philip Carr regrets, in the *New York Times* of Sept. 28, the apparent indifference of other countries to the dramas of the late Georges de Porto-Riche. "And yet his name," he adds, "is not only being given again and again today as the greatest in the modern French theatre (Henri Becque and Georges Courteline being alone entitled to rank with him), but he is being put on a level with the three or four greatest names in the whole history of French dramatic literature. Racine, Marivaux and Musset are the masters in the analysis of the sentiment of love of whom Porte-Riche is today generally acknowledged to be the peer. . . . A very few plays established Porto-Riche in the great position held by his work. When he published what he himself described as his 'théâtre d'amour,' the collection consisted of five plays, *La Chance de Françoise*, *l'Infidèle*, *Amoureuse*, *Le Passé* and *Le Vieil Homme*, but it is virtually upon the last three, which are in the current repertory of the Comédie Française, that his reputation rests today." Mr. Carr believes that because of the limits of Porto-Riche's genius, his "reputation is bound to pass through an eclipse, even in France, where the younger playwrights no longer consider love to be the one subject for the serious drama. . . . Nevertheless, the vision of Porto-Riche and his intuition in describing the subtleties

of the relations between a man and a woman in love, and, above all, in presenting the sufferings of the woman, are bound to make his work live." In discussing the dramatic method of Porto-Riche, M. Claude Berton states that the dramatist acquired from Maupassant his ability to present what he understood effectively upon the stage. Porto-Riche learned the arts of conciseness, economy of means, balanced construction and precision of effect, all characteristic of the master of the short story, "by noticing, again and again, the way in which Maupassant developed a short story out of an anecdote which he, Porto-Riche, had himself supplied in conversation." French theatrical critics seem to be of one opinion in considering the following as Porto-Riche's imitators and pupils: "Henri Bataille and Edmond Sée, who are his most direct imitators, and Paul Hervieu, Alfred Capus, Jules Renard and Robert de Flers who reveal his influence in varying degrees."—Émile Fabre, administrateur of the Comédie Française, spoke with admiration, at the funeral of Sylvain, of the perfect diction of that veteran actor. Philip Carr, writing in the *New York Times* of Sept. 14, justly states that Sylvain and Albert Lambert, *fils*, who is still living, are the last survivors "of a tradition of acting in which the first and most important aim was not only to make every sound heard, but every syllable of every word; in which the second aim was to give all possible subtlety of interpretation to the exact inflection with which each word was spoken and every phrase was made up; in which the third aim was to speak the language with a sense of the beauty of its music; and in which the other means of expression of the actor —gesture, movement, play of feature, 'make-up,' costume and physical appearance—important as they were, came afterward." Whatever criticisms may now be directed at the members of the traditional school of acting, it must be admitted that they took their rôles seriously and attempted to interpret them with all the feeling and talents that they possessed. They would certainly have never exposed themselves to the criticism that Émile Mas, a devoted student of the Comédie Française, directed during the Summer against two of the younger sociétaires, Marie Bell and Madeleine Renaud, for the careless and almost contemptuous manner in which they had interpreted their rôles in a revival of *Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr*, by Alexandre Dumas, *père*. When Pierre Brisson came to the defense of the two actresses in advancing the surprising thesis, says Philip Carr in the *Times* of Aug. 17, "that the play was not really very important and that to act it well it was indispensable for the actors to be convinced of that fact," Lucien Dubech replied that "the artistic merit of a play is for critics to appraise, but actors can only interpret it well if they take it seriously." And in support of this opinion, Émile Mas quoted the reply made by Frédéric Febvre to a journalist who had asked him what he thought of a new play in which he was rehearsing at the Comédie Française: "I think it is a masterpiece, and any actor who is going to do justice to an author is bound to have the same opinion about any play in which he appears." Such an attitude is entirely at variance with the theory of many contemporary German and Russian producers who have little or no respect for the intentions of the author, as Meyerhold has treated the work of Gogol. Before finding fault with the Comédie Française we should give its artists credit for having sought to maintain that worthy tradition.—Parisian Dramatic Critics, after having become surfeited with the diversion of taking pot-shots at the State theatres, are now directing their attention to the Conservatoire. They find, according to Philip Carr writing in the *New York Times* of Aug. 17, "that all of the Conservatoire's training in acting has become a farce; that so-called pupils are admitted to it who are really experienced actors

and have joined merely in order to obtain the advertisement of one of the annual prizes; and that neither the pupils nor the eminent actors who give the instruction any longer take the thing seriously." They also complain "that literary men like Marcel Prévost are useless as members of the jury, and that the acting classes suffer because the director of the school is a musician." "Fortunat Strowski," adds Mr. Carr, "who is always assiduously modern, although he is a member of the Institut, has just made a speech in which he suggests that the Conservatoire should concern itself with questions of scenery and lighting and should remember that the modern theatre is not entirely a matter of words but of psychological subtleties, indicated by gestures and facial expression, and of an atmosphere which is largely created by scenery and lighting." To this several critics, including Mr. Carr, take exception, holding that the Conservatoire is right to concentrate on clear speaking, properly balanced and dignified movement, and the elements of gesture and facial expression. And to prove that the public prefers to see plays and actors, Lucien Dubech could only find two plays among the successes of the season of 1929–30, "in which the setting really counted for anything at all; and, even then, not for much." Such criticisms should not be misinterpreted by foreigners: they are merely an indication of a healthy attitude of mind. Frenchmen share the enthusiastic admiration of foreigners for their two State theatres, their two State opera houses and their Conservatoire, where actors, singers and musicians are trained by the State, and they know full well that it is the only way in which a sound artistic tradition may be maintained. But Frenchmen are also jealous of the prestige of their national institutions and seek improvement where improvement is possible.—Jean Giraudoux's Siegfried, one of the greatest successes of the Paris stage of recent years, was presented in English by the Civic Repertory Theatre of New York during the month of October. The translation was prepared by Philip Carr, Paris dramatic critic of the *New York Times*, and the actors included Eva Le Gallienne and Jacob Ben-Ami. This war-play, adapted by Giraudoux, author and diplomat, from his own book *Siegfried et le Limousin*, written in 1922, was originally produced by Louis Jouvet in Paris during the spring of 1928.—J. Brooks Atkinson, the well-known dramatic critic, states in a long article on "Learning by Precedent," published in the *New York Times* of Sept. 28, which is devoted to John Palmer's new biography of Molière, that "by way of concluding his book Mr. Palmer declares: 'Molière shares with Shakespeare the privilege of winning for the theatre the two highest peaks in the whole range of imaginative literature.'" Farther on he adds that "intellectually he (Molière) is closer to us than Shakespeare, bard of passion and of mirth. He attacked bigotry, imposture and pretentiousness with the keen weapon of wit, which is a modern trait. He was fearless in his wide choice of subjects; he wrote intimately on broad themes. . . . By writing audaciously of what he saw every day about him he raised the theatre to such eminence that it exerted an immediate influence upon contemporary life. Under his direction the theatre led. It divided men into parties. If the modern theatre would take its impulse from Molière instead of from despondent luncheon-table hunches, it could become again an influential institution tomorrow."—Among the Plays to be produced in Paris during the season of 1930–31 are two by Denys Amiel, two by Jules Romains, and one each by Claude Anet, Marcel Achard, Lenormand, Saint Georges de Bouhélier, and Marcel Pagnol. The latter will also give an adaptation from Shakespeare. Jacques Copeau returns for a short season to the Vieux Colombier, with a group of his pupils who style themselves "La Compagnie des Quinze."—

SÉVERIN, who has been called "the last great actor in the silent art of pantomime," passed away during the month of June. "Indeed," says Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of July 6, "it may almost be said that the art, in its old traditions, its severe but graceful conventions and its poetry, has died with him, for he has left no pupils who could carry it on; and the pantomime of the cinema, which has killed it, is quite a different and more realistic affair." "These traditions," continues the same critic, "Séverin held in almost direct artistic descent from the great Deburau," creator of the modern stage presentation of the character of Pierrot, "for Deburau, who died in 1846, handed on the torch to his less famous son, who in turn handed it to Louis Rouffe, who was the teacher of Séverin."—THE ARÈNES DE LUTÈCE, Gallo-Roman remains in the heart of Paris, were used during the summer for open-air performances by the artists of the Théâtre Français and the Odéon. One of the most successful presentations was that of Racine's *Andromaque*, given by students of a dramatic society with the assistance of several actors from the Odéon. Scenic effects were of the simplest character, natural verdure being used as the background of the stage. French dramatic critics were unanimous in praising the acoustics of the ancient arena.—ALEXANDRE DUMAS, THE ELDER'S venerable melodrama, *La Tour de Nesles*, was successfully revived during the month of August in Paris. Dumas was attracted by the legend of a dissolute queen, and fastened it, according to Philip Carr in the *New York Times* of Sept. 7, "onto a definite historical character, Margaret of Burgundy, Queen to Louis X. He invented a certain Buridan, a Captain of the Guard, who was as bold and bad as the Queen herself, and he made the Captain, after many fine speeches and much gnashing of teeth, kill the wicked lady after becoming her lover instead of allowing himself passively to be killed."—MOLIÈRE'S AVARE was presented at the Théâtre Antoine during the summer, with Signoret as Harpagon and Dranem, the celebrated *diseur* of a generation ago, as Sganarelle.—THE TALKING FILM aroused a heated controversy in Paris during the summer. According to René Fauchois, "the actors in the cinema are dead. The audience is looking at and listening to, not what they are doing, but what they have done some time ago; and no reaction from the public can modify them." To which Pierre Wolff adds that "whatever its mechanical progress may be, the cinema can never be anything but mechanical." But Marcel Pagnol, a film enthusiast, takes a different attitude. He maintains that every one sees and hears the film play "in exactly the same way, and that there is consequently far more unity in a cinema audience than there can ever be in that of the theatre." Furthermore, the cinema, "by enabling the author to concentrate or to expand the attention of the audience at will . . . gives him the means of far more subtlety than the theatre's elementary psychology." To which Pierre Brisson, dramatic critic of *Le Temps*, retorts that there is much more subtlety in Giraudoux's *Siegfried* than in any film, and that the theatre audience "requires during the performance a mysterious unity whose existence no critical observer has ever attempted to deny." Finally, Georges Ricou, director of the Opêra-Comique, urges poets and artists to take the film out of the hands of the artistically uneducated, "for if they do not do so and continue their method of trying to kill it by ignoring it, it will destroy them and perhaps the whole of literature and educated language." Philip Carr, to whom we are indebted for the above résumé, concludes, in the *New York Times* of July 20, that "the film can never be drama, because nothing that the audience can do will change the performance, nothing that the actors can do will change the temper of the audience. The film can be acted just as well before an empty

house, which, dramatically, is a contradiction of terms," for dramatic life depends upon the constant reaction between the actors and the audience. This discussion was followed by another of equal interest relating to the desire of certain actors of the Comédie Française to take parts in talking films. In spite of the vigorous protests of Émile Mas, M. Fabre, director of the Comédie Française, expressed the opinion that the State theatre should make its own official talking films and exploit them in its own general interests "while forbidding its actors to appear in any unofficial pictures." But the General Assembly of Sociétaires, not wishing doubtless to lose this attractive opportunity to add to their incomes, rejected the proposal of M. Fabre and decided instead that "no actor should be allowed," according to Philip Carr in the *Times* of Sept. 14, "to appear in a talking film if either the subject or the title were taken from a play in the repertory of the Comédie," and, further, that permission to take part in any other talking play should be granted only on condition that not more than one sociétaire should be included in any film. Finally the Société des Auteurs Dramatiques is earnestly seeking a way of protecting the rights of authors of talking films, including such questions as from whom their royalties should be collected, and how they should be calculated.—Jean Painlevé, only son of the Minister of War, Paul Painlevé, presented in Paris during the summer several scientific films of submarine life. Among them were "Passion and Death of the Octopus," "The Daphnia" and "The Hermit Crab."—American Films seem to be meeting with no little success in Spain, notwithstanding protests of editors and lecturers that they are merely a pretext for propaganda for the English language and customs. This represents quite a different attitude from that assumed by the Spanish public ten years ago.—The American School of Music, housed in the Palace of Fontainebleau, celebrated the tenth anniversary of its existence during July. M. Maurice Ravel, the eminent French composer, arranged the musical program and directed its execution by an orchestra composed of students and professional musicians. Three musical poems entitled *Gaspard de la Nuit* were rendered by a young American pianist, Beveridge Webster. According to Walter Damrosch, one of its founders, the school is an outgrowth of classes formed in France in the World War to give American military musicians training in French music. A detailed account of the history of the school has been contributed to the October issue of *Légion d'Honneur* (I, no. 2, pp. 51–54) by H. H. Flagler.—Henry Prunières gave, in the *New York Times* of July 13, very favorable reviews of the Opéra-Comique's production of Jacques Ibert's *Angélique*, Manuel Rosenthal's *Rayon des Soiries* and Marcel Delannoy's *Le Fou de la Dame* (The Queen's Bishop). However he remarks that "it seems that in France, as well as in most other countries, lyrical drama is thinning out," for "the greater part of the best musicians in France evince no interest in the theatre."—Ernest Moret's Lorenzaccio was the offering of the Chicago Civic Opera when it opened its season on Oct. 27. The opera, which is based on the well-known play by Alfred de Musset, was originally produced at the Opéra-Comique in Paris in 1920.—The Forty-Eight Bell Carillon, installed in the tower of the Library of the University of Louvain by American engineers in memory of their comrades who fell in the War, was "the focal point of patriotic events and the objective of pilgrimages" from Oct. 1, 1929 to May 31, 1930, according to the recent annual report of Librarian E. Van Cauwenbergh. This was mainly due to the generous offer made by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of the services of Kamiel Lefèvre, famous Belgian carillonneur, who has charge of the carillon of the Riverside Church, New York, inaugurated last October.

Art and Architecture.—The Gustave Dreyfus Collection of Italian Renaissance art was brought to America during the summer. This notable collection was begun in 1871 by the purchase by Mr. Dreyfus of the then famous collection of Charles Timbal, a French art critic. From that time until his death in 1914, Mr. Dreyfus sought unceasingly to improve his collection which for fifty years was housed in his private apartment near the Parc Monceau in Paris. Among the sculptors represented in the collection are Desiderio da Settignano, Francesco Laurena, Verrocchio, Mino da Fiesole, Rossellino, Luca and Andrea della Robbia, and a terracotta bust of Giovanni Tornabuoni, ascribed by art critics to Leonardo da Vinci; among the painters are Francesco Cossa, Ghirlandajo, Fra Filippo Lippi, Filippino Lippi, Giovanni Bellini, and Neroccio; among the bronze founders, Donatello, Desiderio, Bertoldo, Bellano, and Andrea Riccio of Padua; and among the carvers of medals and plaques, Pisello, Matteo de Pasti, Nicolo Spinelli, Sperandio, Caradosso and Pastorino. "Although the price was not given," says the *New York Times* of July 10, "the collection was reported to have been held by the Dreyfus executors for $5,000,000."—Miss Anne Morgan presented, on July 10, to the French nation the Franco-American Museum which she and Mrs. Anne Murray Dike founded, six years ago, in the ruins of the Château of Blérancourt, where in 1781 the Duc de Gesvres ordered a great celebration for the victories of Washington, Rochambeau and de Grasse. The museum is especially rich with mementos pertaining to the American Revolution and the early history of the United States. Among them are Esprit Antoine Gibelin's "Libertas Americana," executed in 1783 under Benjamin Franklin's direction for a medal of American independence, which was later carried out by Dupré; a bust of John Paul Jones by Houdon; and Major L'Enfant's water-color drawings of the White House before it was completed.—Eugène Paul Bénet, the well-known Parisian sculptor, completed recently a beautiful statue of Admiral Jean Vauquelin for the city of Montreal, Canada. Vauquelin was born at Dieppe and at the age of 29 he was made Commander of the frigate Aréthuse with which he ran the British blockade to bring supplies to Louisburg, Nova Scotia, in 1758. After the fall of that city before the forces of Amherst on July 27, 1758, Vauquelin escaped to France where he was placed in command of three men-of-war which were to relieve Quebec. After the victory of Wolfe over Montcalm on Sept. 13, 1759, Vauquelin with his ships made a desperate dash for safety. Surrounded in the mouth of the St. Lawrence by overwhelming numbers of British ships, Vauquelin and his men fought with indomitable courage and inflicted severe losses on his attackers before his ships were disabled. He succeeded in disembarking most of his crews and remained alone aboard his burning flagship, L'Atlante, prepared for a glorious death. His British adversaries were so filled with admiration for his courage that they rescued him and treated him with the highest consideration. M. Bénet has represented Vauquelin in heroic posture on the deck of his flagship.—The Cleveland Museum of Art announced on Aug. 26 that it had purchased six of the 82 pieces forming the historical Guelph treasure that formerly belonged to the Duke of Brunswick. The objects purchased are the beautifully engraved "Horn of St. Blasius," made of ivory at Byzantium in the 11th century; a silver "Paten of St. Bernard," which was engraved with portraits and inscriptions at Hildesheim in the 12th century; a large ivory plaque of the "Marriage Feast at Cana" made at Liège in the 11th century; a portative altar with a plate of agate and gilt silver; a medallion of Christ, of Frankish origin in the 8th century; and a reliquary in the shape of an arm with embossed half-length

figures of Christ and the twelve apostles.—John D. Rockefeller, Jr., presented recently to the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York, four fifteenth-century French sculptures and one of the fourteenth century, which have been placed on view at the Cloisters. The most interesting piece is a figure of a Benedictine abbott, a work of the Burgundian school of the middle of the 15th century.—Belgium celebrated this year the centenary of her independence by a series of exhibitions of industry, art and science. At Antwerp there was the Colonial and Maritime Exposition which, of course, was mainly industrial and commercial; at Liège an exhibition of arts and crafts in the Palace of Fine Arts and the Palace of Glass and Ceramics; at Brussels the finest collection of Belgian paintings ever assembled; at Mons an exhibition of Walloon paintings; besides pageants and other attractions in almost all of the important cities and towns of the country. A long article on "Antwerp's Paintings and Facades," contributed to the *New York Times* of July 6 by E. A. Jewel, discussed the important works of art displayed at Antwerp.—The Cathedral of St. Martin at Ypres, destroyed by German shells in 1914, has finally been restored after eight years of steady work and an expenditure of $1,425,000. This Cathedral, dating from the 13th century with a tower of the 15th century, contains the tomb of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres and founder of the Jansenist school, who died in 1638.—Notre Dame may now not only be seen by moonlight but also by the light of powerful electric projectors. This American idea was tried out with great success on a recent Sunday evening.—Lorenzo Bartolini's celebrated bust of Napoleon was recently presented to the National Museum at Malmaison by a collector of Geneva. Bartolini, an early protégé of Napoleon, completed this work, praised for its purity of line and intensity of expression, between 1808 and 1810. He also made likenesses of Josephine and Queen Hortense. —A Worthy Movement has been inaugurated in Paris to rid the city of about half of its statue population on the grounds of ugliness. Traffic congestion is the ingenious excuse most frequently resorted to. "If the present scheme meets with success in Paris" says an editorial in the *New York Times* of July 29, "other cities, cluttered up with ugly but historical celebrities, will do well to follow suit. Perhaps in Washington, and London too, the percentage of condemnations might be raised from 50 to, say, 75."—The Louvre Museum, for the first time in its long history, admitted music on July 1. The occasion was the lecture delivered by Jean Louis Vaudoyer at the retrospective exposition of the works of Eugène Delacroix in which the lecturer compared the artist's compositions to works of music of the period.—Two Leonardo da Vinci Paintings depicting the "Last Supper" and the "Magdalene Bathing the Feet of Christ," were discovered on Aug. 14 in a church of São João del Rey in the State of Minas Gerães, Brazil. The paintings have been in the church for more than 200 years. Other recent discoveries of paintings include that of a "Madonna and Child" by Tintoretto, painted about 1565, which is now in the Walker collection in Minneapolis. Likewise two paintings from the collection of the late Edward R. Bacon of New York have been identified, the one as a study by Rubens for the "Madonna of the Rosary" in the Leningrad Museum and the other as a portrait of Archdeacon Reynolds painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds about 1760. Meanwhile Dr. Josef Bayer, Director of the Vienna Natural History Museum, has decided that the ivory statuette called the "Venus of Wisternitz," which was claimed to be a work of the Stone Age, "was carved," says the *New York Times* of Sept. 28, "four years ago from a fossilized mammoth tusk by a skilled person familiar with diluvial art." Also the so-called "Madonna della Casa Colonna," which a

Hamburg business man has offered for sale in Canada as an original Raphael, has, according to the *New York Times* of June 29, been shown to be a copy once belonging to Queen Louise of Prussia, "since the original is hanging where it belongs" in the Kaiser Frederich Museum in Berlin.

MISCELLANEOUS.—The Belgo-American celebration of the Centenary of Belgium's Independence took place from Oct. 14 to 18, in the Wanamaker Auditorium, New York. The following receptions were given to the guests of honor: Oct. 14 to Hon. J. T. J. Mali and Mrs. Mali, Belgian Consul; Oct. 15 to the Executive Committee, headed by Bishop J. F. Stillemans; Oct. 16 to Dr. L. Baekeland, inventor of "Velox Paper" and "Bakelite," Lt.-Col. Baron G. de Béthune, Professor at the Military Academy, Brussels, Dom Aug. Verhaegen, O. S. B. Composer, and Prof. G. L. van Roosbroeck, Columbia University; Oct. 17 to H. H. Prince Albert de Ligne, Belgian Ambassador, Her Highness Princesse de Ligne, Hon. Raoul E. L. Grenade and Mrs. Grenade; Oct. 18 to the Executive Committee of the Belgian Chamber of Commerce in the United States. On Oct. 16 the Belgian Library, organized by Prof. H. G. Bayer, at New York University, Washington Square, was officially dedicated. The same day a reception and supper were held aboard the *Belgenland*. The festivities were concluded by a solemn *Te Deum* at St. Albert's Church on Sunday, Oct. 19.—ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE (1643–1687), the famous explorer, built in the Winter of 1679 at Cayuga Creek, near the Niagara River, a beautiful two-mast sailing vessel furnished with fittings and armaments brought over from France. It was named Le Griffin from the figure on the coat-of-arms of Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac (1622–1698), who was Governor of New France from 1672 to 1682 and from 1689 to 1698. After sailing up Lakes Erie and Huron, Le Griffin reached Washington Island, Green Bay, Lake Michigan, where it was loaded with furs for its return trip to Niagara. On this first commercial vessel to sail the Great Lakes La Salle set his hopes not only of opening a way to the newly discovered Mississippi, but also of, first, reimbursing his creditors in Montreal. On Sept. 18, 1679, the boat, manned by Pilot Lucas, a giant Danish sea captain, and five able seamen, set out on its return trip, while La Salle and the rest of his company made their way in canoes to the Illinois River on which they established Fort Crèvecœur, near the site of the present Peoria, to serve as a starting point of an expedition down the Mississippi. But Le Griffin never reached its destination: it was last seen by some Pottawatomie Indians as it passed through Mackinaw Strait, driven by the seasonal gales. Though two of La Salle's men made an entire circuit of Lake Huron, no trace of the missing vessel was found save some bits of wreckage seen by La Salle himself in 1680 at Michillimackinac Island. Now the Ontario Department of Public Works has granted permission to an expedition to investigate an old wreck on Mississagi Strait, Manitoulin Island, in the hope that it is Le Griffin. But it may be added that during the last few decades similar claims, later found to be groundless, have been made for several old wrecks on Lakes Huron and Michigan and St. Clair River.—DESCENDANTS of the 6,000 Acadians that were deported from Nova Scotia by the British in 1755 assembled at Evangeline Memorial Park at Grand Pré, N. S., on Aug. 20 to observe the 175th anniversary of that momentous event. While these descendants, now numbering hundreds of thousands, have obliterated all feeling of bitterness toward the British, they have nevertheless continued to keep alive the traditions of their race and the legends of tragedy inherited from those stirring times when Acadian families were sundered and lovers separated. More than 1,000 delegates, many of whom hold or have held high

positions in Louisiana, the New England States, New Brunswick and Quebec, joined their Nova Scotian compatriots in the Grand Pré exercises. A touch of romance was added to the occasion by the delegation from the Evangeline country of Southwest Louisiana which included twenty-five young women clad in Norman caps and kirtles, the styles of their forbears in Acadia.—Mayor Harry A. Mackey of Philadelphia dedicated on Aug. 16 a new community centre erected at Nantillois, near Montfaucon, by the city of Philadelphia in honor of the men of the 315th Infantry who fought there Sept. 28, 1918. "This ground on which you have rebuilt your homes," said the Mayor to the citizens of Nantillois, "was made sacred to us by the sacrifice of the flower of Philadelphia's youth." Ambassador Claudel and other French officials thanked the Mayor and the members of the regiment for their gift. —France celebrated simultaneously on Sept. 6 the 16th anniversary of the Battle of the Marne and the birthday of Lafayette. A flag presented to the city of Paris by the city of Philadelphia floated, on that occasion, from the main flagstaff of the Paris Hôtel de Ville.—Giovanni Schiavo devotes an interesting article, in the Sept. number of *Atlantica*, to the assistance rendered by Francis Vigo to Gen. George Rogers Clark in securing for the United States by the Treaty of Paris of 1783 the Northwest Territory consisting now of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan. "Vigo," maintains Mr. Schiavo, "advanced money to Clark, without which he would have been obliged to disband his army. He also furnished the General with information which made possible the capture of Fort Sackville, the key to the British occupation, on Feb. 25, 1779." Vigo was born in Mondovi, a Piedmontese town, in 1744. In his early youth he made his way to Spain and thence to America with De Leyba who was appointed Governor of Spain's territory on the lower Mississippi. He ran fur-trading agencies in New Orleans, St. Louis, Kaskasia, Vincennes and other places. When Clark first met him at Kaskasia in 1778 he was wealthy, but he died in comparative poverty in Vincennes, where he is buried, on March 22, 1838.—In a Letter on "Indian Names for Towns," published in the *New York Times* of Aug. 27, Geo. D. Booth calls attention to the fact that in New Orleans there is Napoleon Avenue "with five victories of Napoleon on each side, Jena, Cadiz, Valence, Bordeaux, Lyons in one direction and in the other Berlin, Milan, Marengo, Constantinople and Austerlitz." During the World War, however, Berlin was changed to General Pershing and so remains.—Simon and Abraham Flexner, members of the managing board of the Rockefeller Foundation, were granted the honorary doctorate at the dedication ceremony on June 24 of the new medical buildings of the University of Brussels. The buildings were erected through the joint munificence of the Rockefeller Foundation and the city of Brussels.—President Hoover's genealogy has been traced by Prof. Hermann Macco of Berlin to the Huber family, which possessed, in the 15th and 16th centuries, large tracts of farming land at Ober Kulm, Switzerland. Owing to an agricultural crisis the family emigrated in the 17th century to the Palatinate in Germany, one member Andreas Huber going thence to America where he changed his name to Hoover.—Jean Nicot, who is said to have introduced tobacco into France in the sixteenth century, was honored by commemoration ceremonies held during the Summer. Although not a user of tobacco himself, Nicot, who was Ambassador at Lisbon, sent some leaves, which he had received from American traders, to his friend, the Cardinal de Lorraine, with instructions that, if snuffed, it was a cure for headache. —The French Legion of Honor, created by Napoleon in 1802, now has a membership of 141,386. Under present regulations the various French Ministries can name 2,005 Knights, 366 Officers and 63 Commanders annually. An Officer must be 48

years of age and a Commander 53.—An Important Innovation in Parisian civic welfare is the completion of the first "Square d'Enfants" which was inaugurated during the Summer in the Place du Cardinal Amette, not far from l'École Militaire. This worthy plan originated with Dr. Le Mée, surgeon of L'Hôpital des Enfants Malades. These squares, of which there will eventually be seven, will serve, according to an editorial in the *New York Times* of Aug. 3, as playgrounds for children under 10, who will be directed and cared for by graduate nurses. Reproductions of plans of the playgrounds in a recent issue of *Lectures pour Tous* show them to be provided with white-pillared pergolas (under which flow artificial brooklets), groups of ultra-violet ray lamps, toys, games, benches with rounded corners, cork-covered seats, and tents of water-proof material, mounted on a light metal framework which can be heated electrically in cool weather. In fact, there is no doubt that these squares will prove a godsend to children of working parents.—André Moufflet reveals, in an article entitled "Sociétomanie" in the *Mercure de France*, that France, like the United States, is amply provided with "joiners." According to M. Moufflet, since 1901 there is an average of thirty new societies organized every day in France. After having examined thousands of declarations of aims of new associations, as reported by the *Journal Officiel* in which they must be registered, M. Moufflet finds that they are divided into the following categories: To secure material advantages for their members, for philanthropic purposes, for entertainment, such as art, sports, hunting, or for intellectual pursuits.—The 109th Anniversary of Peru's independence was celebrated at Lima on July 28 last.—A New Artistic and Literary Magazine called *Anonymous* has been founded in Paris by some Americans associated with the Carrefour Editions. The aim of the editors is to put an end to the "infernal personality mongering" of modern times. "Many of the greatest works of the art world," says a statement of the editors in the *New York Times* of Aug. 16, "such as the Gothic cathedrals of Northern France, the Winged Victory and the authorized version of the Bible to all intents and purposes are anonymous. Yet today, in order to get appreciation for his work, the artist must spend perhaps half his entire effort in earning himself a reputation before his work receives consideration." J. L. G.